

# MARXIST WORKER

"The Emancipation of the Working Class Must Be  
Achieved By the Working Class Itself"—Karl Marx

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## Collapse of the World Communist Movement

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### Class Conflict:

## 'CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT' AND BLACK WORKERS

The widening gap between the affluence of the black middle class, the doctors, lawyers, clergymen, executives, politicians, etc., etc., who are living in luxury, and the poverty of the black workers condemned to live in the ghetto, is becoming more obvious with each passing day. This contrast between black wealth and black poverty has become so clear that many leaders of the Civil Rights Movement are pointing to the dagger that it represents—a danger, that is, for the middle class and for American imperialism.

Last year the *New York Times* printed a series of lengthy articles on this subject which included interviews with middle class black leaders throughout the United States. Among them was James W. Compton, Executive Director of the Chicago Urban League. The *Times* reported Mr. Compton's remarks as follows:

"The rising black middle class, the few who have tasted the better life, is not rising to its full responsibilities.

"... as the gulf between the have and the have nots widens, as the comfort of the well off stands out in sharpening contrast to the discomfort of the poor, the threat of social disorder and disruption grows."

"Mr. Compton warned that if the 'black underclass' revolts again 'their uprising will be against class. . .'" (*New York Times*, February 28, 1978)

Mr. Compton's fear of the black workers is only equalled by his hatred for them, and by his ignorance. He cannot even begin to understand what Karl Marx explained 100 years ago—that the wealth of the propertied classes is based on the exploitation of the working class. The "have nots" or "underclass" Mr. Compton speaks about produces the "better life" that he and the rest of the middle class enjoy.

Another black reformist, Dr. Alvin-Poussaint, Dean of Students at Harvard Medical School, also pointed to the "dangerous social antagonism" that is developing between the black workers and the middle class.

"It is certainly a dilemma," said Mr. Poussaint, "and a lot of blacks do not want to even acknowledge that there are class differences. But they exist, and they are getting worse. By pretending that there are no class differences, strategy to deal with the problem can't evolve . . . the strains of the conflict are beginning to show." (*ibid.*)

Dr. Poussaint's "strategy to deal with the problem" is quite simple—he wants the leaders of the Civil Rights movement to cover up the most obvious evidence of their collaboration with the American ruling class, and to conceal the pay-off they are receiving for misleading the masses of black workers.

In May of last year Dr. Poussaint expressed his view quite bluntly in an article he wrote for the *New York Times*:

"In January [1978] the N.A.A.C.P. released a statement that was widely interpreted to support decontrol of natural gas and oil prices, a position generally favored by the oil industry . . . The more sensitive issue is a possible conflict of interest reflected in the N.A.A.C.P. energy policy.

"It is public knowledge that Margaret Bush Wilson, Chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. Board of Directors, also sits on the Board of Directors of the Monsanto Company, which has substantial oil-related interests. As she receives the usual lucrative fee for corporation duties—\$20,000 for serving in the Board and \$500 per Board meeting, Monsanto

said—some people are wondering if she may have divided loyalties."

Dear Doctor—"he who pays the fiddler also calls the tune." It is precisely because the interests of the Civil Rights movement coincide with those of the ruling class that Margaret Bush Wilson sits on the Board of Monsanto. And, she is not alone, as your article reveals:

"Vernon Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League, sits on the Board of the Xerox Corporation . . . He, too, receives substantial remuneration for his services: \$14,000 per year plus \$3,500 for serving on the executive's compensation and benefits committee, . . .

" . . . the Rev. Leon Sullivan, head of the Opportunities Industrialization Center, one of the country's largest minority-training programs . . . serves as a paid member of the Board of General Motors . . . General Motors says it pays him \$15,000 a year plus \$250 per Board meeting, plus \$7,000 for sitting on the audit committee, plus \$8,000 for sitting on the public policy committee . . .

"Although it is important to have minority input on our nation's corporate Boards, one wonders about the propriety of our civil rights leaders serving in such position . . . because some people believe that these public figures may be in conflict of interest binds, they risk the appearance of being 'bought' or compromised. . .

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## 25 YEARS OF STRUGGLE -OUR HISTORY

Twenty-five years have passed since our movement began as a rank and file workers' opposition to the leadership of the Communist Party U.S.A. When we began our struggle in the 1950's we were simply opposed to the most obviously opportunistic policies and extreme revisionism that then prevailed within the American Communist Party. As our movement developed and continued outside the old Party organization, we gradually learned that revisionism was not limited to the American CP, nor was the victory of opportunism a recent event. It was only after 15 years of development, however, that we arrived at our present understanding of the historical collapse of the world communist movement:

- The victory of opportunism in the international communist movement corresponds to the period of Lenin's illness and death (January 1924). Once Lenin was out of the way the bourgeois trends led by Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc., gained control of the Soviet Party and state, and soon became the dominant force in the Communist International. The line and actions of the Soviet Party after Lenin's death represented a total reversal of the revolutionary Marxist principles he had fought for all his life.

- 1924 marked the end of the workers' state in the USSR and the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Since then, the capitalist system of production has reigned supreme in every corner of the earth—socialism does not exist anywhere. the

economic system of the USSR, China, Albania, and all of the so-called socialist-bloc, is state capitalism concealed behind a pseudo-socialist facade.

- Today, the entire international communist movement, including the "pro-Russian," "pro-Chinese", "pro-Albanian" and Trotskyist trends, represents the left arm of the world bourgeois' political apparatus. This is true regardless of whether a particular trend is represented by a ruling party (as in the USSR), forms part of a coalition government (as in Italy), function as an opposition party in parliament (as in France), is one of a wide assortment of tiny groups (as in the USA), or functions as an illegal "opposition group" (as in many neo-colonial nations). At all times, and under all circumstances, the capitalists need bourgeois "communists" to help control the working class politically, to direct its energy towards reformism, and to hinder the formation of revolutionary proletarian organizations.

- In the present period, revolutionary workers throughout the world are faced with the all important task of understanding the causes of the collapse of the communist movement, and on the basis of this critical understanding, building a new international proletarian movement.

- The Marxist Workers Committee is the present organizational form of a trend that began in the 1950's inside the revisionist Communist Party

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## Bruce Wright

# 'Controversial' Black Judge— Servant Of White Ruling Class

In 1970 a black lawyer, named Bruce Wright, was appointed judge of the Criminal Court by Mayor John V. Lindsay. For the last nine years Judge Wright has defended the laws and interests of American capitalism—just as faithfully and skillfully as the other judges, black and white, of New York. In return for his services he has received a salary of \$42,451 each year. He has, in fact, done his job so well that the very respectable New York City Bar Association recently praised him as a "decidedly better than average" judge, and in 1975 he received the Ethical Humanist Award from the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

All this praise, however, was not earned only in the courtroom—for Judge Wright has been an outspoken, 'militant' promoter of black nationalism.

In both a recent speech at Princeton University and a sermon at a church in Brooklyn, Judge Wright made several statements that have been widely publicized by the New York press and T.V. At Princeton he declared: "Police have a license to hunt down blacks and kill them with impunity." Three days later he continued his remarks in an Easter sermon at the House of Pentecostal Church, where he stated: "We blacks have had 350 years of holocaust in this country." His sermon also criticized the National Urban League and the NAACP for being "gentle collaborators" who accepted "white money." "When you take white money, you do white bidding" declared the \$42,000-a-year Judge. He explained in his sermon that he had quit the NAACP several years ago because it had allowed a white lawyer to become head of its Legal Defense and Education Fund. Judge Wright's statements and actions have been defended by the National Lawyers Guild, the National Bar Association and the NAACP. (New York Times, April 14, 16, and 19, 1979)

### RULING CLASS PROMOTES RACISM & NATIONALISM

The American ruling class, the multi-millionaires who own and run this country, carefully promote racism (white chauvinism) and black nationalism in order to create antagonisms between the black and white workers in the U.S. For the same reason, the ruling class works to instill nationalism in the Puerto Rican and other latin workers. Both white chauvinism and nationalism are completely anti-working class—both destroy the unity of the proletariat. As long as the American workers are divided by national and racial hatred they cannot fight their main enemy—American capitalism.

Black nationalism not only promotes division between the black proletarians and their white and latin class brothers, it also forces the black workers to follow the leadership of their class enemies, the black doctors,

businessmen, lawyers and government officials like Judge Wright, who are the allies and servants of the white American ruling class.

"The police," says Bruce Wright, "have a license to hunt down blacks and kill them with impunity." This is a nationalist lie—the police do not hunt down and kill black doctors, lawyers, businessmen or \$42,000-a-year judges. The police do beat up, arrest on false charges, and kill black workers.

Like all nationalists, Judge Wright tries to lump together people of different classes and pretend they have the same interests. In this case he refers to the "common interests of the black people" whose enemy, he claims, is "the white man." The falseness of this view becomes obvious if you remember that a large number of the New York cops who beat up and shoot black workers are black policemen. In fact, the Police Department prefers to use black cops in the black ghetto and latin cops in the latin ghetto, etc., because they are more effective tools. For the same reason the ruling class appoints black and latin judges to carry out its laws along with the white judges. In real life "black people," just as "white people" are divided into different classes with completely different interests and different enemies.

The workers do not live alone in their neighborhoods. Side by side with the proletariat lives the criminal element, the lumpenproletariat. They are the muggers, burglars, junkies, rapists, hustlers, pimps, etc., who rip off the workers and their families, who rob, beat and kill them. This is true in every working class neighborhood—despite the illusion created by the "media"—the white workers are victimized more often by the white criminals, the black workers are attacked more frequently by the black criminals, and the latin workers are usually ripped off by the latin thugs. He makes no distinction between a black man or woman who sweats 8 hours a day in a millionaire's factory to earn enough to feed his family, and the black mugger who kills him and steals his pay. The criminal element, the lumpenproletariat of every color is the deadly enemy of the working class. They like Bruce Wright, try to hide behind nationalist slogans. "Black is beautiful" shouts the black lumpen—before he robs a black worker.

Every class conscious worker must expose and fight the criminal element of all colors. Likewise, class conscious workers must also expose the middle class servants of capitalism. The Judge Wrights, who also come in white and latin varieties (like NY Mayor Ed Koch and Deputy Mayor Herman Badillo) breed distrust and hatred between the different colors and nationalities that make up the American working class.

While Judge Wright is trying to mislead the black workers with nationalism, the white politicians,

newspapers, and white union leaders in New York tell the white workers that "all blacks are criminals," that "whites should unite against blacks," etc. Those racist lies which have been repeated to generations of workers have created the fear and distrust which divide the white workers from their class brothers. Genuine representatives of the working class strive to unite their class by exposing both na-

tionism and white chauvinism (racism).

### CLASS OPPRESSION

"We blacks," declared Judge Wright in his Easter sermon, "have had 350 years of holocaust in this country."

No Judge, you are lying.

The violence of the ruling class, the holocaust you speak about, has always been aimed at the producing classes. The violence of the Southern landowners was aimed at the black slaves before the Civil War, and it was aimed at the sharecroppers after the war. Today the violence of the capitalists is aimed at the working class in general, and especially at the black and latin workers—not at the lawyers, doctors, businessmen, and judges—of any color. You are a nationalist, Judge Wright, because black nationalism serves the interests of both the black middle class, and the class that pays you \$42,000—the white American ruling class. ■



The workers are exploited together—black, white and latin—but the ruling class uses racism and nationalism to create antagonism between them. The only solution to capitalist slavery is a workers' revolution—and the path to that revolution is the unity of all proletarians.



'Soul brother' or class enemy? Bruce Wright, posing in his chambers, enjoys the prestige and salary that the ruling class gives to its judges. Like all of the middle class, he lives off the exploitation of the working class, including the black workers. As a nationalist, he tries to create antagonism between black and white workers.

# Colombian Worker Beaten In Jail By NYC Cops

At 11:00 p.m. on a New York City Saturday night in April, a young Colombian worker (whose name we will omit for his own protection) was arrested for drunk driving after a car accident. Although he was unhurt at the time of arrest, by 8:00 p.m. the following night he was in the intensive care unit of Kings County Hospital. The cops had beaten him so brutally that he required a week in intensive care (handcuffed to his bed) and six weeks more in the regular ward before he was able to leave the hospital.

The police tried to conceal their criminal work by adding a charge of assaulting an officer to the original one of drunk driving—they claimed that their prisoner's injuries were caused by the car accident, although it was 21 hours after his arrest before he was brought to the hospital.

There is no excuse for driving under the influence of alcohol—it is irresponsible regardless of who does it. But that does not excuse the performance of the agents of imperialist "law and order."

The experience of this young worker is certainly not unusual or new—in fact thousands of cases just like this occur each year. When a worker is arrested, his fate depends much more on the whim of the police than on any "constitutional right" or "Supreme Court

decision."

The entire system of American justice is organized on class lines, from the police station to the highest courts. The beatings in jail are reserved for the working class—when a small businessman, doctor, or other middleclass individual is arrested, he is given all the rights and privileges that belong to a class that can afford the best lawyers and pay for endless appeals.

The black and Latin workers, who generally belong to the most exploited section of the American working class, are particular targets of police attacks—but this is a question of class—not nationality.

When Colombian industrialists and bankers, or even doctors and lawyers, travel to New York they are afforded the most polite and respectful treatment. They are never referred to as "spics" and they come and go as they please, unmolested. But when the Colombian workers migrate northwards to find jobs in the U.S. they are herded into the ghettos and forced to accept the lowest paying work. And there they find the oppressive side of American "justice."

Conditions are hard for these workers if they immigrate legally, but since the immigration of quotas of American imperialism are slanted to



How about you!  
If you don't take the New York Police Department examination, you can't make it.  
Apply by May 31st for entrance exam on June 30th.  
Pick up an application at any Precinct or Public Library, or call 227-0900 for further information.

If you don't take it, you can't make it.

**NYPD**

Apply by **MAY 31** for Entrance Exam on **JUNE 30**.

Pick up an application at any Precinct or Public Library. For longer information call 227-0900.

Cops and judges are a part of the repressive force that the ruling class uses to keep the working class under control—regardless of whether they are white, latin or black. This poster is part of a special campaign mounted by New York City to hire additional non-white police in order to give imperialist justice a "democratic" image and because they are a more effective weapon against the black and latin workers.

favor the propertied classes of other countries, hundreds of thousands can only come as "illegal aliens". The mass migration of workers from the countryside to the cities and from country to country in search of jobs is as old as capitalism itself. The only difference between the present wave of immigrants to the U.S. and those of the past is that today most come from America's neo-colonies in Latin

America.

Capitalist justice is not limited to the U.S.A.—it is found in every country. The immigrant workers who are mistreated by the New York cops have already experienced similar "justice" from the police and courts of their homeland. The police of Bogota, Colombia, are no less brutal towards the Colombian workers than the uniformed thugs of New York City. ■

## Class Conflict...

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"Therefore these organizations should move quickly to explore appropriate safeguards to insure that their credibility remains unblemished." (New York Times, May 31, 1978, our emphasis)

Note that Doctor Poussaint is pleased to find members of the black middle class getting a "piece of the action" on the corporate Boards of U.S. imperialism—his complaint is only that the leaders of the Civil Rights movement have made their ties to the American capitalists so obvious.

It makes no difference whether an individual middle class leader sits on the Board of a corporation or "merely" receives a grant from the Ford Foundation or from the "War on Poverty" or receives (like Doctor Poussaint) a salary from Harvard Medical School. Either way, he is tied, politically and economically, to the American ruling class.

From the very beginning of the Civil Rights movement to the present, the black middle class has reaped all the benefits of "integration". It has steadily risen to higher and higher economic levels while the condition of the black workers has scarcely changed. Since 1972, in fact, the workers' real income has been falling. This social contrast was acknowledged in a New York Times article by Steven Y. Roberts when he wrote:

"Those statistics illustrate the two faces of black America today... One group is rapidly acquiring more education, better jobs, and higher income; another remains mired in poverty, an unyielding "underclass." (New York

Times, February 28, 1978)

Drawing on the work of sociologist William J. Wilson, Mr. Roberts' article explained how integration has tremendously increased the economic base of the black middle class:

"Professor William J. Wilson, a black sociologist at the University of Chicago and author of 'The Declining Importance of Race' points out that a generation ago the new 'black bourgeoisie' made their money mainly by serving the black community itself. Most of them were doctors, lawyers, undertakers and teachers. Today, middle class blacks also make money in the white world, as managers in large corporations for instance..."

"Professor Wilson wrote 'It is clearly evident in this connection that many talented and educated blacks are now entering positions of prestige and influence at a rate comparable to or in some situations, exceeding that of whites with equivalent qualifications. It is equally clear that the black under class is in a hopeless state of economic stagnation, falling further and further behind the rest of society.' (ibid.)

This evolution of the middle class reveals the real history of the Civil Rights movement—it was not the "brain child" of any of its leaders, but was rather the result of class antagonisms as they exist in the U.S.A. and the policy of U.S. imperialism. From its very beginning with the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation, it has been the policy of the American ruling class to eliminate legal segregation and to allow the black middle class into the institutions and jobs from which they were previously

excluded. The U.S. ruling class is very much aware that the black businessmen, executives, doctors, lawyers, etc., etc., are reliable servants of American capital. In return for a "piece of the action" they will attempt to convince the black workers that the basic cause of their poverty and oppression is their status as "blacks in a white society" rather than exploited workers in a capitalist society. The leaders of the Civil Rights movement have always tried to divert the workers away from class struggle (which aims to overthrow the entire capitalist system) and lead them towards a hopeless nationalist

struggle for legal reforms—reforms that cannot change the conditions of the black workers but do enrich the black middle class.

Because the black workers are a part of the American proletariat, (the class whose labor supports both the U.S. millionaires as well as the middle class) their social conditions cannot fundamentally change as long as capitalist slavery exists. In addition to this, the lower wages and higher unemployment that most black and latin workers experience are proof that American

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# COLLAPSE...

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two groups of "great powers" for the re-division of the world. In Europe the German and Italian imperialists of the "Axis" fought the British, French, American and Russian imperialists of the "UN Alliance" to determine who would dominate Europe and would get the lions share of the colonial world. In Asia, it was primarily a conflict to decide whether Japanese or American imperialism would have a free hand to rob the colonial nations of the Pacific Basin.

The seeds of WWII were sown in the Versailles Treaty that ended the first Imperialist War. Realizing the necessity of utilizing inter-imperialist conflicts to prevent a new attack on the workers state, the Soviet Party had, as early as 1920, a definite line on the prospect of new imperialist wars, and the role of the Soviet state.

In a speech to a meeting of Party activists on December 6, 1920 Lenin explained how the Soviet Union intended to utilize the inter-imperialist conflicts:

"A vast literature exists on the future Japanese-American war. It is beyond doubt that war is brewing, that it is inevitable. . . . But that being the case, can we, as Communists, remain indifferent and merely say: 'We shall carry on propaganda for communism in these countries.' That is correct, but it is not everything. The practical task of communist policy is to take advantage of this hostility and to play one side off against the other. Here a new situation arises. Take the two imperialist countries, Japan and America. They want to fight and will fight for world supremacy, for the right to loot. Japan will fight so as to continue to plunder Korea, which she is doing with unprecedented brutality, combining all the latest technical inventions with purely Asiatic tortures. . . . Here we find all the methods of tsarism and all the latest technical perfections combined with a purely Asiatic system of torture and unparalleled brutality. But the Americans would like to grab this Korean tidbit. Of course, defence of country in such a war would be a heinous crime, a betrayal of socialism. Of course, to support one of these countries against the other would be a crime against communism; we Communists have to play one off against the other. Are we not committing a crime against communism? No, because we are doing that as a socialist state which is carrying on communist propaganda and is obliged to take advantage of every hour granted it by circumstances in order to gain strength as rapidly as possible.

. . . Go ahead then [Japan] and defeat America; we have no objections."

Lenin states further:

"A war between the imperialist powers would have saved us even more. If we are obliged to put up with such capitalist robbers, each of whom is ready to knife us, it is our prime duty to make them turn their knives against each other. Whenever thieves fall out honest men come into their own . . .

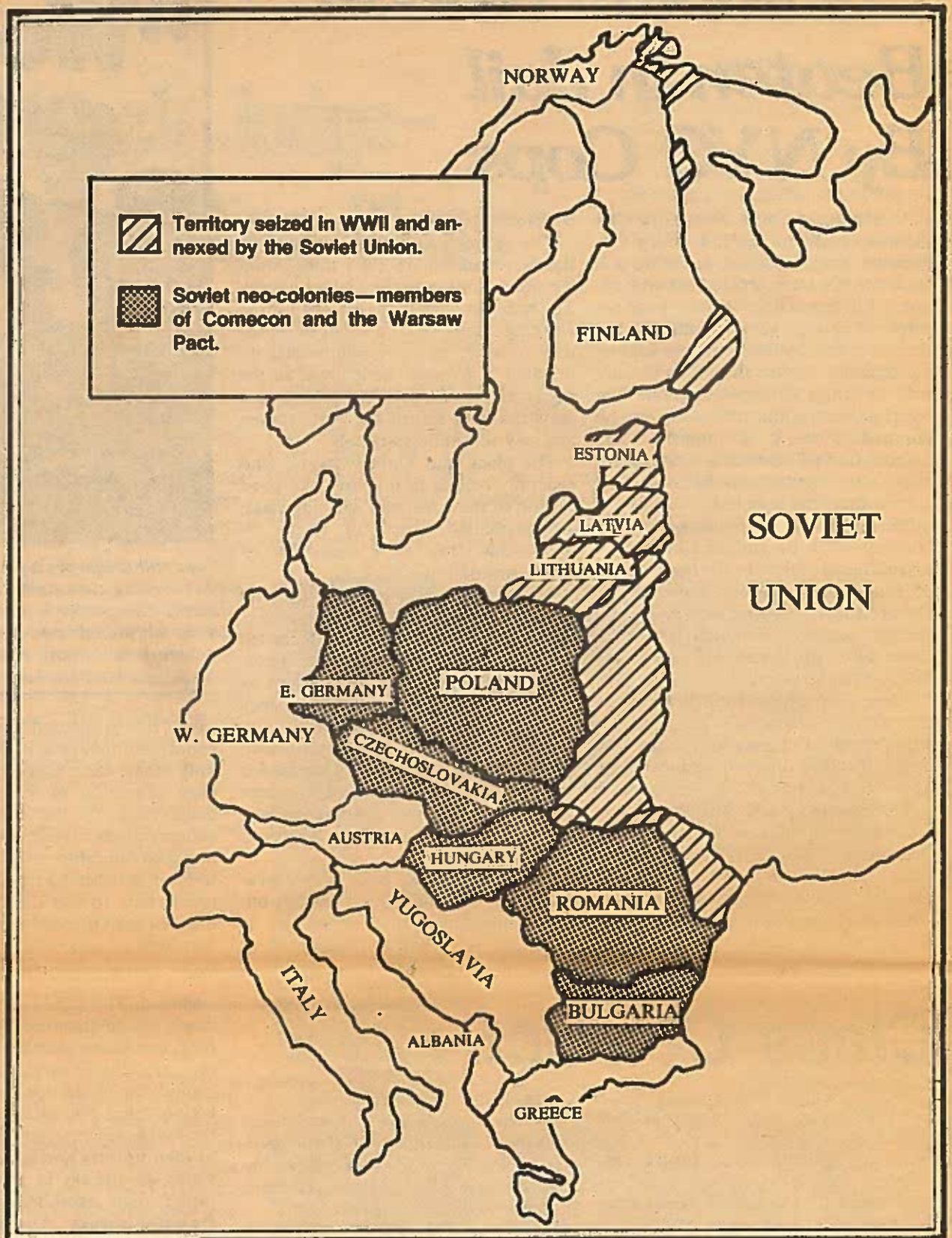
"I have shown you one of the imperialist antagonisms we must take advantage of—that which exists between Japan and America. There is another—the antagonism between America and the rest of the capitalist world. . . .

"The third antagonism is between the Entente and Germany. . . . Everything that increases the antagonism between America and the rest of the Entente or between the entire Entente and Germany should be used by us. . . . We shall likewise set America against Japan, the entire Entente against America and all Germany against the Entente." (Collected Works, v. 31, 442-450)

One could hardly ask for a clearer statement of a socialist state's responsibility and tactical approach to imperialist conflicts and wars—"To support one of these countries against the other would be a heinous crime, a betrayal of socialism." "We communists have to play one off against the other."

There is no stronger evidence of the re-establishment of bourgeois power in the USSR than its role in World War II. The Soviet state abandoned every vestige of proletarian internationalism long before the war broke out and maneuvered for a favorable position in the forthcoming re-division of the world. In 1934 the USSR became a member of the notorious League of Nations; in 1935 it joined with French imperialism in a treaty of "mutual assistance against attack." At the same time it concluded an agreement with Czechoslovakia pledging, together with France, to "come to the assistance" of the Czech bourgeoisie

## EXPANDING SOVIET IMPERIALISM



"Capitalism," Lenin wrote in 1920, "has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries. And this 'booty' is shared between two or three powerful world plunderers armed to the teeth (America, Great Britain, Japan), who are drawing the whole world into their war over the division of their booty." (Selected Works, V 1, p. 674) Despite all rhetoric about "a war for peace and democracy" and "defeating fascist barbarism" the real object of Soviet imperialism's participation in WWII is clearly revealed by this map.

in the event of war. All of these treaties were, of course, only the opening moves. When the fighting began in earnest, the Soviet imperialists became a full-fledged partner of the British and American bourgeoisies in the UN Alliance.

At the end of the war, when the victorious imperialists met at Yalta, Potsdam, Teheran, etc., to divide the booty, the Soviet imperialists took a big "slice," including most of Eastern Europe and the Northern half of Korea.

### FASCISM AND REVISIONISM

The theory of Fascism, created by the modern revisionists for the 7th World Congress of the Communist International (1935) was designed to serve two functions: It concealed the Soviet Party's total betrayal of Marxist principle and simultaneously provided a rationale for the USSR's alliance with one group of imperialists in the forthcoming world war. In order to "set aside" as irrelevant everything that Lenin had written on imperialist war and proletarian internationalism, the revisionist theoreticians needed to create the illusion that there was something fundamentally different about this imperialist conflict. Because the USSR was allied with the British-American-French "democratic" imperialist group

against the Axis imperialists, Fascism was singled out as the "unique element" that transformed this imperialist conflict into "a genuine war for peace and democracy."

In 1935 fascism was not a new phenomena. Benito Mussolini had organized his first fascist squads in 1919. Street fighting between the Communist workers and fascists in Italy was going on more or less continuously from February of 1921 until Mussolini's "March on Rome" and assumption of power in October of 1922. In A Letter to the German Communists in August of 1921 Lenin quoted a resolution of the Communist International calling on the Italian Party to fight "the opportunist policy of Serratism and at the same time . . . maintain close contact with the proletarian masses . . . during clashes with the counter-revolutionary fascist organizations." (Collected Works, V. 32, p. 521)

In his speech to the fourth Congress of the International in November of 1922 (i.e., after Mussolini came to power) Lenin noted: "The fascists in Italy may, for example, render us a great service by showing the Italians that they are not yet sufficiently enlightened and that their country is not yet insured against the Black Hundreds." (Selected Works, V. 3, p. 728)

From the viewpoint of Marxism, the fascists were a

## Stalin-Trotsky: Two Faces of Modern Revisionism

particular manifestation of imperialist reaction. When the bourgeoisie, frightened by the revolutionary working class, could no longer rule in the old way as a "democracy," the state form of bourgeois rule changed to a terrorist dictatorship. In either form, democratic or fascist dictatorship, the class that ruled was finance capital.

Until the diplomatic maneuvers leading up to WWII began, the Soviet revisionists had no reason to tamper with the Marxist definition of fascism. As late as 1928, the Program of the 6th Congress of the Communist International defined fascism as: "the terrorist dictatorship of big capital. The bourgeoisie resorts to either the method of fascism or coalition with Social-democracy, according to changes in the political situation. . ."

By 1933 the new war was brewing. The following year the USSR would make public its alliance with the Anglo-American-French imperialists by joining the League of Nations. That was the reason the 13th Plenum of the Communist International (December 1933) changed the definition of fascism to read: "fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of Finance Capital." With this fraudulent theory the imperialist states could be divided into those ruled by the "democratic elements of finance capital" and those ruled by the "most reactionary elements." Fascism was now projected, not as a state form, but as a separate social system from "democratic" capitalism. The book, *Fascism and Social Revolution*, written by the English revisionist, R. Palme Dutt, appeared at this time. Fascism, he wrote, is "the replacement of liberal capitalism by a caste or statutory servile system," leading to "barbarism and the return of the dark ages." (pp. 245 and 308)

This theory, which was a complete negation of historical materialism, became the rationale for abandoning all Marxist principles on imperialist war. Instead of "turning the imperialist war into a civil war," the Communist parties in the imperialist countries allied to the USSR joined in "United Front" coalitions with the bourgeois parties, enforced a no strike policy in the trade unions, and did everything possible to help organize the workers for the imperialist slaughter of WWII, just as the opportunists of the Second International had done in first World War.

### BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The Peoples Republic of China has been, since its creation in 1949, a state of the Chinese bourgeoisie in which state capitalism is the main economic form. The Chinese Communist Party is an instrument of Chinese capital—at no time has the proletariat held state power in China. The revolution that culminated in 1949-53 represented the completion of the bourgeois revolution begun by the Kuomintang under the leadership of Sun Yat-Sen in 1911. Today China is one of the three major imperialist powers in the world, second only to the USA and USSR.

An understanding of the Chinese Revolution must begin with the Revolution of 1911 which gave birth to the Chinese Republic. Writing in 1912, Lenin pointed out that "in Asia there is still a bourgeoisie capable of championing sincere, militant, consistent democracy, a worthy comrade of France's great men of Enlightenment. . ."

"The chief representative, or the chief social bulwark of this Asian bourgeoisie that is still capable of supporting historically progressive causes is the peasant. And side by side with him there already exists a liberal bourgeoisie whose leaders . . . will betray the democrats. . ."

"The peasant masses are the mainstay of the National Party [Kuomintang]. Its leaders are intellectuals who have been educated abroad. . ."

"Whether the peasants, who are not led by a proletarian party, will be able to retain their democratic positions against the liberals, who are only waiting for an opportunity to shift to the right, will be seen in the near future."

Analyzing Sun Yat-Sen's revolutionary program, Lenin described him as a "Chinese Narodnik":

"That is the essence of Sun Yat-Sen's Narodism, of his progressive, militant, revolutionary programme for bourgeois-democratic agrarian reform and his quasi-socialist theory.

"From the point of view of doctrine, this theory is that of a petty-bourgeois 'socialist' reactionary. For the idea that capitalism can be 'prevented' in China and that a 'social revolution' there will be made easier by the country's backwardness, and so on, is



Joseph Stalin was General Secretary of the CPSU during its transformation from the revolutionary Marxist party Lenin had fought for into an international center of revisionism and opportunism. Leon Trotsky's "opposition to Stalin's leadership" while "defending the USSR" was his fig leaf to conceal the restoration of Russian capitalism after Lenin's death. Trotsky's opportunism after 1924 was fully consistent with the lack of principle shown in his earlier career.

altogether reactionary. . .

"The dialectics of the social relations in China reveals itself precisely in the fact that, while sincerely sympathising with socialism in Europe, the Chinese democrats have transformed it into a reactionary theory, and on the basis of this reactionary theory of "preventing" capitalism are championing a purely capitalist, a maximum capitalist agrarian programme!"

Explaining the significance of Dr. Sun's program of land nationalization, Lenin continued:

"According to Marx's theory, land nationalization means a maximum elimination of medieval monopolies and medieval relations in agriculture . . . The irony of history is that Narodism, in order to 'combat capitalism' in agriculture, champions an agrarian programme that, if fully carried out, would mean the most rapid development of capitalism in agriculture.

"What economic necessity is behind the spread of the most progressive bourgeois-democratic agrarian programmes in [China]? . . . It is the necessity of destroying feudalism. . ."

"China lagged behind Europe and Japan. . . it was threatened with fragmentation. . . It could be 'renovated' only by the heroism of the revolutionary masses, a heroism capable of creating a Chinese republic in the sphere of politics, and of ensuring land nationalization, the most rapid capitalist progress in the sphere of agriculture.

"Whether and to what extent this will succeed is another question." (V.I. Lenin, *The Awakening of Asia*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 11, 12, 14, 18.)

These prophetic words of Lenin's hold the key to understanding the history of the Chinese Revolution. What the Chinese bourgeoisie was unable to accomplish in 1911 under the banner of Dr. Sun's narodnik "socialism" it completed in 1949-53 under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's revisionist "socialism".

As the world Communist movement collapsed the revolutionary tactics for the colonial world projected by Lenin (at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern in 1920) were rapidly discarded. The newly formed Communist Party of China merged with Sun Yat-Sen's Kuomintang Party, directly violating Lenin's admonition that the communists "must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backwards countries, but should not merge with it, and should under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement even if it is in its most embryonic form." (Selected Works, V. 3, p. 436)

This opportunist policy of the CCP leadership was paid for in blood by the Chinese workers in April, 1927 when the Kuomintang, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek, unleashed a ferocious white terror that sent thousands of communist workers to their

graves in Shanghai, Canton and the other cities under KMT control.

### MAO TSE-TUNG'S NARODNIK-REVISIONISM

Mao Tse-tung was one of the opportunist leaders of the CCP who had held posts both in the Kuomintang Party apparatus and in the Nationalist government. Although he was a minor political figure in the 1920's, it was Mao who would complete the process of merging revisionist "Marxism" with Sun Yat-Sen's narodnik theories.

Explaining his theory of "new democratic revolution" in 1939, Mao stated: "The new democratic revolution is basically in line with the revolution envisaged in Three Peoples Principles as advocated by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in 1924." (Selected Works, V. 2, p. 327)

It is important to understand that after the blood-bath of 1927, the CCP had been transformed from a worker's party led by opportunist petty-bourgeois, into a party of peasants and intellectuals with an insignificant number of workers. In 1927 the party membership was more than half workers—by 1930 the proletariat composed only 2% of the membership of the CCP (See Discussion of E.C.C.I. Presidium on the Li Li-san line, Dec. 1930).

But this party of rural petty bourgeois was perfectly suited to Mao Tse-tung's narodnik-revisionist theories. In fact, no other party could possibly have adopted the strategy he described in his textbook, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* written in 1939:

"It is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into . . . great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts . . . victory in the Chinese revolution can be won first in the rural areas. . ."

"Moreover, the final objective of the revolution is the capture of the cities, the enemy's main bases. . ." (Selected Works, V. 2, p. 316-7)

Here Mao Tse-tung's theoretical projections reveal the contradiction between their bourgeois-revolutionary content and their pseudo-Marxist form and terminology. Hence, he must hasten to explain in the same paragraph, that "the Chinese revolution can be won first in the rural areas . . . because the struggle of the peasants who are the main force in the revolution is led by the Communist Party, the party of the proletariat."

Mao neglected to mention, however, that this party of the proletariat had no proletarians—and

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# 25 YEARS: OUR HISTORY

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U.S.A. In 1956, when the Party was torn by factional conflicts, the left faction took the organizational form of the Marxist-Leninist Caucus and presented its program to the entire Party membership. Sections of the Caucus were organized within the Party in Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Williamsport, Pa. and New York. It was composed almost entirely of rank and file workers. After two years of futile attempts to get rid of the revisionist leadership of the Party, the Caucus left the CPUSA and formed, in August 1958, the Provisional Organizing Committee to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (known as POC).

## OUR HISTORY

In order to bring our readers the political content of those early struggles for a revolutionary workers movement we will quote briefly from the Main Report of the POC founding conference:

"Here and now, we declare our stand in relation to the dominant clique in the old Communist Party. . . .

"We refuse to acquiesce in attempts to make the Communist Party into a 'cult of one-or-a-few individuals' who must be regarded as being unanswerable to the criticism of the proletarian membership of the Party and of the international movement. . . .

"We mean now to disassociate ourselves once and for all from the opportunist trade union policy which isolates us from the rank and file workers in order to combat "isolation" from the labor lieutenants of capital.

"We will no longer submit to their perversion of democratic centralism to impose on the Party its opportunist and bourgeois-reformist line on the Negro question, a policy which has already seriously weakened. . . working class solidarity. . . .

"We denounce their unauthorized and secret liquidation of the Communist Party in the South in 1951. . . .

"The old CP leadership has a historically confirmed habit of bartering Marxist-Leninist political and organizational principles. . . for momentary and illusory 'advantages' in the trade union field, in the electoral field, in the courts, etc. . . .

"Our membership is composed mainly of proletarians, Negro, white, and Puerto Rican, from a number of industrial centers of the Eastern and Mid-Western sections of the United States. We directly represent the former caucus movement. We represent indirectly the far wider group of Communists with or temporarily without organizational connections, who share our views of the present political situation; we are confident that we represent in an organized form the revolutionary, internationalist Marxist-Leninist traditions of those American workers who established the CPUSA 39 years ago." (Report to the P.O.C.

Founding Conference, pp. 24-26)

As POC we began publishing our newspaper, the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard (1958 to 1977). Vanguard was the immediate predecessor of the Marxist Worker.

The main strength of the newly born POC was our proletarian composition and our burning desire to create a revolutionary workers' party. Our weaknesses were innumerable. Most important was our almost total ignorance of genuine Marxist theory—what we had been taught in the CPUSA was a monstrous caricature of proletarian science. Our desire, however, to fight our class enemies forced us to seek out the answers to our problems in the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. In this way, we gradually acquired a limited grasp of Marxism during the POC period, but it was still mixed with the residue of our revisionist training and our illusions about the international communist movement.

The POC had been created in 1958. After 10 years of existence, we decided that we had developed the necessary prerequisites for building a new Marxist worker's party in the United States. In retrospect, it is clear that our decision was premature.

At a Congress convened in New York City in July 1968, the POC became the American Workers Communist Party (AWCP). The AWCP continued to publish the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard (altering its name in 1972 to the Marxist Vanguard.)

During our first years as the American Workers Communist Party we reached a number of very important theoretical conclusions about the history of the world communist movement. However, the AWCP never grew into the worker's party we had hoped to create—instead it was diverted onto an extremely sectarian course which led to a policy of self-isolation from the working class. This policy of isolation caused the Party to disintegrate until finally in 1977, the tiny, isolated sect that remained liquidated the AWCP and ceased publication of Vanguard. That sect has adopted a new name, the Homogeneous Party of the Working Class U.S.A., and continues, ostrich-like, to bury its head in the mud of self isolation.

In January, 1978 the Marxist Workers Committee was formed by workers who had been members of the Marxist-Leninist Caucus, the POC and the AWCP.

We had learned from our own painful experience that the AWCP's sectarian policy of isolation from the working class resulted in the destruction of everything positive that our movement had achieved. We, however, will not give up the struggle of our class simply because we were misdirected for some time. We have come together again as the Marxist Workers Committee to continue the fight for a revolutionary worker's movement that we began 25 years ago.

When assessing the POC period of our movement (1958-1968) we must make a distinction between our struggle against the various bourgeois movements

and trends within the USA, and our abysmal ignorance of the international movement. Despite its many shortcomings, the positive aspects of the POC represented a real contribution to the American workers' movement, and set POC apart from the myriad of petty-bourgeois groups that comprise the middle class "left" in the USA. Among the contributions of POC we must include the following:

## U.S. TRADE UNIONS

From our first days as the Marxist-Leninist caucus we had criticized the CPUSA's policy of uniting with the "labor lieutenants of capital" against the rank and file of the trade unions. In POC we made a thorough study of the American labor movement and proved that the entire trade union apparatus is a part of the superstructure of the American bourgeoisie. The AFL-CIO and all the "independent" unions serve U.S. capital as a means of controlling the American working class economically and politically, and as an arm of American finance capital throughout the world, especially in the neo-colonial countries. They function internationally through such imperialist organizations as the Africa-American Labor Center, the American Institute for Free Labor Development and the International Labor Organization (ILO).

We also showed that the major strikes in the USA are called by the union leadership for the economic benefit of the capitalists—usually in order to liquidate over-production. Genuine expressions of rank and file militancy within the American labor movement, when they have occurred, necessarily take the form of wildcat strikes or rank and file rebellions against the trade union apparatus.

## IMPERIALIST BRIBERY OF THE U.S. WORKING CLASS

One of the essential tenets of the Marxist theory of imperialism, which was buried by revisionism and resurrected by POC, is the theory of imperialist bribery of the proletariat. Writing in 1916, Lenin described how the imperialist bourgeoisie uses a portion of its colonial super-profits for bribery: "The capitalists can devote a part (and not a small one at that!) of these super-profits to bribe their own workers, to create something like an alliance (recall the celebrated 'alliances' described by the Webbs, of English trade unions and employers) between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists against the other countries." (Collected Works, v. 23, p. 114).

Understanding this aspect of imperialism is absolutely essential to an objective assessment of the American working class, especially in the post WWII period. The revisionist leadership of the CPUSA insisted that this Marxist theory did not apply to the United States. In POC, however, we demonstrated that imperialist bribery is the economic base that underlies the political demoralization and passivity that has characterized the American proletariat since World War II.

The demoralization of the U.S. working class of this period closely resembles a similar period in the history of the British working class. The British workers were also temporarily demoralized by a



Left—a Willys "Jeep" assembly plant at Sao Paulo, Brazil. Above—one of the infamous shanty-towns in which Brazilian workers live. After WWII, the limited industrialization of the neo-colonial world provided a vast area for imperialist expansion. The super-profits that are produced by the intense exploitation of the neo-colonial workers allows U.S. imperialism to temporarily bribe the American working class with higher wages and better conditions.

period of bribery during the era in which England's bourgeoisie had a world monopoly of industrial production as well as a huge colonial empire (from about 1860 to 1890). Karl Marx described the international proletariat's first experience with imperialist bribery and its impact on the British workers in a letter written in 1878 to Wilhelm Liebknecht: "The English working class had been gradually becoming more and more deeply demoralized by the period of corruption since 1848 and had at last got to the point when it was nothing more than the tail of the Great Liberal Party, i.e. of its oppressors, the capitalists. Its direction had passed completely into the hands of the venal trade union leaders and professional agitators." Five years later Frederick Engels wrote to August Bebel on the same subject: "... a really general workers' movement will come into existence here only when the workers feel that England's world monopoly is broken. Participation in the domination of the world market was and is the economic basis of the political nullity of the English workers. The tail of the bourgeoisie in the economic exploitation of this monopoly but nevertheless sharing in its advantages, they are, of course, politically the tail of the 'Great Liberal Party'..." (Marx-Engels Correspondence, 1965, pp. 314 and 365)

U.S. monopoly capital has occupied a position of domination within the world capitalist system ever since its World War II victory over German and Japanese imperialism. The American banks and multinational corporations have penetrated every corner of the globe—they extract immense profits directly or indirectly from the working classes of the whole world, and especially from the neo-colonial workers of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. A portion of their super-profits have been used to buy social peace at home by raising the real wages and living standards of the American proletariat. Of course, the bribery is not evenly distributed among the different strata of the working class, the skilled workers (labor aristocracy) get the lion's share, while a much smaller portion goes to the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. All sections of the U.S. working class, however, receive some part of the imperialist's bribery, economic as well as social. This includes even the permanently unemployed, who receive it in the form of welfare payments, food stamps, etc.

POC pointed out that the post WWII bribery of the American class is only temporary. It is based on the dominant position of American imperialism and on its uninterrupted expansion throughout the world since the Second World War. As this period of expansion comes to its inevitable end, and the sources of super-profits begin to "dry up", the American bourgeoisie must intensify the exploitation of the workers "at home." When, at some time in the future, a real world economic crisis emerges, the full exploitative pressure of the U.S. bourgeoisie will be felt again by the American working class, as it was during the 1930's, but even more intensely. That experience will put an end to the illusions created by the post-war period of bribery.

### CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The social and political content of the civil rights movement can only be understood as an expression

of the neo-colonial policy of American imperialism in the post World War II era. U.S. policy after the war aimed to dismantle the old colonial empires of the weakened European imperialists by substituting a system of neo-colonial exploitation. The old direct colonial regimes in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, etc. have been replaced by nominally independent countries in which the national bourgeoisie holds state power, but which are economically, politically and militarily dominated by world imperialism, primarily American. It was for this reason that the U.S. granted "independence" to its Phillipine islands colony in 1947.

Neo-colonial policy was applied to the oppressed Negro people within the U.S. in the form of legal "integration." Beginning with the Supreme Court decision of 1954 barring segregated schools, the legal forms of segregation were gradually removed by the U.S. state. The civil rights movement was the political expression of this imperialist policy.

In POC we pointed out that the civil rights movement did not serve the interests of the black workers; that it was designed to divide the U.S. proletariat by instilling nationalism in the black workers and keeping them under the leadership of the black middle class. The civil rights movement was, in fact, the creation of American imperialism. We showed that its leaders (King, Young, Abernathy, Farmer, Carmichael, etc.) were all black middle class who were directly or indirectly paid for their services by the American bourgeoisie with Ford Foundation money, War on Poverty funds, etc. The benefits of integration have gone to the Negro middle class.

### BLACK WORKERS' UPRISINGS 1964-68

POC supported the spontaneous uprisings of the black workers within the ghettos of New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, and other cities in the late 1960's. We pointed out in Vanguard that those rebellions clearly demonstrated the anger of the workers at the useless promises of the civil rights movement. In addition, we showed that the black middle class organizations of every trend (conservative or "militant") proved their subservience to the American ruling class by begging the workers to stop fighting.

### THE BLACK LUMPEN MOVEMENT

After the uprisings of the late sixties, the black reformist movement entered a new phase, in which leaders from the depths of the lumpenproletariat (the criminal class) were promoted as "revolutionary representatives of the masses." POC proved that behind all their "revolutionary" rhetoric the "militants" of SNCC and the Black Panther Party were promoting essentially the same reformist program as NAACP, CORE and Martin Luther King. We also exposed their direct connection with the American-bourgeoisie (the Panther Party received large donations from Safeway Corporation) and their links to the opportunist CPUSA. Most important, we showed the historical role of the lumpenproletariat as one of the most dangerous enemies of the working class. Whenever the bourgeoisie has had a need to organize extra-legal gangs of thugs or

fascist squads to fight against the revolutionary proletariat, they are recruited primarily from the criminal element—the lumpenproletariat.

### INTELLECTUALS IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

There is no doubt that many individuals from the bourgeois intelligentsia have played a positive role in the proletarian movement. The most obvious examples are Marx, Engels, and Lenin. However, revisionists of all trends have used the tremendous contributions of these three giants to conceal the opportunistic role that the intelligentsia has so often played in the leadership of workers' parties and to deny the importance of developing leaders from the proletariat itself.

Throughout the history of proletarian socialism, the typical manifestation of the intelligentsia within the workers' movement has not been the revolutionary Karl Marx, but rather the opportunistic "Censors of Zurich"—intellectuals whom Marx and Engels demanded be expelled from the German workers' party in 1879. In an angry letter to the leaders of the Party, Marx and Engels complained about "the great majority of the German bourgeois converts" to socialism, pointing out that, "Instead of thoroughly studying the new science themselves to begin with, each of them preferred to trim it to fit the point of view he had already..."

"If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition is that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should wholeheartedly adopt the proletarian point of view. But these gentlemen, as has been proved, are stuffed and crammed with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas... If these gentlemen form themselves into a Social-Democratic Petty Bourgeois Party they have a perfect right to do so;... But in a workers' party they are an adulterating element. If reasons exist for tolerating them there for the moment, it is also a duty only to tolerate them, to allow them no influence in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time... But if the leadership of the Party should fall more or less into the hands of such people then the Party will simply be castrated and proletarian energy will be at an end..."

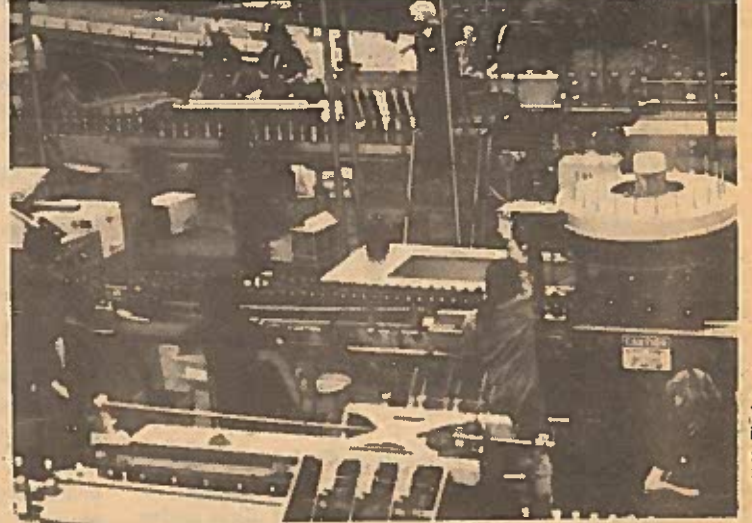
"When the International was formed we expressly formulated the battle cry: the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself. We cannot therefore co-operate with people who say that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be freed from above by philanthropic bourgeois and petty bourgeois." (Marx-Engels Correspondence, 1934 ed. pp. 375-6)

Lenin's experience with the intelligentsia in the Russian workers' party was no different. When the defeat of the revolution of 1905 produced an exodus of intellectuals from the party, he wrote to Maxim Gorky:

"... the significance of the intellectuals in our Party is declining; news comes from all sides that the intelligentsia is fleeing the Party. And good riddance

*Continued on next page*

## The U.S. Working Class—Grave Diggers of American Capitalism



"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class... What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all is its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (Karl Marx, Communist Manifesto)  
Left—truck axle assembly, Ohio. Center—construction laborer, New York. Above—wine bottling, California.

## The International Brotherhood of Imperialism



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to these scoundrels. The Party is purging itself from petty-bourgeois dross. The workers are having a bigger say in things. The role of the worker-professionals is increasing." (Collected Works, v. 34, p. 379)

Our own experience with opportunists from the intelligentsia began in the American Communist Party. The Party leadership was composed almost totally of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals—workers were limited to the rank and file. As we began our struggle, the M-L Caucus movement developed exclusively within the proletarian sections of the Party. The few intellectuals from the lower levels of leadership who joined with us in the beginning, left when they found little room for careerists.

This experience, as well as our research into the history of earlier workers' parties, led us to the conclusion that although individuals from other classes can make positive contributions in a workers' party, it is essential that a genuine workers movement also develop leaders from the proletariat. If the leadership becomes dominated by intellectuals, they will betray the movement and adulterate its theory.

### THE SELF-EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

From its very beginnings, proletarian socialism has defended the principle that "the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself" against the bourgeoisie's claim that the workers are too ignorant or uneducated to lead their own movement. When Marx and Engels founded the First International, they not only adopted this principle as its battle cry, they also made sure that most of its leaders were actually workers. Marx, who personally drafted the International's General Rules, insisted that "labourers must be the predominant element" in its executive body, the General Council. (See Selected Works, v. 2, p. 273).

In his earliest writings on the Russian workers movement, Lenin also emphasized the importance of developing party leaders from the proletariat. After the defeat of 1905 he called upon the Party "to concentrate the functions of leadership in the hands of leaders of the Social-Democratic movement from among the workers themselves—such is the task today." (Selected Works, v. 1, p. 586)

The revisionist leaders of the CPUSA pursued a totally different policy. Instead of working to develop proletarian leaders, the working class cadre were mainly restricted to "practical work", i.e. climbing stairs and selling newspapers.

We actively fought against this tendency, and in POC attempted to unite theoretical and practical work as closely as possible. One of our early slogans projected the need to "make every activist a theoretician and every theoretician an activist." Unfortunately, this principle was not fully put into prac-

tice—a shortcoming we would pay for dearly during the AWCP period of our movement.

### THE 1960's "STUDENT REBELLION" AND NEW LEFT

The significance of a political movement that arises from any particular strata of class society is determined by the relation of that strata to the means of production. This Marxist truism definitely applies to the intelligentsia, including both its active members, engaged in their professions, and their sons and daughters training in the universities and colleges. In imperialist society the intellectuals are tied to finance capital, to the Rockefellers and the Fords, by their own economic interests. "Imperialism," Lenin explained in 1915, "means the subjugation of all strata of the propertied classes to finance capital." Expressing this general truth in concrete terms, he wrote, "The facts show that all the propertied classes down to the petty bourgeoisie and the 'intelligentsia' have joined the imperialists en masse. . . ." (Selected Works, v.21, p. 227-8)

Lenin had, in 1907, pointed out that a proletarian party must expose the counter-revolutionary role of the intellectuals and combat their influence amongst the workers:

"... the influence of the intelligentsia, who do not take a direct part in exploitation, who are trained to play with general phrases and concepts, who go in for every 'good' idea and sometimes from sincere stupidity elevate their middle-class position to a principle of non-class parties and non-class politics—the influence of this bourgeois intelligentsia over the people is dangerous. Here and here alone do we find an infection of the masses which is capable of doing real harm and which demands the exertion of all the forces of socialism in an endeavor to counteract this poison." (Selected Works, old edition, v. 11, p. 694)

Nothing has more thoroughly substantiated the truth of Lenin's assessment of the intellectuals than the history of the U.S. "student rebellion" and new left.

The "student rebellion" arose after the American and Soviet imperialists had liquidated their cold war, and the U.S. state had removed the accompanying anti-communist legal restrictions inside the U.S.A. The rebellion of the neophyte ideologists of imperialism began with the famous Free Speech Movement at the University of California (Berkeley) and gradually petered out as the war in Vietnam was concluded. This "rebellion" was expressed in the students enthusiastic support for, and participation in, every form of bourgeois reformism that existed in the 1960's, from the civil rights movement, to the pacifist-disarmament movement, the "anti-Vietnam war" movement, and the emerging feminist movement.

The new left political trends arose out of the "student rebellion" period. Their organizational and

ideological roots, however, can be found in the opportunistic 'old left' parties—the CPUSA, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Trotskyist organizations. The new left trends (SDS, etc.) promoted themselves as an "independent left," and proved their independence by attacking Marxism more openly and directly than the older (and wiser) revisionist parties. In POC we consistently exposed the reactionary content of the "student rebellion" as well as the new left, and pointed out that the class interests of the proletariat and the intelligentsia are irreconcilable. We also exposed the actual unity between the established opportunist parties and their new left offspring.

In general, during the POC period of our movement (1958-68) we gradually acquired an understanding of the bourgeois political trends within the USA, but we were thoroughly confused about international opportunism. Or to put it another way, we understood that the communist movement had collapsed in America, but did not yet comprehend that it had collapsed worldwide, and knew even less about the history of the collapse.

In 1958, when POC was born, we thought that international revisionism was limited to the American and Yugoslav Communist Parties. When the Chinese-Soviet split became public in 1961 we immediately joined the Chinese side, naively believing that their disagreement with the Soviet Union was based on principle. As recently as 1967 we regarded China as a socialist country and supported the Chinese CP and the Vietnamese communist movement as the vanguard of the world proletarian movement.

### US-CHINESE PARTNERSHIP

Our illusions were shattered in 1968, the same year we created the American Workers Communist Party (AWCP). In the spring of 1968 the United States and North Vietnam announced their agreement to begin negotiations for a peaceful conclusion of the war in Vietnam. (Those negotiations were later held in Paris.) At the same time, the American press was hinting that "socialist" China and imperialist USA were preparing for a public rapprochement. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey called upon Americans to begin "building bridges to China". At that time, we concluded that the "bridges" had already been "built" and that only the public-ceremonial aspect of US-Chinese collusion remained for the future. After evaluating the meaning of both these events, for what we had thought was the "center of world revolution," we came to the following conclusions:

a) The North Vietnamese state and the NLF of South Vietnam were under the control of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie.

b) The Vietnamese workers and peasants were sacrificing their lives in a war that could only lead to a neo-colonial regime in Vietnam with a "socialist" facade, such as the one in Cuba.

The subsequent events in Southeast Asia have proved that our assessment was fundamentally correct.

By the end of 1968 we concluded that the events in Vietnam and China were symptoms of something much deeper and more fundamental than a "temporary setback" in a healthy proletarian movement. We were finally awakened to the realization that the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese parties and groups within the world communist movement are united in their opposition to Marxism and the revolutionary interests of the international working class.

Our initial re-assessment of the forces within the communist movement was presented in a report to the Central Committee of the AWCP on December 7, 1968. That report warned: "Let's harbor no illusions or bear any childish regrets for what is a living reality for the world proletariat—the revolution on a world scale has suffered a serious defeat. The main factor in that defeat has been the total collapse of the old Comintern and Cominform vanguards. . . ."

"The socio-political scope of the treachery of the modern revisionists can be fully gauged when it is compared with the treachery of the Social Democrats during the First World War. . . ."

"The modern revisionists have sold out all the workers and communist movements in the capitalist countries. . . but even more damaging and criminal than this—they have bartered away the greatest historical achievement of the working class, they have betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat. Logically, together with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system of production has temporarily disappeared from this earth, and in its place the capitalist system of production reigns



supreme. . .

"Recognition of the fact that the working class has suffered a serious defeat on a vast scale represents the indispensable premise from which the revolutionary regrouping within the working class must proceed." (*Vanguard* December 1968-January 1969)

Recognizing that the international communist movement had collapsed was only the beginning step on the road to developing an objective understanding of the relationship of class forces in the present world. The burning question for us in the AWCP (and for all Marxists who have seen through the sophistry of modern revisionism) was: When and how had this collapse taken place? "Opportunism," Lenin wrote in 1915, "is no chance occurrence, sin,

ment as a kind of petty bourgeois "reaction" to opportunism. It was not a coincidence that the victory of opportunism in the Socialist parties during World War One was followed by an outbreak of "Left" communist trends in many countries. The sectarian line which destroyed the AWCP was partly the result of our erroneous reaction to the victory of opportunism. Our new understanding of the international communist movement presented our Party with a whole new set of important tasks, but the AWCP did not measure up to this responsibility. Subsequent events proved that our Party was not politically mature enough to continue building a Marxist workers' movement in the U.S.A. without faltering.

In retrospect it is also obvious that our General

ment built its strength in the early stages of its development.

"Today it is the women cadre who are playing the temporary role as the most advanced and stable sector of our membership." (*Vanguard*, Feb.-March, 1971)

The preceding words sounded the death knell of the AWCP. The most precious possession of the party, its proletarian composition, was cast aside to make room for the new "revolutionary social segment"—women. In reality, of course, it never became a party "based on revolutionary women cadre;" it became an isolated sect, centered around one "guru," who happened to be a man. Once they were removed from leadership, it was only a matter of time before the workers were forced out of the Party itself. During the following years, almost every one of those workers (men and women) who had "constituted the basic ingredient of stability and principledness" of our movement were expelled from the AWCP or became disillusioned and left.

The cadre who replaced them in leadership were much younger and politically inexperienced. They were selected by A. Roman because their class background and youth made them politically malleable and because their petty-bourgeois conceptions made them more receptive to his plan for an organization of armchair "revolutionaries," far from any danger and totally isolated from the working class.

As the older workers were replaced by the new leadership the General Secretary's theory of the Homogenous Proletarian Party develop further away from Marxism. Democratic centralism was eliminated in favor of pure centralism. Elections were abolished. The Central Committee was abolished by decision of the General Secretary. The mass organizations were gradually strangled and the *Vanguard* became a purely theoretical paper, really intended only as a vehicle for internal discussions and as a justification for collecting large amounts of money from the shrinking membership.

We cannot, however, honestly explain the disintegration of the AWCP by simply pointing to the opportunism and cowardice of one man—A. Roman. The question remains—how was it that this one man was able to lead our entire organization down the road to destruction? The answer to this lies in the P.O.C. period, when we projected the principle of "Making every activist a theoretician and every theoretician an activist" but never put it into practice. The struggle to develop all of the working class cadre to a high level of theoretical mastery of Marxism was abandoned long before the AWCP was formed in 1968. Had it been carried through, there is no doubt that we would have realized much sooner that A. Roman was leading us away from Marxism, and taken appropriate action. Instead of striving to grasp Marxist theory ourselves, we were far too willing to uncritically accept as Marxism the projections of a man we had regarded for so long as a real working class leader.

After A. Roman had succeeded in destroying the proletarian character of the AWCP he liquidated the organization itself. In July of 1977 the last issue of *Vanguard* was published with the announcement that it would pass out of existence, and with it, the American Workers Communist Party. The tiny group that remained with the General Secretary now call themselves the Homogenous Party of the Working Class, USA, and publish the newspaper, *Orthodox Marxist*. They are happily doing nothing but providing A. Roman with a safe and secure retirement.

The Marxist Workers Committee was formed in January of 1978 by workers who had been members of the M-L Caucus, POC and the AWCP. Our first task was a critical assessment of the history of our

*Continued on page 11*

## "The American capitalists have been throwing crumbs from their imperialist banquet to the American working class in the form of higher wages, social services, etc., in order to buy social peace at home."

slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history." (*The Collapse of the Second International*, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 247)

It would have been useless (and anti-Marxist) for us to look for the cause of the collapse of the 3rd International parties in the subjective characteristics of Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev or Mao Tse-Tung. Instead, we began an extensive re-examination of the 2nd World War period and especially of the role of the Soviet Union in that war. Our critical examination of the actions and statements of the Communist Parties before and during the War led us to conclude that the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and the Third International had betrayed the working class long before it began.

The result of that research was the beginning of our real understanding of the last 50 years of the world communist movement. In a series of six articles published in *Vanguard* in 1969, we traced the victory of opportunism back to the period of Lenin's illness and death (January, 1924). Once Lenin was out of the picture, the various bourgeois trends represented by Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc. were able to impose an opportunist line on the Soviet Party and the Soviet State, and then on the Communist International.

Insofar as one can assign a precise date to a vast, world wide event, the collapse of the communist movement occurred in 1924. The line and policy of the Soviet party and the International after Lenin's death was a complete reversal of all the principles of Marxism he had fought for, especially on such basic questions as imperialist war, the internationalism of the working class, the national and colonial question, the composition of the Soviet Party and the Soviet state apparatus. This period marked the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Russia, concealed behind a "socialist" facade.

(We refer our readers to the accompanying article, *Collapse of the World Communist Movement*, p.12, where we explain our views on this subject more fully.)

Our new knowledge came as a tremendous shock to the AWCP. We had literally been raised on the writings (and glorification) of Joseph Stalin, and had always regarded him as "one of the giants of Marxism," and the "disciple and continuator of Lenin," etc., etc. We were astounded to learn that it was Stalin (along with the other opportunist leaders of the CPSU) who had sold out the Soviet working class and the 3rd International.

### DISINTEGRATION OF THE AWCP

1970 proved to be a critical year in the history of the American Workers Communist Party. In the course of two eventful years the myth of a Chinese-led revolutionary communist trend had evaporated before our eyes and we learned that the world communist movement had betrayed the working class 45 years before. It was at this point in our history that our Party took a sharp turn towards a "left" sectarian line which eventually led to a policy of total isolation from the working class and destroyed the AWCP.

In his pamphlet, "Left Wing" Communism, an *Infantile Disorder*, Lenin pointed out that "left" sectarian trends tend to develop in the workers move-

ment as a kind of petty bourgeois "reaction" to opportunism. It was not a coincidence that the victory of opportunism in the Socialist parties during World War One was followed by an outbreak of "Left" communist trends in many countries. The sectarian line which destroyed the AWCP was partly the result of our erroneous reaction to the victory of opportunism. Our new understanding of the international communist movement presented our Party with a whole new set of important tasks, but the AWCP did not measure up to this responsibility. Subsequent events proved that our Party was not politically mature enough to continue building a Marxist workers' movement in the U.S.A. without faltering.

No longer interested in revolutionary struggle, he developed the highly sectarian (and personally self-serving) theory that the AWCP represented "the link between the revolutionary past and the revolutionary future," that its sole task was to "sustain" that "link" by "preserving its cadre" and doing research in Marxist theory. Propaganda work directed to the American working class was rejected as "useless in this historical period."

Under the influence of this line, our ties to the working class, which had been developed by years of effort during the P.O.C. period, were gradually severed, and the mass organizations that had served as connecting links between the P.O.C. and the class were liquidated. During the following years the AWCP was converted into a glorified Marxist study group.

A. Roman's ideas were soon embodied in his theory of a "new form of workers party" that he called the "Homogenous Proletarian Party." Like most "improvements on Marxism" the Homogenous Proletarian Party proved to be a conglomeration of theories borrowed from various bourgeois ideological trends and given a veneer of Marxism. In practice, it was used to supplant the revolutionary organizational principles that had been established during the P.O.C. period.

Roman decided it would be impossible to transform the AWCP into the type of organization that he envisioned as long as the old workers who had built the P.O.C. remained in the leadership. He removed most of those workers from leadership—replacing them with cadre who were more attuned to his ideas—and justified these changes by incorporating a pseudo-Marxist variant of feminism into his organizational theory. The *Main Report* to the Second Congress of the AWCP (July 1970) first projected the "new social base" of our Party:

"The social experience of our old non-white proletarian cadre and which was reflected by their political experience within the Communist Party of the United States, constituted the basic ingredient of stability and principledness upon which our move-

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## The Father of Chinese Narodnik-Revisionism



Mao Tse-tung, 1947, in Northern Shensi. Peasant troops like these brought the Chinese bourgeois revolution to victory in 1949-53. By destroying the remnants of feudalism and unifying the country, they laid the foundation for modern imperialist China. In 1947 the working class was far away from Mao—living and working in the cities of China (which he called "the enemy's main bases"). In the next revolution, the rapidly growing Chinese proletariat will overthrow Chinese state capitalism.



The first pile is driven for a new steel mill in Shanghai, one of the many industrial plants that are being built in China with the help of American, British, Japanese and West German corporations. Each plant is "purchased," with a multi-million dollar loan from a group of western imperialist banks. When this mill is running, the Chinese bourgeoisie will share the profits produced here with those bankers.

## COLLAPSE. . .

Continued from page 5

that the Chinese working class existed only in those cities which he called "the enemy's main bases."

A few pages further on, Mao revealed the real leadership of the Chinese peasants: "most intellectuals . . . have a keen political sense and often play a vanguard role or serve as a link with the masses in the present stage of revolution." (*ibid*, p. 322)

In this respect, the alignment of classes in the Chinese revolution in 1939 was essentially the same as 1911—it was not the workers who were leading the revolutionary peasantry—it was the intellectuals.

The Chinese Revolution developed (militarily) along the lines Mao Tse-tung had projected in 1939. The armies of revolutionary peasants, led by the CCP "surrounded the cities," which were not taken until the very end (1948-9). They were captured, not by proletarian insurrections, but by the armed peasantry. Peking fell to the Red Army in January of 1949. Six months later Mao Tse-tung presented a description of the new state power in China in his statement "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship":

"Who are the 'people'? At the present stage in China, they are the working class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the working class and the CP, these classes unite together to form their own state and elect their own government. . ." (*China Digest*, July 31, 1949)

If there was any doubt as to who Mao meant by the term "national bourgeoisie," it was dispelled by his resolution for the CCP's Political Bureau in 1951, which clearly stated:

"It is necessary to unite intellectuals, industrialists, and businessmen . . . on the basis of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. . ." (*Selected Works*, v. V, p. 48)

Here the contradiction between the bourgeois reality of the Chinese Revolution and the pseudo-Marxist veneer behind which it was concealed by the CCP, becomes glaring. A joint dictatorship of the Chinese working class and the Chinese capitalists, of the exploited and the exploiters, is simply a social and historical impossibility. Mao Tse-tung, however, was not the first opportunist to propose just that impossibility. In 1919 the Germany Kautskyists made the same suggestion, to which Lenin replied:

"To reconcile, unite the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat! How simple! What a brilliantly philistine idea!

"The only pity is that it was tried in Russia under Kerensky, by uniting Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, those petty-bourgeois democrats who imagined themselves socialists.

" . . . at every acute moment, in every serious class conflict, the alternative is either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. . ." (V. I. Lenin, *On the International Working Class and Communist Movement*, Moscow, p. 296)

The Chinese communists, like the Russian Social-Revolutionaries, were only petty-bourgeois democrats who "imagined themselves socialists," and the Peoples Republic of China, like bourgeois states everywhere, claimed to represent "the whole people."

Before the victory in 1949, Mao had admitted: "Some immature Communists think . . . that the present revolution or the Agrarian Revolution is actually a socialist revolution. It must be emphatically pointed out that these views are wrong."

He also acknowledged that: "It is not at all surprising but entirely to be expected that a capitalist economy will develop to a certain extent within Chinese society with the sweeping away of the obstacles to the development of capitalism after the victory of the revolution. . ." (*Selected Works*, V. 2, p. 329-330)

However, intertwined with these truthful statements were the requisite fairy tales about socialism:

" . . . it [is] highly probable that China's bourgeois democratic revolution will ultimately avoid a capitalist future and enjoy a socialist future." (*ibid*)

In 1955 Mao Tse-tung stated that the "new democratic" state would in a period of 15 years, "build a socialist society in China." (See *Selected Works*, vol. V, p. 154) Simultaneously, the Chinese state of "the people" would transform itself into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What really occurred, however, was that Mao and the Chinese bourgeoisie carried out Sun Yat-Sen's program for developing Chinese industry through a combination of private and state capital. Dr. Sun had outlined his plan of "regulated capital" in the Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in these words:

"Enterprises, such as banks, railways, and airlines, whether Chinese owned or foreign-owned, which are either monopolistic in character or too big for private management, shall be operated and administered by the state. . . this is the main principle

of the regulation of capital." (Quoted by Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, V. 2, p. 328)

Utilizing both state and private capital, but relying most heavily on state capitalism, the Chinese bourgeoisie has followed the historical footsteps of the European and American bourgeoisies. After consolidating its economic and political power within the borders of China it has developed into a world imperialist power.

Recent events in Asia have awakened many workers to the realization that China is not the "land of socialism" it claims to be. What is not yet understood is that the current events are the natural outcome of the whole development of the Chinese bourgeois revolution.

### OUR TASKS

We have presented here, in summary form, the most important features in the history of the collapse of the world communist movement. In future issues of the *Marxist Worker* we will return to each of these periods to show how the victory of opportunism, once it was completed in the Soviet Party and the Third International, took different forms under different historical conditions.

The world communist movements are the left wing of the world bourgeoisie's political apparatus. This is equally true of those movements who find their mecca in Peking (or Tirana) and those who pray to Moscow (or to Leon Trotsky's ghost). We will show how this fact has manifested itself during the post WWII period, in such diverse phenomena as the creation of the Eastern European "Peoples Democracies" (Soviet neo-colonies), the "Peace and Disarmament" movement of the 1950's, the so-called "National Liberation Fronts" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and in the "Vietnam-Peace movement" and "student rebellions" of the 1960's.

Only on the basis of a thorough understanding of how counter-revolution conceals itself behind "socialist" and "revolutionary" slogans and movements, can the regrouping and rebuilding of a truly revolutionary proletarian movement begin. ■

# 25 YEARS...

Continued from page 9

movement. Having determined when and how we made the mistakes that led to the destruction of AWCP, we have resolved to pick up the thread of revolutionary development where it was abandoned.

Our experience in the old revisionist CPUSA and in the AWCP has led us to conclude that the founders of scientific socialism were correct when they proposed that a true workers party must develop a cadre of **theoretically advanced proletarians**, that not only its membership but also its leadership must be drawn primarily from the working class. Building a proletarian movement with working class leaders requires an organization that systematically fights for the theoretical development of its worker-cadre. Accordingly, we have adopted as our slogan the battlecry of the First International: "The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself." (K. Marx)

## PROLETARIAN THEORY

The collapse of the communist movement has meant the wholesale doctoring and distortion of Marxism in the name of Marxism. In this respect, the situation today resembles that which Lenin saw in 1917, when he wrote:

"Today the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism. They omit, obscure, or distort the revolutionary side of this theory, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. . . .

"In these circumstances, in view of this unprecedentedly widespread distortion of Marxism, our prime task is to re-establish what Marx really taught. . . ." (Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 289)

Today, real Marxists must again "re-establish what Marx (and Lenin) really taught" by exposing the systematic distortion of proletarian theory that has been the work of the Joseph Stalin's, Leon Trotsky's, Nikita Khrushchev's, Mao Tse-tung's, Enver Hoxha's and their current followers.

The movement that the working class requires can only be built on the theory developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The starting point for Marxism, like all science, is objective reality—without an absolutely objective understanding of the current world, and a thorough critique of the communist movement, nothing can be done. Rose-colored glasses and falsely optimistic assessments are the bread and butter of petty-bourgeois communists but they are a deadly trap for the working class.

Before it can construct a new Marxist movement, the working class must see clearly that the old movement has been a rotten shell, a parody of a revolutionary movement for the last 50 years. In order to build a new movement, the working class must understand that all the trends in the communist movement today, the Soviet, Chinese, Albanian, and Trotskyist, are expressions of opportunism and the adulteration of proletarian theory.

The experience of our movement, as well as the history of the world proletariat, reveals that the road to the "final conflict" is always charted by innumerable mis-steps, wrong turns, mistaken paths and temporary defeats. We are absolutely confident that the lessons which the collapse of the communist movement is teaching to the international working class will enable it to erect new revolutionary organizations upon more solid foundations than those of the past, and will help to prepare it for the next storming of the ramparts of world capitalism. To those faint-hearted souls who point to the defeats of the past only to persuade the proletariat that its final victory is impossible, we will answer as Lenin did after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution:

"The defeat of the revolution resulting from this first campaign revealed, not that the tasks were wrong . . . but that the forces were insufficiently prepared, that the revolutionary crisis was insufficiently wide and deep. . . . Let the liberals and terrified intellectuals lose heart after the first genuinely mass battle for freedom, let them repeat like cowards: don't go where you have been beaten before, don't tread that fatal path again. The class-conscious proletariat will answer them: the great wars of history, the great problems of revolutions were solved only by the advanced classes returning to the attack again and again—and they achieved victory after having learned the lessons of defeat." (Selected Works, v. 1, p. 584)

## STAGNATION AND REVOLUTION IN AMERICA

The American working class is today undoubtedly the most politically backward working class in the world. This is not due to any national idiosyncrasy of the United States, but rather to objective economic and social conditions that have existed in this country during the three decades following WWII. Those 30 years of (relatively) peaceful economic development were the result of the victory of American imperialism and its allies in the Second World War. The rebuilding of war-torn Europe and Japan and the limited industrialization of the neo-colonial world provided a tremendous area of new investments and markets for world capitalism, especially American

capitalism. This period of peaceful development, however, will come to an end. The inescapable economic laws of capitalism determine that, just as the last epoch of crisis and war gave birth to the post war peace epoch, so will the peaceful period (once it runs its course) inevitably give birth to a new period of crises, war, and proletarian revolutions, as the imperialist powers trample each other for the shrinking areas of new investments and new markets.

The American capitalists have been throwing crumbs from their imperialist banquet to the American working class in the form of higher wages, social services, etc., in order to buy social peace at home. This is the underlying cause of the low level of class conflict within the United States during the post war period and explains the political backwardness of the American workers. However, the decline in real wages since 1973, the cutbacks in social services on the national as well as local level—all these are indications that the "feast" is coming to an end. The world capitalist system is not yet in crisis—but it is on the road to that crisis. How many years separate us from the world economic collapse that is the inevitable outcome of the post war "boom" period—we do not pretend to predict. That it will come, we can state, with absolute certainty, and we know, with equal certainty, that with it will come a new round of imperialist wars and revolutions.

The American working class will, in the course of this development, be moved into action, forced to defend its economic interests as its real wages are driven lower and lower, and to declare its political independence from the "two party system" that has held it captive for so long. As the new economic and political conditions awaken the U.S. proletariat from its long slumber, it will find in revolutionary Marxism the answer to its need for theoretical guidance.

If the events of the post war epoch have given the American workers the illusion that class war had become obsolete, that the revolutionary weapons of proletarian theory are no longer needed, and, if as a result, the working class had set these weapons aside and even forgotten them, the forthcoming epoch will transform all this—it will bring the proletariat face to face with its needs as a class. It is the objective, and primarily the economic forces, not the subjective will of individuals, that will determine how quickly the slumbering American proletariat awakens.

We of the Marxist Workers Committee have complete confidence in the revolutionary future of the American working class. We are not casual visitors or new-comers to the working class movement. Steadily and patiently, drawing on the lessons which daily events teach the proletariat, we will use our newspaper to bring revolutionary Marxism to our class brothers and sisters. ■

## Bourgeois Democracy—Albanian Style



Enver Hoxha casting his vote in the last election. The Albanian bourgeoisie, like the Russian and Chinese, wraps itself in the red flag of "socialism"—only to conceal state capitalism.

## Class Conflict...

Continued from page 3

capitalism continues to exploit the non-white workers more intensely than the white workers within the U.S.A. The exploitation of the black and latin workers is especially profitable for the American industrialists and bankers.

No institution of present day American society, no Supreme Court, no Civil Rights organization, no Foundation, college, church, or federal law can alter the class relations of society—for the very existence of these institutions depends upon the continuation of capitalist exploitation. Only the working class itself can put an end to its present condition by destroying the whole social structure in which it is enslaved. That is the revolutionary task of the entire working class, white, black, and latin. This prospect of proletarian revolution is what terrifies the middle class, because their parasitic existence will end with the death of capitalism.

The middle class "thinkers" and functionaries of America will continue to defend capitalism as long as it exists. The jurists, professors, clergymen, politicians, trade union bureaucrats and journalists, black, white and latin, will never abandon their effort to create artificial barriers among the workers, to incite white against black

and latin, and vice versa. To the white workers they direct the racist lies of white supremacy. For the black and latin workers they have all the myths of Black nationalism, Puerto Rican nationalism, etc. These weapons have been quite effective—for decades the American working class has been severely divided by racial and national antagonisms. But the worsening condition that the workers find today are slowly teaching them that their strength lies in their unity. The future will intensify these lessons as the years ahead being worse conditions and lower wages for all sections of the U.S. working class. That is the only possible outcome of the social system in which we live.

The James Comptons and Dr. Pousaints are rightly alarmed by the growing hatred between their class and the workers—for each new experience is teaching the black workers to despise the middle class servants of capitalism, regardless of color. Within the American working class, however, the opposite is taking place—unity between the black, white and latin workers is slowly developing, not out of "integration" by Supreme Court decision, but rather out of sheer class necessity. ■

# COLLAPSE OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The most important, the most pressing task facing Marxism today is to understand the collapse of the world communist movement and the causes of that collapse. As we stated in 1968: "Recognition of the fact that the world working class has suffered a serious defeat on a vast scale represents the indispensable premise from which the revolutionary regrouping within the working class must proceed." (Vanguard, Dec. 1968-January 1969)

Today the brazen opportunism of the modern revisionists of Moscow and Peking is making more and more workers aware that the world communist movement has collapsed, but many are still under the illusion that this was a recent event. Many honest individuals believe that the death of revolutionary communism was marked by Nikita Khrushchev's "denunciation of Stalin" or by the fall of Lin Piao or the death of Mao Tse-tung, etc. As long as these illusions persist, until the question of when, and by whom the working class was betrayed is answered, the real causes of the victory of opportunism will remain unfathomable mysteries.

It is for these reasons that we present here a summary of our views on the collapse of the communist movement and its consequences. In future issues of the Marxist Worker we will examine each of these essential questions in separate articles.

The victory of opportunism within the Soviet Communist Party corresponds to the period of Lenin's illness and death in January 1924 (from cerebral sclerosis). It is important to note that Lenin's leadership of the Soviet Party and state ended at the time of his first stroke in May of 1922. In the brief periods in which Lenin was well enough to do any political work, his role was mostly limited to making written comments "from the side lines." He suffered a second stroke in December 1922 and a third in March of 1923, which left no hope of recovery.

The political line and policy followed by the Communist Party and Soviet state after his death represented a complete reversal of the Marxist principles Lenin had fought for while he was alive, on such crucial questions as imperialist war, the internationalism of the working class, the national and colonial question, the composition of the Soviet Party and the Soviet state apparatus, etc. This period marked the end of the Soviet workers' state and the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie behind a "socialist" facade.

One of the most important (and most obvious) reversals of Lenin's policy immediately after his death related to the membership of the Soviet Communist Party. In scores of articles and speeches Lenin had reiterated the importances of restricting party membership to only the most class conscious workers, of reducing the number of party members by kicking out careerists and petty bourgeois elements, and preventing similar people from joining by enforcing stringent probationary requirements, etc. (See Lenin's letters to Molotov of March 24 and 26, 1922 in Selected Works (old edition) V. 9, p. 321-323)

All of Lenin's warnings were cynically thrown aside after he was gone. A massive enrollment drive

was organized (the "Lenin [!] enrollment") that brought 240,000 new members into the party within four months of his death. By April 1, 1924 the party membership had almost doubled from the previous year. Just as Lenin had warned, this massive influx of careerists and petty bourgeois elements helped destroy the proletarian character of the Party and made possible the rapid transformation of the workers state into a bourgeois state.

Lenin was well aware that such a transformation (to bourgeois state power) was a real possibility, because of the weaknesses of the newly born dictatorship of the proletariat, its international isolation, and especially because most of the Soviet state apparatus was really the old Tsarist-bourgeois apparatus. In December of 1922 he described the Soviet state as: "that same Russian apparatus which, as I pointed

**"Lenin was well aware that such a transformation (to bourgeois state power) was a real possibility. . ."**

out on one of the preceding sections of my diary, we took over from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil. . .

"...the apparatus we call ours is, in fact, still quite alien to us: it is a bourgeois and tsarist hotchpotch and there has been no possibility of getting rid of it in the course of the past five years. . ." (Selected Works, V.3, p. 749-50)

In his political report to the eleventh congress of the Soviet Party on March 27, 1922 (the last congress he attended), Lenin discussed the attitude of a group of Russian bourgeois towards the Soviet State:

"This question has been raised by the Smena Vekh people, who, as you know, are a trend which has arisen among Russian emigres . . . people who have

**"Far from being a revolutionary opponent to Soviet revisionism, Trotsky. . .remained the 'loyal opposition' of Stalin and Co., denying the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union."**

come to the conclusion that the Soviet Government is building up the Russian state and therefore should be supported. . .

"I get a copy of Smena Vekh which says quite plainly: 'Things are by no means what you imagine them to be. As a matter of fact, you are slipping into the ordinary bourgeois morass with communist flags inscribed with catchwords stuck all over the place' . . . 'I am in favor of supporting the Soviet government,' says Ustryalov, although he was a Constitutional-Democrat, a bourgeois, and supported intervention. 'I am in favor of supporting Soviet power because it has taken the road that will lead it to the ordinary bourgeois state.' . . .

"We must say frankly that such candid enemies are useful. We must say frankly that the things



*"The political line and policy followed by the Communist Party and Soviet state after his death represented a complete reversal of the Marxist principles Lenin had fought for while he was alive. . ."*

Ustryalov speaks about are possible. History knows all sorts of metamorphoses. Relying on firmness of convictions, loyalty, and other splendid moral qualities is anything but a serious attitude in politics. . .

"There have been many cases of this kind; that is why we must welcome this frank utterance of the Smena Vekh people. The enemy is speaking the class truth and is pointing to the danger that confronts us, and which the enemy is striving to make inevitable. Smena Vekh adherents express the sentiments of thousands and tens of thousands of bourgeois, or of Soviet employees whose function it is to operate our New Economic Policy. This is the real and main danger." (Selected Works, V. 3, p. 693-695)

## TROTSKYISM—THE 'LOYAL OPPOSITION'

The famous battle between Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, etc., for control of the Soviet Communist Party was primarily a dispute as to which opportunist trend would manage the Soviet state apparatus for the Russian bourgeoisie. Far from being a revolutionary opponent to Soviet revisionism, Trotsky and the Trotskyist trend remained the "loyal opposition" of Stalin and Co., denying the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union. To this day, the main Trotskyist parties still maintain the myth that the Soviet Union is socialist ("with a degenerated workers state").

## IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR TWO

The betrayal of the working class by the Soviet leadership and the Communist International came to full fruition during the Second World War period. Every Marxist principle on Imperialist War that Lenin had fought for during WWI was cast aside.

The 'Second World War was almost an exact historical repeat of WWI. It was nothing but a predatory, imperialist conflict; a struggle between

*Continued on page 4*