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ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

There is a growing sentiment among American Jews that their fate as well as the fate of world Jewry is ultimately bound up with the State of Israel. Alarmed at the growth of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, and by the emergence of a new wave of anti-Semitism in the United States, many American Jews and other well-meaning Americans see Israel as the surest protection against another holocaust (the genocidal murder of 10 million people by the Nazis, 6 million of them Jews). Should anti-Semitism reach the drastic levels that it did in Nazi Germany at least there will be a place for Jews to go, so runs the feeling of many. Preoccupation with Israel has reached the point that one's attitude toward Israel is taken as the measure of one's attitude toward Jews.

But Israel is no protection against anti-Semitism, nor has it ever been. Zionism has led to the untold suffering of the Jewish people (not to mention the Palestinian people). Today, U.S. Jewry, guided by the pro-Zionist Jewish establishment, is being used to build support for an oil war.

GENERAL BROWN'S REMARK

Consider Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General George S. Brown. The good general recently gained notoriety for repeating the old saw about how the Jews run the country, but that the American people would wake up and change the situation. General Brown is high enough in the ruling circles of this country to know the utter baselessness of his remark. That he was not immediately retired without pension is a real warning sign of growing anti-Semitism. Yet how many know that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin recently referred to this same General Brown as "one of Israel's strongest supporters". Not without reason, for General Brown presides over

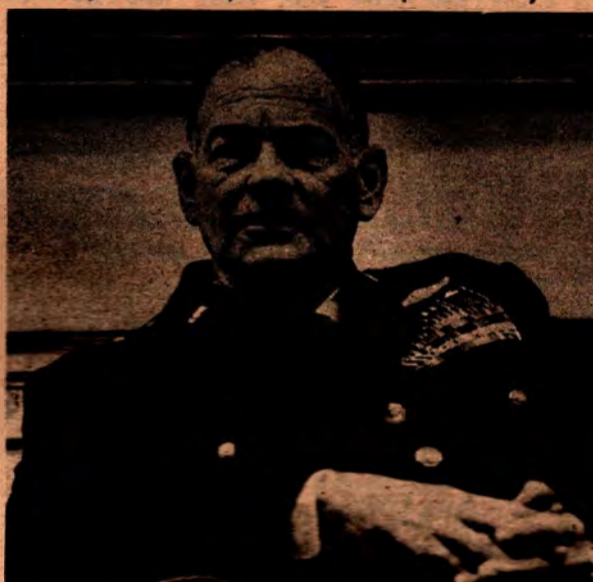
the U.S. military aid program to Israel, with such enthusiasm that there have been rumblings in the military that Brown was depleting U.S. military might in defense of Israel.

How is this contradiction to be explained? Is General Brown schizophrenic? Or Yitzhak Rabin? Not at all. What appears contradictory on the surface is in reality quite consistent. To understand this requires a brief acquaintance with anti-Semitism and Zionism.

WHY ANTI-SEMITISM?

Anti-Semitism is a political tool used by reactionary ruling classes to deflect blame for their nations' problems from themselves onto the Jews. Not only do the Jews as scapegoats suffer, but the mass of the people, confused about the source of their problems become paralysed and unable to fight against attacks on their well being and liberties.

In both Tsarist Russia and Nazi Germany, anti-Semitism followed the pattern outlined above. The masses of people suffered incredible poverty and were forced to fight in a predatory war. Strikes, trade unions independent political parties,



CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF GENERAL GEORGE BROWN

and other popular movements were brutally suppressed.

What at first glance appeared to be an attack on only the Jews was, in reality, an attack on all. It is on this basis that anti-Semitism can be fought and defeated on its own ground.

In Russia, just such a struggle took place. The Russian

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ROCKEFELLER PROFILE OF A FINANCE CAPITALIST

For one hundred years this name has been the very symbol of wealth and power. In the early part of the century, it was also one of the most hated names because of the ruthless methods John D. Rockefeller, Sr. used in crushing all competition, in bilking the public, and putting down the workers. But since then millions and millions of dollars have been spent "cleaning up" this filthy name. Now we find that the Vice President is a Rockefeller -- not by election, but by appointment, appointment by an appointee, the appointee appointed by Nixon -- without doubt the most wretched and unsavory character yet to have occupied the White House; not by election, but by the back door, by influence, by the power of money Rockefeller is stealing his way to the White House.

OIL-THE FIRST SPILL

In so many ways Rockefeller has typified the development of capitalism in this country. The Standard Oil Trust was one of the first big trusts in the U.S., signalling the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. It developed in the 70's, and was "broken up" in form, under the pressure of the early trustbusters. But "breaking up" the empire did not "break" the Rockefeller hold, it merely widened it, and to this day the Rockefellers have a stake in several of the leading oil corporations, not just Exxon, the big daddy of them all, the largest in the world.

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Zionism--cont.

Revolution overthrew the Tsar and ended the oppression of the masses of people. It had to at the same time defeat anti-Semitism. Many claim that in the U.S.S.R., under Stalin, there was a rebirth of anti-Semitism. Let us look at the facts. In 1938, after the purge trials, Jews constituted over 10% of the membership of the Soviet Communist Party even though less than 5% of the population was Jewish. During WW II, the USSR was the only country which admitted Jewish refugees on a blanket basis. Yet a safe haven from anti-Semitism did nothing to prevent the holocaust in the rest of Europe.

Today, the same patterns of anti-Semitism are emerging in the Soviet Union (since the death of Stalin) and in the USA, although Black people are the main scapegoat here. Only direct struggle against this anti-Semitism and all other forms of racism can succeed in defeating these new reactionary currents.

WHAT IS ZIONISM?

Zionism emerged from Europe in the late 19th Century, in reaction to Anti-Semitism. It encourages the outlook that Jews are eternal aliens in their own countries, that assimilation of Jews into the general population of their respective countries is a mistake, that anti-Semitism is somehow innate in non-Jews and at best, can only be temporarily covered over never defeated. The conclusion of this thinking is that the Jews need their own state, for only in a Jewish state can Jews really be free of anti-Semitism.

Coming from a non-Jewish source, these ideas would promptly and correctly be labeled as anti-Semitic. Coming from a Jewish source, they are defeatist.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SAME BASE COIN

We now begin to see the essential unity between Zionism and anti-Semitism. Both Zionism and anti-Semitism view the Jews as aliens in their native countries, whether Germany, Russia, or the USA. In this regard, the anti-Semite is quite consistent in supporting Zionism, just as the racist pushes the "send-em-back-to-Africa" approach. Consider the following: "Each country can absorb only a limited number of Jews if she does not want disorders in her stomach. Germany already has too many Jews." Nazi propaganda? Hardly. Chaim Weizmann, Zionist notable, to a German audience in 1912. The Zionist remedy to these disorders was, of course, mass emigration. It should not come as a surprise that mass emigration was also one of the 'solutions' envisioned by the Nazis before they settled on the final solution.

But the unity of Zionism and Anti-Semitism does not end with

a general coincidence of goals. While the full story of Zionist-Nazi collaboration may never be completely established, certain facts are beyond question. First by agreement between the Nazis and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jews chosen by the Zionists were allowed to emigrate to Palestine. The Zionists even set up training camps for Palestine under Nazi auspices. Second, Israeli official and Zionist leader Rudolf Kastner, though supported by the Israeli government, was convicted of aiding Adolph Eichmann in the murder of a million Eastern European Jews. Sworn testimony at this trial documents how Jewish Agency leaders withheld from the masses of Jews knowledge of the death camps, in exchange for the escape of several hundred Zionist leaders. Third, the Zionists sabotaged all rescue and re-settlement plans not directed to Palestine, including Roosevelt's plan to rescue 500,000, resettlement plans for Alaska, Australia, Surinam and a British parliamentary resolution to provide wartime refuge. Zionist priorities, as publicly stated by its leaders are in keeping with these facts. As Itzhak Greenbaum, head of the Jewish Agency Rescue Committee said in 1943: "If I am asked could you give from UJA moneys to rescue Jews? I say "NO" and I say again "NO". In my opinion we have to resist that wave which puts Zionist activities in the second line." (Since much of the above information, while documented is not well known, a short bibliography follows this article.)

The question must be answered; Why did 6 million Jews walk into the gas chambers with barely a ripple of protest? The Zionists suggest that it was a fatal flaw in the Jewish character, a flaw perhaps due to rootlessness and the lack of a country the Jews could call their own. Aside from the vicious racism of this analysis, it cannot explain the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. In the Fall of 1942, ten thousand Jews armed only with molotov cocktails held out forty-two days against an SS Battalion with artillery and air support. These Jews did not have a Jewish state to fight for; what they did have was knowledge of the gas chambers awaiting them. The above evidence suggests that the Jewish people were betrayed lock, stock and barrel by their Zionist leaders.

ZIONISM SERVES IMPERIALISM

We have explored one side of the unity of anti-Semitism and Zionism -- the removal of an unwanted minority. But there is another side as well. The migrating Jewish population was able to serve the colonial interests of an imperial power as a stabilizing settler population. The Zionists explain the choice of Palestine as the site of the Jewish State in a religious and semi-historical terms, yet British interest in protecting the Suez canal and

the developing oil resources of the region surely outweighed such considerations.

Since World War II, the US has replaced Britain as the dominant power backing Israel, which brings us to the present middle-east situation.

Both the US and the Soviet Union are playing both sides of the fence in the "Arab-Israeli" conflict. The US supplies arms to Israel but also to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. And the U.S. gives economic aid to most of the Arab countries as well as to Israel. The Soviet Union, while it puts more emphasis on support for the Arabs, was not above releasing a flood of Soviet Jews for immigration to Israel, just after "advisors" were forced to leave Egypt. In this way, the Soviet Zionist movement serves the Soviet Union as a reserve weapon to keep Arab governments in line. Nor has the Soviet Union shown any great haste in resupplying Egypt with armaments lost in the October war.

ISRAEL-A STOLEN LAND

While the two super-powers stir up and muddy the middle east situation, the heart of the conflict is not between Jews and Arabs, but between Zionism and the Palestinian people. The Zionists insist on the existence of a Jewish state on all or part of Palestinian territory, territory forcibly taken from the Palestinians in 1948, which necessarily implies either the removal or second-class citizenship of large numbers of Palestinian Arabs. The Palestinians demand, not to drive Jews into the sea or even made Jews second class citizens, but the creation of a secular (non-religious), multi-national state, a state where Jews, Moslems, and Christians can live as equals. Of course, neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union support such a settlement (the Soviet Union asks for a return to the pre-'67 borders.)

The PLO program is not only the fairest solution, but it is the only way that the Israeli Jews can be in any way politically and economically independent of the U.S. As it stands, Israel is entirely dependent on U.S. support (and obliquely Soviet support) for its existence. The U.S. government has given or loaned billions of dollars in military and economic aid to Israel, not to mention the private donations of American Jewry. It must be admitted that should the U.S. abandon Israel, it could not survive. We must ask here: Even if a safe haven were the solution to the problem of anti-Semitism, how could Israel be this safe haven?

ARABS A NEW SCAPEGOAT

One more point must be touched. The United States is entering into an economic crisis of unprecedented proportions. As the crisis develops many shortages occur, such as meat, oil, sugar, and steel. These shortages have been artificially

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TWO SYSTEMS - A CONTRAST

Here--mounting unemployment, more than 8.2% officially (and officials always grossly understate the real extent of unemployment). In addition, double digit inflation which is also worse than the figures reveal, because basic necessities are going up even faster--and a rapidly declining national production or GNP.

There--in socialist China and Albania, there is neither unemployment nor inflation, and the economy progresses every year as does the standard of living of the people. In China, workers' wages as well as income from farm produce (peasants' purchasing power) are fixed by plan and have steadily gone up with increased production. On the other hand rent, retail prices of most common items of goods, clothing, etc. have remained stable and in the case of medicines have gone down. Much the same can be said of Albania. In both China and Albania everyone has a job. There is if anything a labor shortage and every effort is being made to draw more women into the work force by liberating them from household drudgery.

Of course, it was not always this way in these countries. Before liberation, before their revolutions, they suffered mass unemployment, mass starvation, terrible poverty, and runaway inflation.

China and Albania are still poor countries because they started from a very low level. Nobody owns a car in these countries. Television is not widespread, and there is a 48 hour work week. However, no one has to worry about eating, and even bourgeois observers have to admit that they eat pretty well; no one has to worry about getting sick or old or not being able to work, since they are provided for decently in all cases; no one has to worry about losing his job - since a job is the constitutional right of a person in China.

USSR--NO LONGER AN EXAMPLE

China and Albania are not the first countries to pull themselves out of economic chaos. In the 30's, while the entire capitalist world was in the midst of the Great Depression, the Soviet Union enjoyed continuous economic growth and relative prosperity. From 1929 to 1938 the economy of the Soviet Union averaged a 17% annual rate of growth - more than doubling production every 5 years.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PRINCIPAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN 1913-38

	1913	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
U.S.S.R.	100	380.5	457.0	562.6	732.7	816.4	908.8
U.S.A.	100	108.7	112.9	128.6	149.8	156.9	120.0
Great Britain	100	87.0	97.1	104.0	114.2	121.9	113.3
Germany	100	75.4	90.4	105.9	118.1	129.3	131.6
France	100	107.0	99.0	94.0	98.0	101.0	93.2

What about today? Alas, today the Soviet Union and its Eastern European colonies are beginning to suffer a disguised kind of inflation (a "new" model of something comes out which is higher priced and of lower quality than the old.) Unemployment is beginning to return (a factory manager has the right to dismiss a worker without providing him employment someplace else) and the standard of living of the people continues to lag as the Soviet leaders pour everything into building the most massive military machine in the history of man. True, there are certain benefits the Soviet people still enjoy, such as cheap or free medical care, but these are the holdovers from an earlier day, and no one knows how long they will last.

After Stalin's death, the Soviet Union abandoned socialism and began restoring capitalism. What a tragedy! Had the Soviet Union remained on the socialist path, not only would her people have eliminated unemployment and inflation, but the standard of living could have been much higher than in the West even at its best. The workweek could have been 30 hours, and the Soviet Union would have been able to render very great material assistance- gratis- to the Third World countries.

But such was not to be.

PROFITS VS PLANNING

So why is it that the socialist countries are able to eliminate inflation and unemployment and economic crises? Why is it that all the capitalist countries are afflicted with these problems?

Under capitalism the factories, the land, the big buildings, the mines, all the productive assets are owned by a tiny minority - the capitalists. Production is carried on for one purpose alone - to amass profits. Many sectors of the U.S. economy are controlled by only a few large companies - such as oil, steel, automobiles, and even most agriculture. In these monopolized industries production is sometimes deliberately held back in order to garner greater profits. The "oil crisis" doubled gasoline prices and forced motorists to wait on mile-long lines, while oil company profits increased by as much as 300%. As the supply of sugar dropped, consumer prices tripled, while a major sugar company reported a 1200% increase in profit.

Under capitalism, any and all attempts to encroach upon this anarchy, all talk of planning and control is furiously attacked by the rich because it is incompatible with the pursuit of unlimited profit. The government will never encroach very much on the prerogatives of the capitalists precisely because it is a govern-

ment of, by and for the rich. The government is powerless to combat these evils because the rich desire it to be powerless. It talks; it piddles. It sometimes makes concessions to the working people if there is enough pressure. But mostly it is impotent to combat these ills.



'WE'RE MOVING RIGHT ALONG'

Even when a capitalist government does "nationalize" an industry, or introduce "planning", it is to rescue the profits of the rich at public expense and the "planning" is always partial and never touches upon the anarchy of the system as a whole. The Post Office, Amtrak, most municipal bus and subway systems are all "publicly" owned. They all provide services necessary to the running of business, yet as individual enterprises they are unprofitable. So "public" ownership only means that the taxpayers subsidize these enterprises while the bankholders get their profits through interest - risk free.

A capitalist government will not stop inflation because to stop inflation means to control the capitalists, to control profits, to control production and to do these things threatens the profit system altogether. A capitalist government will not put an end to unemployment because to end unemployment means to set up factories and production for purposes other than profit, for the sake of producing for need and not for profit. A capitalist government will not willingly raise the standard of living of the people because to do so cuts profits, which require cheap labor.

A REPLY TO PETE HAMILL'S MANIFESTO:

DEAR PETE HAMILL,

It is an encouraging sign when as well known and good a columnist and writer as yourself comes out and proclaims socialism to be the only solution to the growing crisis of our capitalist USA, because, as you point out, socialism (no matter what is meant by that word) is a dirty word here. It helps others to begin thinking about and questioning the sanctity of our "free enterprise system."

So more power to you!

But, when it comes down to the particulars of your criticism of US capitalism and the socialism you advocate replacing it with, there we would like to argue with you a little.

We make no bones about it. We are Marxist-Leninists, Maoists if you like. If socialism is a dirty word, how much worse is the word communism, and "Chinese Communism" to boot.

But please hear us out.

THEY'LL SHOOT WHITES TOO...

You think the cops won't shoot down their cousins or brothers-in-law, that is to say, the white working and middle classes. You also say that your notes are "not a romantic call for armed revolution: no mere writer can call on people to die for an ideal when the other side is in possession of the Strategic Air Command." But yet you say that in 1975, it seems clear that Socialism is a distinct possibility at last, and that it could happen because the people want it.

This is a dream. The powers that be, the ruling class, will use violence against the people when push comes to shove, not only against Blacks, but also against Whites. The whole history of this country is one of the ruling classes using violence against the people, not because of the threat of revolution even, but just to crush a militant strike for example. Nixon called in the National Guard in the Post Office strike. The lily-white Kent State students were shot down. The homes of white working class families were forcibly broken into by the FBI in Collinville. The police rough up white working class kids all the time. There is no need to even mention the amount of violence perpetrated against Black people in this country. Remember the ghetto rebellions, the Panthers, the everyday shootings of kids in the ghetto today.

If we go into history, the mine strikes were very often violent struggles, and the IWW was always faced with violence.

Here we are only speaking of strikes, protests, local rebellions, nothing that even threatened the foundations of the system.

The US has sent its military overseas to police the entire world, to Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Korea, and so on. It has done this to protect its interests outside the country. Still less, would it shrink from protecting its very rule at home.

There have been two periods of basic social change in this country, two revolutionary periods. One was the war for Independence, the other the Civil War. Both were violent bloody struggles. Not because the

people wanted it that way, but because the British rulers and the slaveowners of the Old South would have it no other way. The present day government of the Rockefeller and the Morgans is armed to the teeth. They will not allow anyone to peacefully separate them from their power and fortunes.

There is a big contradiction in your statement that "no mere writer can call on the people to die for an ideal when the other side is in possession of the Strategic Air Command." Here you are actually acknowledging that the other side possesses tremendous means of destruction and is prepared to use them to defend its interests. And yet you leave unanswered the question as to how the people are to get around this obstacle.

It is more or less hinted that the people can vote in Socialism. Look at Hitler Germany. Look at Chile. Look at Franco's Spain. The system of elections was thrown away when there was a real threat. The fact is that a mere writer, if he is to be completely realistic, has to point out to the people that in the final analysis the powers that be will use violence to protect their system, their fortunes and power, and that the people must one day be prepared to counter this violence, just as did our forefathers in the war of independence and the civil war.

Of course, this does not mean that a small band of armed fanatics can make a revolution. The Weathermen and the SLA have shown the bankruptcy of such notions. Neither does it mean that people will quickly accept the inevitability of such a struggle. The people will resort to such means only when they have seen that all else is of no avail, after much experience, and after conditions become very severe indeed. But to renounce violence on principle at the beginning is to renounce socialism, and to renounce any real change.

THERE'S DEMOCRACY AND THERE'S DEMOCRACY

You speak of a "Democratic Socialism", an "American Socialism", designed specifically to apply to our nation, one that accounts for and celebrates our diversity, our basic frontier anarchism, our parallel strain of deep conservatism. That form of socialism must be democratic, decentralized, worker oriented, and intended to make all men and women free, secure inhabitants of this country. It would be an instrument of liberation, freeing us from them our venality, greed, and exaggerated sense of competition. And it should be possible to build such a socialism without surrendering the Constitution or the Bill of Rights, in fact such a Socialist nation would be able, for the first time, to deliver upon those promises that the Constitution has made for almost 200 years and has so seldom kept."

First, it has to be pointed out what is meant by democracy. For a long time we have had "free" elections in this country. Also a "free" press. When you go to jail, the rich and the poor pay the same bail. But what poor man can run for office? What does freedom of the press mean to those that can just barely afford to pay their rent? Ten thousand dollars bail is a small matter for the rich, but for a working person.... It is quite true that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights have

been trampled upon over and over again in this country, but even if they had been observed to the letter, it would not undo the foundations of capitalism. Those in office would still be put there by the rich. The press, having its bills paid by the rich if not owned outright by the rich, necessarily remains muzzled. In order to make a socialist revolution, one has to go beyond the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. A capitalist democracy remains capitalist, that is a democracy for the few, whereas democracy for the many is very limited and distorted. And in actual fact, the capitalists in this society exercise a dictatorship over the working people, a disguised dictatorship, but a dictatorship all the same. Taxes, wars, "national priorities", everything is decided without the people. The big politicians and most of the press is hired to sell what is decided to the people. If one or another section of the people gets too fed up, out comes the national guard or the cops in the name of the "national interest".

So building socialism means fighting a hard and bloody struggle against these exploiters. It will not be possible to replace them through an election. Their entire government will have to be overthrown and smashed. A new

FIRING SQUAD



DO YOU STILL BELIEVE IN A PEACEFUL ROAD TO SOCIALISM?

workers' government will have to be set up. This workers' government will have to take energetic steps against the capitalists, and take precautions against their returning to power. It will have to exercise dictatorship over these capitalists and their hangers-on. If the working people or their representatives shirk from these measures, there will be a repetition of Chile.

You speak of "broad program of nationalization of key industries. This could be done by act of Congress, and the present owners would be paid with long term government bonds". Why should the rich be compensated? The small stockholders up to a few thousands of dollars who had been deceived into investing, OK. But why the rich? This kind of nationalization already is occurring, but it has nothing to do with socialism. Rockefeller owns Port Authority Bonds. We are still paying interest on bonds used to buy the subways from Chase Manhattan Bank (owned by Rockefeller). The big banks, which front for the very rich in these matters, are the creditors of the city, state and federal government. A nationalized industry which pays off the rich is still capitalism, state-monopoly capitalism. In the case of industries which are no longer profitable, they are sometimes all too happy to see nationalization, on favorable terms of course. And

favorable terms can be arranged by bribing "democratically" elected Congressmen and politicians.

You say that by "nationalizing these basic industries, the country itself need not become monolithic. We are a pluralistic society, and it should be possible to have a pluralistic economy. Vast areas of American life would still operate on an open basis. There is no reasonable way to nationalize personal services. The retail trades should be left as they are....handicrafts should be encouraged..." In other words only the big industries should be nationalized, and not even all of them, since Sears, Montgomery Ward, Macy's are retail trade also. An "open basis" means capitalist basis. Why should retail and smaller industries be left in private hands? They too exploit people, and serve to enrich the few. Some of the worst sweat shops in this country are run by small businessmen. Even if it were possible to carry out such a program, it would be a very unstable thing. Small businessmen want to become big businessmen. Rockefeller and Morgan and Carnegie all started out as small businessmen. From this soil, any genuinely socialist government would find a continual source of subversion and restoration of capitalism. Moreover, such a government would begin losing the support of the people exploited by these industries if it did not move to socialize them also.

And then another twist is thrown in. In some industries, the workers should be given control, save a certain percentage retained by the government. But this again is a false form of socialism. It is true that under socialism, the workers will have a voice in their own factory or workshop that they do not have now. But this is not the essence of Socialism. A modern industrial economy is necessarily going to have to be centralized under socialism if it is going to avoid the anarchy and crises of capitalism. All the parts of a modern industrial economy are interdependent, supply markets for each others products. It is precisely the fact that control of this mechanism is left in the hands of representatives of its parts, namely, the various capitalists, that leads to anarchy and crises. They each act in the interests of increasing their profits rather than in the interests of a balanced economic development to meet the needs of the people. Control of the economy must be in the hands of the workers, yes, but in the hands of the workers collectively, to be run in a planned and centralized way. It is just flying a 747. You don't turn over control of the plane to the crew piece by piece to different crew members--with the pilot, co-pilot, navigator, and radioman each doing his own thing. A bad way to fly. No, if such a thing were done, the crew might elect a captain and decide upon a flight plan together, but would they insist that it be executed in a centralized fashion. Moreover, they would insist in allowing the captain a certain amount of leeway in exercising his authority. And they would elect a captain who was most competent to exercise such authority. So to turn over sections of the economy to the workers piecemeal, which is called syndical-

"America's Great Fear May Be Our Only Hope"

which appeared in the Village Voice of Jan. 13, 1975.

ism, will not work. What is more, it too leads back toward capitalism since it does not abolish production for the market, but continues commodity production, and inevitably leads to some of the workers becoming more equal than others through appropriating a disproportionate share of the receipts from sales. This kind of socialism has already been tried out in Yugoslavia and has led back to capitalism.

Democracy does not contradict centralism, or preclude it. On the contrary, working class democracy must be centralized. The workers must participate in political life; they must have a political party of their own, their own leaders whom they hold accountable; they must become politically conscious, and through these means, exercise control over the whole of society. The early days of bourgeois democracy, of small owners and small capitalism are over. Heavy industry, modern economic conditions dictate centralism, and a new type of democracy, proletarian democracy.

THEY DIDN'T JUST BURY STALIN...

You lay great stress on an American or Democratic version of socialism. You contrast it with the "dismal:mono-capitalism practiced in the Soviet Union" "with its murderous bureaucrats and heirs of Stalin" and with the "cramped puritanical, farm oriented version developed by Mao Tse-Tung for China".

If you say the Soviet Union has capitalism today, we couldn't agree with you more. The top party bureaucrats, the factory managers, and others have long since developed into a new capitalist class, getting salaries and bonuses and other indirect rewards and privileges amounting to some hundred or so times the wages of the workers in many cases. The Soviet industries are once again run for profit, and not to serve the peoples' needs. Competition and anarchy of production is beginning to creep in again. A disguised kind of inflation is occurring. Unemployment is beginning to occur. It is true that there are problems with productivity because Soviet workers no longer feel they have a stake in society, and in fact they are right. And the Soviet Union has a huge military which is not for defense Czechoslovakia shows what it is for. It is true that there is no democracy in the Soviet Union.

But if you imply that this is the way it always was, or that it is a continuation of Stalin's policies, then we beg to differ.

After the early years of civil war and intervention by the western "democracies", the Soviet Union began building socialism in earnest. Capitalism was eliminated in the cities and then the countryside. By the time the West was plunging into depressions with mass unemployment and starvation, the Soviet Union had full employment, and ever expanding production. If you speak of democracy, the workers of that time played a very great role and were the backbone of the movement to build socialism, and they worked and fought and thought with pride, confidence and enthusiasm. Go back and read the accounts of visitors to the Soviet Union at that time.

However, the first Socialist state had many enemies, both internally among those who longed for the good old days when they lived on the backs of the workers, and among the capitalist "democracies" as well as Hitler Germany, where the capitalists did not bother with democracy any more.

Stalin and the Soviet workers had to be hard in their fight against these enemies or the Soviet Union would never have survived. As it was, the Soviet Union lost 20 million people in the war against fascism, many times the combined losses of all the capitalist "democracies". The Soviet Union was far and away the chief force in the destruction of fascism. Most of the countries invaded by Hitler were softened up from within by means of the Fifth Column, ensuring their easy collapse. Not so the Soviet Union.

True—Stalin made mistakes. (The Chinese have learned from these mistakes. Socialism continues to have enemies for a long time after the revolution. Those who were overthrown prefer the old order. Some people become corrupted and come to prefer living off other people's labor, rather than working collectively for a better life. A struggle has to be waged against these elements for a long time after the revolution for these people always gravitate towards the seat of power, and try to grab it from within.

Some people succeeded, after Stalin's death, in grabbing power. It is very possible, likely, in fact, that some of Stalin's mistakes made it easier for them. But Khrushchev and those after him were no Stalinists. Just the opposite. Remember Khrushchev speech at the 20th congress. Before they could destroy Socialism and restore capitalism, they had to bury Stalin. There are occasional reports in the NY Times revealing that even today the older working people in the Soviet Union still love and revere Stalin, so much so that even Brezhnev has had to soften the position on Stalin. True, some of the intellectuals and others who resented having to serve the workers still hate Stalin. Their ideal is Western Capitalist Democracy, where an intellectual could "do his own thing" in peace. But as you rightly point out, Western Capitalist Democracy is threatened with become Western Capitalist Fascism. And the ordinary prostitution of the intellectual here is becoming prostitution for ever more perverted ends.

If you compare the state of China in 1949 with here in 1975, do you not have to admit that a really "miraculous" change has taken place? A person like yourself could probably visit China. Why don't you? See if Chinese workers are intimidated. See if they don't participate in politics and run the country at all levels. There has been a spate of books and articles by people who have been to China in recent years, many of them not especially sympathetic to communism. Generally, even the more sceptical ones have been enormously impressed.

• "Cramped"? How so? The horizons and opportunities of the Chinese people have opened enormously in the years since

the revolution. Puritanical? The Chinese know plenty about gambling, prostitution, vice, drugs, and so forth. These things were not invented in New York. But the Chinese said goodbye to these things in 1949. We think a majority of the American people will be happy to say goodbye to them also when the emptiness of their lives under capitalism is changed by socialism and revolution. Farm-oriented? China has to eat and so she cannot leave her farms. But she is not farm-oriented. She is oriented to industrialization and modernization and developing socialism. She is oriented to bringing culture and the benefits of city life to the countryside, thereby gradually narrowing the gap between the cities and the countryside.

It is true that the socialism in this country will differ in many particular respects from socialism in other countries. But it is not true that the most basic things will differ. The experience of the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin, as well as People's China is of enormous importance for revolution in all countries.

WHEN HALF A LOAF

LEADS TO NONE...

In all respects, the socialism you dream of is a half-way house socialism, a utopian socialism, and in a certain sense, not socialism at all. It really aims at restoring partially an earlier day of capitalism, of democratic small scale capitalism, and combining it with nationalization of the larger, monopoly enterprises. It wants to combine the interests of the workers with the interests of the small capitalists. But in the long run these interests are not compatible. The workers interest lies in eliminating capitalism altogether, whereas that of the small capitalists lies in preserving it. The socialism of these capitalists cannot be anything other than state-monopoly capitalism. But state monopoly capitalism will surprise and undo these small capitalists. In fact it is already doing that today. The state monopoly sector will never obediently remain in the service of the small capitalists and the people. It will seize them by the throat and start choking them. Many of the intellectuals who felt uncomfortable under Stalin and the rule of the workers dreamed of some kind of socialism where intellectuals were free "to do their own thing" where petty forms of exploitation could emerge. But as soon as they had done their work they were kicked aside by the big boys, and now they have a fascist dictatorship of the state-monopoly big capitalists.

You say that the only alternative to socialism is fascism, and vice-versa. Certainly, it is true that we are moving in the direction of fascism, i.e. the elimination of even those bourgeois democratic liberties we have had in this country. There are many in this country who oppose fascism and yet do not support socialism. The program you advocate, while not a really socialist program, does have some resemblance to a minimum program around which people who are opposed to fascism, to despotism might rally. Yours is a democratic

program, or at least aims in that direction. It aims at defending the people's liberties, and checking the worst excesses of the big monopolies. You speak of a third party running candidates. This too is good. Not that capitalism can be done away with through elections, but if used properly, the running of democratic and progressive candidates (small d) could certainly help to educate and mobilize the people. What is bad though is to try to pass off this program as socialistic. It is a program around which people can rally today; it is a half-way house—very much as Allende's Chile proved to be a half-way house. It is a program of fighting fascism and defending democracy. But it is not something that will last, even if attained. It will be necessary either to move on toward socialism, or reaction will move and establish fascism. What is bad is if during the fight around some such program, the people are not educated as to the necessity of preparing for the taking of complete control of society, of passing beyond halfway measures, of making a thorough and genuine socialist revolution.

A MUDDY RIVER

Lastly, the entire stream of thought in which you are swimming has a history which cannot be passed over. It goes back to the Socialist Party which was part of the Second International. The Second International began as a continuation of the revolutionary First International and played an enormous revolutionary role up until the First World War. At that time, the leaders of the Second International betrayed the workers, began preaching that the workers of each country should follow their own capitalists into the war to fight against their brothers in other countries.

After the war, Socialists actively collaborated with the capitalists to suppress the revolutionary tide among the workers. In Germany, the Social Democrats shot down the revolutionary leaders. Later, as the danger of fascism and Hitlerism began to rise, the Social Democrats continually appeased the fascists, continually refused a United Front with the communists against fascism until a very late date.

Both before and after WW II, Social Democratic governments have had the chance to put in their version of socialism (look at Britain and the Scandinavian countries) or Germany more recently. Yes, there were reforms, many that greatly benefited the workers. Many industries were nationalized as you would have - with compensation to the owners. And what has become of these countries? In none of them has capitalism been abolished. As we move into the present economic crisis, all of them are being affected. Many of the reforms won previously are coming under attack. All

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THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM by Georgi Dimitroff
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Rockefeller--cont.

As Rockefeller wealth grew, it spread, not only over the oil industry, but also began to spill over outside of it. Today the Rockefellers have a stake in dozens of the major corporations of this country, and all branches of industry. The center of this vast empire is the Chase Manhattan Bank, and secondarily the First National City Bank. Little wonder then that the Rockefellers regard the Presidency alone as a sufficiently high perch from which to oversee their empire.

Rockefeller influence is not limited to what they own directly. The Rockefeller family is by now a large family, and this family has intermarried with and formed alliances with many or most of the other families of great wealth. The charitable foundations have served to protect this wealth from the "ravages" of taxation as well as playing a big role in buying influence and a sweeter "image" for the Rockefellers. How many professors and writers are in the pay of Rockefeller through some foundation grant or position or some such? Henry Kissinger began as one such professor.

Oil is the lifeblood of modern industry. It was the early Rockefeller monopolization of oil that started their great fortune. All branches of modern industry have become imperialistic, dependent on imperialism, but none more so than oil. Mideast oil has become of great importance because of its cheapness, growing U.S. dependence on it, and even more importantly -- whoever controls the Mideast has Europe and Japan by the throat. Hence the fierce U.S. -- Soviet contention in this area. Nowhere does Henry look after his master's interests more directly than in the Middle East. When Henry talks about Arab "stangulation of the industrialized world" and threatens war, it is the strangulation of the billions that flow to his master he speaks of, and it is war to prevent that strangulation.

A STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALIST

We have reviewed Rockefeller the monopolist and Rockefeller the imperialist. Rockefeller the banker brings to light another facet of modern capitalism. The Chase Manhattan and other large banks are the main lenders of funds to N.Y. and other cities local, state and national government. These banks collect funds from all kinds of depositors for which they pay legally enforced low interest rates and relend these funds at higher rates. N.Y.C. is still paying interest to banks for the subways which were purchased, on credit, from the banks several decades ago. Rockefeller's friend, Dr. Ronan, was for a long time head of the M.T.A. and no doubt a careful guardian of the interest payments. The World Trade Center, operated by the Port Authority, which now happens to be run by this same Dr. Ronan, threatened to be a losing proposition at first. No

tenants. But -- lo and behold -- one whole tower managed to fill itself up with N.Y.S. agencies, and is now collecting rent from the state (read -- taxpayers). Lucky the Governor was named Rockefeller. Does anyone doubt that Chase Manhattan is a heavy holder of Port Authority bonds? Does anyone have any doubts what Dr. Ronan's \$600,000 gift is about?

In so many words, Rockefeller is not only a monopolist and financier, but a state-monopoly capitalist. The various levels of government are not only servants of the rich, but are themselves run as profitable enterprises, creating profits in the form of interest on bonds to big bondholders, who are usually the big banks and the rich since the bonds are issued in very large denominations. The budget crunch faced by the big cities is precisely a reflection of the pressure that the big banks are exerting on the cities. The cities have piled up massive debts to the banks, precisely because the banks wanted them to, but now these debts have grown so large, and the interest payments so big, that the banks are starting to get nervous, especially in the face of the developing economic crisis which threatens to dry up their deposits. They are in effect calling in their loans to the cities. N.Y.C. has an especially cozy arrangement with the banks, where the banks have first claim on city revenues if anything should go awry.

It is this fact which probably explains the Rockefeller domestic political stance. In earlier times, when the economy was in a more expansive state, it was very much in the interest of the Rockefellers to have expanding governmental debts at all levels because this opened up a profitable field of investment at the expense of the taxpayer. It was in this period, during and after WW II that Rockefeller developed his tepid liberalism on a range of issues. But as the debt grew, and the interest payments became larger, the rubber in Rockefeller's liberalism was stretched to the limit and began to yank back. And so we start to have the Rockefeller of Attica, the Law and Order Rockefeller who cracks down on welfare "cheaters" and sends junkies to jail for life while letting the big boys off scot free, the Rockefeller who speaks of belt-tightening for the average man. In a word, Rockefeller's liberalism is the liberalism of a loan shark at the time of making the loan -- all smiles. But when the time comes to collect--"My, Grandma, what big teeth you have!"

THE PURPOSE OF BEING RICH --TO GET RICHER

What is the ultimate source of all the Rockefeller wealth? Does wealth come from nothing? Is Rockefeller wealth the result of Rockefeller labor? No more than the wealth of a robber is

the result of his labors of theft. The labor involved is the labor necessary to appropriate the wealth and labor of others. It is based on the hard work of millions of people, both here and abroad, as well as the appropriation of the natural wealth of the entire world. The Rockefellers are coupon clippers par excellence. Funds flow to them from every direction -- for what? They have long since ceased playing any role in production, they do not even manage it, or manage the managers. Everything is done by hired managers.

Some people think, well, at least Rockefeller is beyond corruption. He has so much, what does he need more for? Perhaps he can serve the public without worrying about lining his pockets like Nixon and the rest. But this view completely misunderstands the nature of capitalist wealth. It exists not for the consumption of the capitalists, no matter how extravagantly they might live. Their extravagance is but a by-product of their wealth. Rockefeller, in a sense, is a slave of his wealth, as are all other capitalists, and his every effort is bent to the one aim of enlarging his already enormous fortune and empire. Capitalist wealth has but one end, one motive: self-expansion, growth. The greater capitalist wealth becomes, the greater its appetite for expansion and growth. When someone such as Rockefeller enters the government at whatever level, he does not cease being a finance capitalist, nor does his life aim change either.

TO BRIBE OR BE BRIBED

How does Rockefeller differ from other politicians? Only in this: whereas most politicians are bribed by the rich, to do their bidding, Rockefeller serves his own interests directly (as well as those of his allies in wealth--for as rich as the Rockefellers are, their total wealth is still but a small fraction of the total wealth of the capitalist class.) Rockefeller bribes other other politicians and "civil servants" to help him mulct the public.

The most foolish thing would be to think that Rockefeller's wealth makes him any kind of superman. His ambition drives him to seek the highest perch, and yet he seeks it at a time when the most elementary logic would dictate that the Rockefeller family and their like hide themselves and leave the dirty work



cont.
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Pete Hamill--cont.

of this is because the roots of capitalism were never dug up, not even touched, only the most glaring evils papered over for a time. Moreover, much of the temporary prosperity of these countries was possible - under capitalism - because they actively shared in the spoils of the imperialist empire carved out by the U.S. Never did any of these countries break with the exploitation and oppression of the Third World - with imperialism.

WHAT'S PROGRESS FOR SOME IS REACTION FOR OTHERS

That many people are beginning to think of alternatives to capitalism is a very natural, a very encouraging thing. That many should hope for a socialism which can come about peacefully, that will not change things too radically, that we can vote in, is perhaps natural and inevitable. For many people to think about even this kind of socialism is progress.

But remember this -- for many of the leaders of Social-Democracy this kind of socialism has served not as a first step towards revolution and socialism, but as a pretext for breaking with and betraying revolution and socialism. It has served as something with which to dampen the growing revolutionary sentiments of working people. It is for this reason that revolutionaries -- while welcoming a growing interest in socialism -- nevertheless remain critical and refuse to let just anything pass under the signboard of socialism.

Strikes--cont.

must confront and fight the capitalist class not only in the factories, but even more, on the political and social level. To do this workers need a political organization, a party, not just a union.

However, in spite of the limitations of unions and strikes they are an extremely important weapon of the workers and must not be surrendered.

Only about 26% of the work force in this country is unionized today. Moreover, the unions are being put into an increasingly defensive position with thousands being laid off each week. What's more, the right to strike itself has come increasingly under attack with government injunctions, forced and limiting arbitration etc.

We must not forget that in Hitler Germany, along with the Jews and the communists, those unions that continued to lead strikes were also faced with the most severe repression.

Today, the working people of the U.S. are under attack. Our standard of living is being forced down in order to rescue the profit of the big monopolists.

The strike remains but one way for working people to defend themselves against this attack and train themselves in class struggle and solidarity.

Zionism--cont.

created by the monopolies in order to drive up prices. But the monopolists are attempting to shift the blame for these shortages, particularly the oil shortage away from themselves and their insatiable drive for profits onto the Arabs. This kills two birds with one stone. First it takes the heat off the monopolists and second, it helps prepare the ideological climate for a war of aggression in the middle east. The U.S. government will attempt to portray a mid-east war in glowing terms just as it portrayed the Vietnam war as a war to preserve democracy for Vietnam. But in essence, a mid-east war will be essentially the same as the Vietnam war--a war for big business profits.

Zionism has a key role to play here. It will depict this mid-east war as a war to save the Jewish people from extinction. Already Yasir Arafat is being compared to Hitler. Yet Arafat, while clearly anti-Zionist, is just as clearly opposed to anti-Semitism. As we have shown, this is not inconsistent.

The Zionists insist more strongly than ever that to be anti-Zionist is to be anti-semitic. The Nazis insisted that opposition to Nazism was identical to being anti-German. Just as the Nazis needed the Jews as a scapegoat, so does Zionism need its scapegoat--the Arab people, and the Palestinians in particular.

The Jewish people must defeat this reactionary movement in their own ranks -- or face disaster again.

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Rockefeller--cont.

to paid underlings. After all, what is more fitting, what would be a more glaring exposure of capitalism than to have President Rockefeller tell millions of working people who are going on welfare and having their heat turned off because they can't pay their fuel bills, that we must tighten our belts and make sacrifices in the national interest? How much more difficult it is for a Rockefeller to deck himself out as a "fighter for the small people", as Wallace, Nixon and the other neofascists are wont to do. With him it is hard to camouflage in whose interests the liberty and well-being of the people are being sacrificed!

Two Systems--cont.

PRODUCTION FOR PEOPLE NOT FOR PROFIT

A socialist government can do all these things for one reason -- because it is a government by, for, and of the working people. Workers in each production unit throughout China and Albania participate in planning and determining the needs of production. Profit, to the extent it remains, is a book-keeping device, and can in no way determine the fate of the economy, nor does it enter anyone's pocket. When a socialist government starts putting profits back in command, begins relying on the market, it is no longer a socialist government.

The elimination of unemployment, inflation, poverty and the other evils that bedevil us is not impossible or as difficult or complicated as the government would have us believe. What is very difficult, very complicated, and in fact actually impossible is to do so without attacking profits, and ultimately the profit system.

But a socialist government faces no such obstacle. A socialist government can plan production to meet the needs of growth, the society and the people. Mistakes can be made, are made, but they can be corrected because there is no obstacle to correcting them. As production develops, a socialist government can set lower prices; a socialist government can organize all its people to work since the needs of the people are limitless; a socialist government can shorten the work week when production develops because it is possible and it is in the interest of the people to do so.

WHO WE ARE

The Commentator is put out by a Marxist-Leninist collective in the New York area.

We want to make contact with progressive minded people, working people especially (but not only), who find the ideas in our paper interesting and useful. Also we want to make contact with other revolutionary groups and individuals. We want to make the Commentator as useful and interesting as possible and would appreciate your criticisms and comments.

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THE STRIKE - WHAT'S IN IT FOR WORKING PEOPLE

In recent times there has been a new wave of strikes. The first occurred from 1969 to 1971 and included strikes against General Motors, General Electric, the Post Office, Bell Telephone, the railroads, as well as smaller companies. After a brief lull a new wave of strikes began in late 73 including the nationwide Textile Workers Union walk-out, the strike against Farah pants, the oil refiners, the miners and hundreds of local strikes.

Many working people were either indifferent or opposed to these strikes as long as they were not directly involved. Yet the strike has a long history in Labor's struggle against the rich, especially in the United States. The strike is one of Labor's basic and indispensable weapons in the struggle for a better life.

Because strikes are such a powerful tool, the big capitalists have exerted a great deal of effort to spread many false ideas about the role and significance of strikes.

WHO'S HURT BY STRIKES

The first falsehood: strikes do not help working people but rather hurt them because higher wages lead to higher prices and hence the working person is back where he (or she) started.

If it were true that higher wages led to higher prices then the employers would not be opposed to wage increases. They would offset the greater outlay of wages by simply raising their prices. But every working person knows that the bosses fight like the dickens against any wage increase. Why is this? Employers raise their prices as much as the market will allow, regardless of the wages they pay out. So any wage raise cuts into their profits while it does not necessarily raise prices.

Take the electronics industry. Wages in this field have been increasing (though they are low) for a number of years; yet the prices of electronics equipment -- TVs, radios and the like have generally gone down. Likewise, prices can soar without an increase in wages. While gasoline and oil prices took off, the wages of refinery workers didn't change. During the so-called wage-price freeze, wages remained stable or increased slightly while prices skyrocketed. The result of these inflationary prices coupled with stable wages was record profits -- as much as 1200% profit increase in one year.

The rise or fall of wages does have a direct economic effect. As wages rise, profits fall and vice versa.

WHO'S SELFISH

The second and related falsehood: strikes are selfish, or, look at the hardship it imposes on other workers when some-



Quit Shoving

one like the transit or hospital workers go on strike.

It is true that sometimes the strike of some workers might cause a temporary hardship to other workers i.e. the milk, hospital or transit worker's strikes. In a sense any strike inconveniences other workers. But in spite of that and in a broader sense every strike or fight for better conditions is in the interest of all workers and workers should support a strike of brother workers. Why? Because first of all, there is such a thing as the general level of wages in our society. There is a general labor market. It is in the interest of workers that this level remain higher rather than lower. A worker finds this out when he has to go looking for a new job. Every strike that is lost, or every case where the workers failed to fight for what they might have gotten tends to lower wages. You might be making \$6.00 per hour. But how does it feel to know that if you blow it or lose it, you are going to have to go out and look in a job market where the average wage is say -- \$2.00 per hour. Not only that, if the general level is \$2.00 per hour, how safe is your job at \$6.00 per hour? The rich try to depress the general level of wages of the working class and the workers have it in their interest to protect or better the level.

There are some cases of selfish strikes of workers. This occurs when a certain group of workers accept a higher wage in exchange for giving up their support to other workers, for turning against their brothers. To a significant extent this has occurred in many high paying industries. Some locals have accepted deals to keep out Black or other minority workers. They also accept deals not to organize the unorganized and so forth. The teachers struck for selfish reasons several years ago in a strike aimed more against Black and Latin students and their parents than it was against the Board of Ed.

But this is not the case in general and is no argument against strikes in general.

IS IT WORTH IT?

The third falsehood: the strike isn't worth it. A long strike causes a lot of hardship, and the increase won through the strike doesn't come close to making up for the loss. Better to settle for less and not rock the boat. But this view overlooks something very important. If the bosses see that they can get away with a little, then, they reason, why not try a little more. If these workers are so afraid of a fight, then we can get away with really turning the screws. In the end, the timid attitude of hanging on to what we have actually leads to even bigger losses. The it-ain't-worth-it argument is often advanced by union bureaucrats who are more afraid of committing union funds to a good fight than anything else. The bruising that a small but feisty guy takes in sticking up for himself sometimes doesn't seem worth it. But very often it is when the bully knows he's in for a fight if he wants to mess with the little fellow. The analogy isn't completely right because the workers, when united, aren't actually such a Little Fellow.



The fourth falsehood: It is useless to strike because the union leaders are sub crooks and sellouts or are too timid in any case. But in fact there are ways the rank and file can rouse the leaders to fight, and if it proves impossible to rouse them then they can eventually be removed. They were not placed there by God. Many union leaders themselves began as rebels, sometimes even communists. They either had to organize the union from the ground up, or organize it to fight in the face of an entrenched but corrupted leadership. It can be done again if necessary. Small rank and file groups are emerging in different unions these days for just that reason.

STRIKES WON'T END CAPITALISM...

This does not mean that strikes can produce miracles for working people.

True -- strikes can be used for political as well as economic ends as have general strikes in Europe and Latin America many times. But strikes will not wrest power from the capitalists and put it in the hands of working people. To do that, workers

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