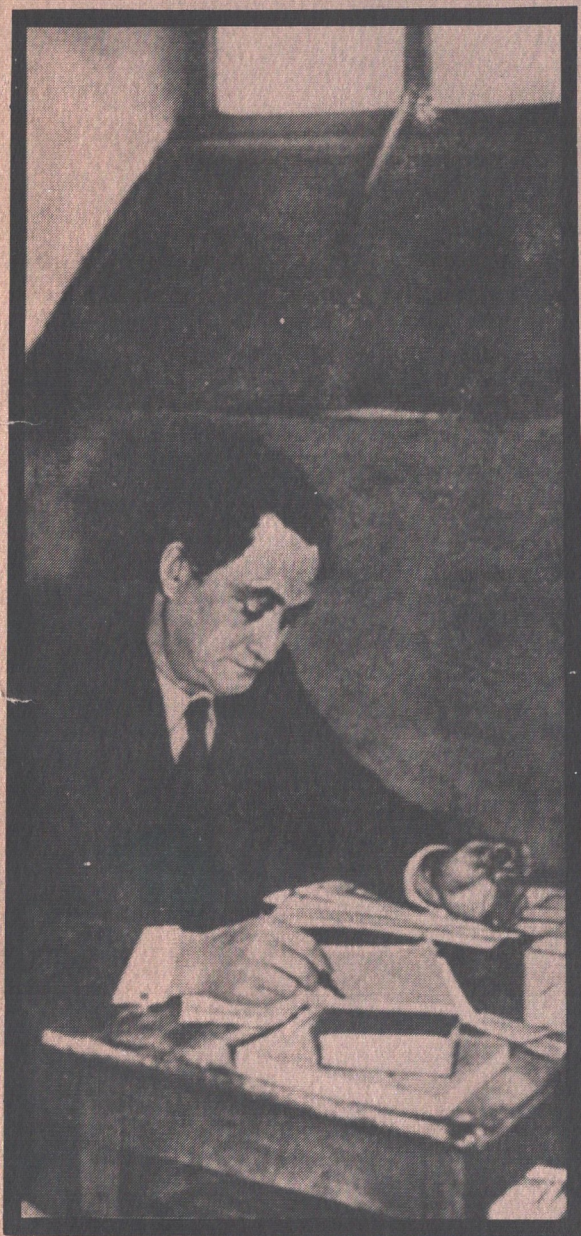


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# PROLETARIAT



Following the example of our glorious Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we want to combine the *revolutionary heroism* of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and other Communists *with genuine revolutionary realism*, and put an end to the last remnants of scholastic tinkering with serious political questions.

We want to equip our Parties from every angle for the solution of the most complex political problems confronting them. For this purpose we want to raise ever higher their *theoretical level*, to train them in the spirit of live Marxism-Leninism and not dead doctrinairism.

We want to eradicate from our ranks all *self-satisfied sectarianism*, which above all blocks our road to the masses and impedes the carrying out of a truly Bolshevik mass policy. We want to intensify in every way the struggle against all concrete manifestations of *Right opportunism*, realizing that the danger from this side will increase precisely in the practice of carrying out our mass policy and struggle.

We want the Communists of each country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather.

This is what we want!

And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the toilers, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International and possessed of so great and wise a pilot as our leader Comrade Stalin be able to fulfill historical mission with certainty—to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism!

Georgi Dimitrov

A Theoretical Journal Published by the  
COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY USNA





Dear Comrades and Friends:

We proudly present to you Volume One, Number One of Proletariat, a theoretical journal published by the Communist Labor Party of the United States of North America. The purpose of Proletariat is to serve as a forum for comradely debate and polemics on the political line of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the concrete conditions of the United States of North America, as well as a place to print original theoretical analyses, applications of the science of dialectical materialism to various questions, and so on. The pages of Proletariat are open to all comrades and honest revolutionaries whether they be in the CLPUSNA or not. We know that every real communist party is a unity of two basically antagonistic and mutually exclusive opposites, democracy and centralism, which together, of course, make up the political and organizational basis of the party, democratic centralism. While the People's Tribune, the political organ of the Central Committee of the CLP, represents the aspect of centralism - that is, only one line is reflected in it, the line of the Party, - Proletariat, on the other hand, represents the opposite aspect which is united with it, democracy. It is meant to give the comrades and friends the opportunity to sign articles personally which represent their own personal opinions, articles which may or may not be polemical, critical, or different from the line of the Party. History has shown that political understanding develops only through theoretical and political struggle; this corresponds to the laws of dialectics. We do not want the situation which developed in and characterized the Communist Party USA and most other left groups, that is, phony unity on the surface and factional struggles underneath, all based on a low theoretical level, petty-bourgeois opportunism and big-shotism. We want to provide a place where we can have open and honest debates and polemics that will lead to voluntary unity and centralism, to the unity of action that our Party and class will need to destroy USNA imperialism. Proletariat is meant to serve as one such place. Therefore, we urge individuals to write articles and submit articles. Signed articles (usually initials) represent only the opinions of the authors. Only those articles signed by the Central Committee of the Party represent the line of the Party. We also urge comrades and friends to send us letters, criticisms, suggestions, etc. Please address all correspondence to:

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Comradely,

J A, Editor, Chicago

#### CONTENTS

CHINA'S REVOLUTION IS THE CONTINUATION OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION - A	
REFUTATION OF LIN PIAO, by T.S., Chicago.....	page 1
THE MARXIST CONCEPTION OF INFLATION, by A. T., San Francisco.....	page 36
THE BOSTON BUSING CRISIS: LIBERALISM AS THE BREEDING GROUND FOR FASCISM, by	
L. A. and R. K.....	page 48
ON CERTAIN THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS OF FASCISM;	
DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION. by M. M., Chicago.....	page 54
ON THE SITUATION IN CUBA, by Comrades in the Southwest.....	page 64



CHINA'S REVOLUTION IS THE CONTINUATION OF THE GREAT  
OCTOBER REVOLUTION - A REFUTATION OF LIN PIAO

I. Aspects of the International Situation

On September 12, 1971, a Trident jet carrying Lin Piao crash landed 160 miles into the Mongolian frontier. The career of one of the world's foremost "Maoists" ended in flames. Only months later did the world find out for sure where in fact Lin Piao's real allegiances lay. For those who had substituted empty phrase-mongering for Marxism-Leninism, for those who had done no more than memorize selected passages from the Redbook, the revelation of Lin Piao's plot on Mao Tse-tung's life was a cruel slap in the face. But for those Marxists who were acquainted with the history of the communist movement and its leaders, there was always something fishy about Lin Piao's sanctification of Mao Tse-tung. Obviously something more was at work here than naive "hero" worship. This was an attempt to separate the Chinese revolution from the October Socialist Revolution, to separate Mao Tse-tung from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, to isolate him. But was Lin Piao after Mao alone, was this just a "power struggle" between personalities," as the bourgeois press so often characterizes it? No. Lin Piao was part of a plan to overthrow the socialist state, and following that, the socialist relations of production in China. One thing stood in Lin Piao's way - the Marxist-Leninists in the Communist Party of China, led by Mao Tse-tung. That is why Lin Piao applied traditional guerrilla tactics against Mao Tse-tung: isolate and destroy.

We are not so concerned about the second part of this process, namely the plot itself. The details have been well-publicized in numerous magazines and newspapers. Besides, the plot failed; Lin Piao is certainly dead. But the bourgeois class which Lin Piao represented is far from dead. And so the attempt to isolate Mao Tse-tung goes on. It is the analysis of Lin Piao's methods of isolation that is vitally important to not only the Chinese Communists, who have devoted dozens of pages in their publications to it, but also in fact to the international communist movement. For as we have seen time and time again in this country, an incorrect estimation of the Chinese Revolution goes hand in hand with opportunism. Later on we will look at why this is so.

The attempt to isolate Mao Tse-tung has gone on for nearly fifty years. Its roots today lie not only in China, but particularly in the change which occurred in the international situation following Stalin's death in the Soviet Union. Until then the socialist camp represented a vast expanse of land and peoples from Vietnam to East Germany. The bourgeoisie well understood the need to break up that unity. They had already suffered a decisive defeat with the Moscow purge trials in the latter half of the 1930s. But then war was approaching; the kulaks had been smashed; large-scale industry in the Soviet Union was growing rapidly; in short, the economic basis of the Soviet Union was quickly being transformed into a socialist one.

After the war, conditions were somewhat different. A large part of Soviet Industry had been destroyed. Tens of millions of people had died, including hundreds of thousands of steeled Bolshevik cadre. The Soviet economy had to be rebuilt for the second time in thirty years. It was during this period of economic dis-



location that the bourgeoisie began making their moves. The culmination of this treachery was the coup d'etat by Khrushchov and his forces. The Soviet state had been seized by the Russian bourgeoisie, the same class that formed the Fifth Column in the thirties, the same class that capitalized off the petty profiteering immediately following the seizure of state power by the Bolsheviks in 1917. With this seizure of state power by the Russian bourgeoisie, the Soviet Union left the socialist camp. In order for a state to have a socialist character, it must be a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet state under Khrushchov could not longer be called a socialist one precisely because it was no longer an instrument of proletarian dictatorship but rather an instrument of bourgeois dictatorship.

Some immense problems immediately confronted the Russian bourgeoisie. Domestically, how to separate the Soviet working class from the means of production. Internationally, what to do with the socialist camp, particularly China. This latter question is for the Russian bourgeoisie not just an ideological one; it is a military one, a question of war. War, as we know, is simply politics by other means. And what is the political problem here? Because of the tremendous revolutionary history of the Soviet peoples, the Russian bourgeoisie was forced to don Marxist clothing. In doing that, however, they came face to face with the real Marxists of the socialist camp, especially the Albanian Party of Labor and the Communist Party of China. The struggle was on. Either the Russian bourgeoisie would be exposed as phony Marxists and traitors to the working class or they would succeed in isolating the communists in the socialist camp. This attack had to start with China, mainly because of the common revolutionary bonds between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and because of the enormous international significance of the Chinese revolution. Furthermore, an attack on China had to begin with an attack on its leadership, an attack on Mao Tse-tung. This right wing attack took the form of outright slander and lies.

Now we can see the connection. The attack from the right from the USSR bourgeoisie had its complement in China. All but the most hardened philistines now realize that there is still a bourgeois class within China, a class that had been deprived of political power, but one which will attempt to seize political power back. The Chinese bourgeoisie, like the Russian, wants to eliminate the Marxist-Leninist forces led by Mao Tse-tung. This is ~~is from~~ the basis of unity between the two bourgeoisies. But the Chinese bourgeoisie, for whom Lin Piao was a major spokesman within the Communist Party of China, could not attack Mao in the same way that the Russian bourgeoisie could. They would be immediately exposed and discredited, as they were in the Cultural Revolution. This defeat led to a change in tactics, that is, an attack from the "left," but with exactly the same purpose in mind: the restoration of capitalism in China. This is the essence of Lin Piao's politics. Is it any wonder that this plane was heading towards the Soviet Union? Or is it any wonder that the Soviet journal Izvestia acknowledged that Lin Piao backed rapprochement between the Soviet Union and China?

In this context, it is clear that a correct appraisal of the Chinese Revolution and the contributions of Mao Tse-tung to the world communist movement is not just an abstract theoretical exercise, but a question of immediate importance. Without such a correct appraisal, we cannot possibly struggle in the best way against the capitalist bandits who have stolen state power in the Soviet Union. It is also no accident that it is the influence of this very same Lin Piao that has prevented many groups around the world from really participating in this struggle. In fact, while pretending to fight the Soviet capitalists, some of these groupings have

only given them more ammunition because of their blind and philistine understanding of the Chinese revolution.

This is the significance for us of the exposure of Lin Piao. It is not a question of China's internal politics. It is a question of proletarian internationalism, of coming to the aid of our class not only in the Soviet Union and China but also in the USNA. China is a beacon of socialism around the world. Our own proletariat must learn from the experience of the Chinese revolution. But they cannot do this properly so long as the opportunist appraisal of this revolution goes unexposed.

## II.

### Genius of a New Era?

Many communists long ago became suspicious of Lin Piao's constant characterization of Mao Tse-tung as the greatest genius of all time. What was not so clear was that this was part of an overall ideological plan of attack that was started years before. In fact, Lin Piao could not isolate Mao Tse-tung without isolating the Chinese Revolution as a whole. In 1967 he wrote:

"The victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war breached the imperialist front in the East, wrought a great change in the world balance of forces, and accelerated the revolutionary movement among the people of all countries. From then on, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America entered a new historical period." (1)

And what is this "new historical period?"

"...Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought Leninism to all countries, so that the world took on an entirely new look. In the last fifty years, following the road of the October Revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world have carried world history forward to another entirely new era, the era in which imperialism is headed for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory." (2)

Before we go on to analyze why the need for this "new era," let's take a look at its validity. It is clear that this formulation has been accepted by many a force on the left, especially in the USNA. Following on the heels of Lin Piao, these groups seek to learn nothing from the October Revolution. After all, that was in "another era."

What is the importance of Lenin's analysis that we are living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution? First of all, the world "era" has a specific meaning for Marxists. "An era is called an era precisely because it encompasses the sum total of variegated phenomena and wars, typical and untypical, big and small, some peculiar to advanced countries, others to backward countries." (3) In this same essay Lenin makes the distinction between the era in which Marx and Engels lived and the era in which we are living now. As Stalin put it:

"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx and Engels pursued their activities in the pre-revolutionary period (we have the proletarian revolution in mind), when developed imperialism did not



yet exist, in the period of the proletarian preparation for revolution, in the period when the proletarian revolution was not yet a direct, practical inevitability. Lenin, however, the disciple of Marx and Engels, pursued his activities in the period of developed imperialism, in the period of the unfolding proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution had already triumphed in one country, had smashed bourgeois democracy, and had ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets." (4)

This era is not just a question of imperialism, for capitalist imperialism existed in Europe and the USNA some twenty years before the October Revolution. Yet this era did not really begin until 1917. In fact, as The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) states, "The October Socialist Revolution thereby ushered in a new era in the history of mankind - the era of proletarian revolution." (5) If we return to Lenin's definition of what an era is, we can see that imperialism by itself could not change the basic pattern of the class struggle. But imperialism plus the October Revolution could and did change that pattern.

Now the world as a whole was not simply divided up into oppressor and oppressed countries, as had been the case before. Now two hostile camps stood opposed to each other - the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism. The bourgeois class around the world saw the threat (to them) of communism in proportions they had never before even contemplated. Proof enough of this was the fact that as many as fourteen different nations saw fit to attack the Soviet Union almost immediately after the proletariat had seized power.

The October Revolution changed the nature of the colonial revolutions as well. Previously, the national bourgeoisie of the colonies could play a leading role in the struggle for emancipation. The hegemony of the proletariat in the colonial revolution was regarded as unnecessary at best and a positive hindrance at worst. But the October Revolution put an end to all such bourgeois nationalism. The national bourgeoisie of the colonies had up until 1917 been playing an increasingly conciliatory role towards the imperialists. As history marched onward, as the world became fully divided up amongst the imperialist powers, the colonial bourgeoisie more and more proved its inability to lead the struggle for national liberation. A qualitative leap was taking place, and the October Revolution was the nodal line. Before then the question of the colonies was either ignored or placed in the category of bourgeois revolution. It is only after the October Revolution that we can say, as Stalin, that "the era of revolutions for emancipation in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the proletariat of these countries, the era of its hegemony in the revolution, has begun." (6)

Finally, the October Revolution ushered in a general worldwide crisis for capitalism. The essence of the First World War was the redivision of the world for imperialism plunder. But with the advent of the October Revolution, fully one sixth of the world was taken away from the capitalists. This is what precipitated the general world crisis of capitalism. Capitalism still suffers from cyclical crises every few years. But after 1917, the capitalist world was in a permanent, general state of crisis from which they have not managed to emerge to this day.

The Chinese Revolution is a continuation of the October Socialist Revolution. In his work On New Democracy, Mao Tse-tung pointed out that there were two basic periods in the history of the Chinese Revolution: the bourgeois-democratic, led

by the bourgeoisie, and the proletarian, led by the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry and other revolutionary elements of the petty-bourgeoisie. And what was the historical turning point? The First World War and the October Revolution. From this time on, the Chinese democratic revolution ceased to be a part of the old type of bourgeois revolution and became a part of the proletarian socialist world revolution. In this way Mao Tse-tung clearly establishes the line of continuation between the October Revolution and the Chinese Revolution.

Thus the latter did not initiate any new era at all. Rather, it was a striking illustration of the fact that the former had indeed initiated a new era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The Chinese revolution proved that the question of emancipation of the colonies was no longer a "separate" question but, on the contrary, a question for the entire world revolutionary movement to deal with.

Lin Piao "invented" a new era in order to break this line of continuity. In order to attack something, it is always better to isolate it from everything in its environment which gives it strength. Hence in order to attack the Chinese Revolution, it must be separated from the October Revolution. This is done by Lin Piao in a very clever way, and from the "left," as it were. The Chinese people and other revolutionary peoples around the world are given a "pat on the back." Even though these people have followed the course already outlined by Marx and Lenin, they are told they have brought about an entirely new state of affairs, a new era. Of course, how this "new era" is concretely different from the era Lenin described cannot be spelled out, for then it could be only too clear that Lin Piao had indeed invented something out of his head. But the motive is clear enough: there was no longer a need to learn from Lenin and Marx. We are in a "new era" now. All we need to study is the "Red Book." Isn't this the line that became so prevalent in the USNA "Left?"

But this is not all. The phrasing Lin Piao used constitutes an "improvement" on Lenin. It presents a seemingly brighter picture: the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is heading for worldwide victory. Isn't this much more descriptive than Lenin's drab "imperialism and proletarian revolution?" Certainly it presents a much more "optimistic" picture. But it is precisely such optimism that we should be wary of. In the long run it is true that imperialism will "collapse." The reason it will collapse, though, is because the proletariat led by its vanguard party will consciously destroy it. To say simply that imperialism will collapse conveys the impression that it will fall over from its own weight, that the conscious element is unnecessary. This is the same impression CPUSA chief Gus Hall gives in his pamphlet "The House of Imperialism is Crumbling." The idea that imperialism will collapse or crumble without being destroyed by the proletariat led by a conscious Marxist-Leninist Party contradicts the essence of Marxist theory and strategy. Marx always taught that without class-consciousness, without the recognition of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class would never destroy capitalism.

The second part of the formula also needs scrutinizing. Is socialism marching to worldwide victory? In the long range sense, of course it is. This is inevitable since socialism is the next step forward historically from capitalism and feudalism. But over the last two decades, who can deny that there have been some serious setbacks for the cause of socialism? The Russian bourgeoisie has seized control of part of the Soviet state apparatus, and this had happened as well in Poland, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Revisionist communist parties dominate the political scene throughout Europe, the USNA,



and South America. We are not disheartened at this situation, only more determined to expose these phony parties so that they will spread a minimum of confusion. But neither do we need fancy phrases to hide the real state of affairs in the world today. This is why Lenin's formulation is the correct one. Lenin never spoke of imperialism meekly surrendering. No, he showed how imperialism was "reaction down the line" and that this epoch would be one of extremely fierce class struggle. In sharp contrast to Lin Piao's smooth evolution to socialism, here is Lenin's sober estimate of the real situation: "World history is leading unswervingly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it is doing so by paths that are anything but smooth, simple and straight." (7)

Lin Piao was in direct opposition to this. As a representative of the Chinese bourgeoisie it was to his advantage to lull the workers to sleep. And it is in his formulation that we see yet another tie between him and the Soviet revisionists. They too claim that everything is fine within the socialist camp, while they prepare for military intervention in China. They too claim that imperialism will collapse, while they themselves strive to secure new colonies for exploitation. This line is one that is held by virtually every revisionist party in the world, including the CPUSA and large sections of the USNA "left." The essence of this line, however, is something entirely different than what it seemingly expresses. The essence of this line is to protect the bourgeoisie which has seized state power in the Soviet Union, and this is exactly what Lin Piao was doing.

The idea of imperialism crumbling of its own accord and socialism marching to an easy victory provides an ideological basis for the revisionists' glorification of "detente," otherwise known as imperialist peace. But what Lenin understood by imperialist peace, namely, a lull in between imperialist wars, a period in which the imperialists are preparing for a new division of the world - is quite different than that of the revisionists. Lenin proved that imperialism made wars for new markets inevitable. Thus the war in Vietnam, the Middle East, etc., are "normal" insofar as imperialism cannot exist without such wars. According to revisionist chief Brezhnev, however, perpetual peace - or "detente" - is the normal state of affairs for imperialism. He made this clear in his speech to the electorate this May. First he spoke of Vietnam, the Middle East and the "cold war" and the generally tense relations that existed between the socialist and imperialist camps. One would think that since socialism and imperialism are irreconcilable, relations naturally would be tense between the two camps. But not according to Brezhnev:

"Our Party never considered such a situation inevitable, much less normal. Having assessed the general balance of world forces, we arrived at the conclusion several years ago that there existed a realistic possibility of bringing about a radical change in the international situation. It was a matter of starting a broad constructive discussion and the settlement of the issues which had piled up. These intentions and this policy of our Party found their general expression in the Peace Program proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress." (8)

Here we should note that both Lin Piao and the revisionists agree on the fact that a new era had begun, different from the one Stalin defined fifty years ago. CPUSA chieftan Gus Hall put forward this idea in his latest book on imperialism:

"One of the basic conclusions we draw from the new epoch concept is the fact that world wars are not now inevitable. In the epoch when imperialism was the dominant force, wars of conquest between imperialist powers for the redivision of the loot were inevitable. The shift in the world balance of forces has made a shift in the outlook for peace not only possible but crucial for mankind's survival." (9)

Lin Piao's formulations of the "new era" come from the "left" because his aim was to separate the Chinese Revolution from the October revolution in order to pave the way for capitalist restoration in China. Leonid Brezhnev's and Gus Hall's formulations on this point come from the "right" because they must separate the Soviet working class not only from the means of production but also from their revolutionary heritage, in order to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. But in both cases, what is involved is a clear denial of Marxism-Leninism.

It is no accident that the Chinese Communists struck a telling blow at this deviation at their Tenth National Congress. Chou En-lai's report carried a clear refutation of Lin Piao and his followers:

Lenin "therefore concluded that 'imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution of the proletariat,' and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, 'Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.' This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death, the world situation has undergone great changes, but the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today." (10)

Lin Piao's scheme unfolds from this invention of the "new era." Though he was never a Marxist (in all his writings up until 1960, there are only two references to Marxism-Leninism), he knew enough about Marxism to realize why Marx and Lenin's teachings in particular form the basis of modern revolutionary doctrine. Of the era of bourgeois-democratic revolution, which lasted until World War One and the October Revolution, Marx was without a doubt the principal spokesman. Of the era of imperialism and socialist, proletarian revolution, which we are still in today, Lenin was the principal spokesman. This is basically why the doctrine which represents all the goals of the modern revolutionary movement is termed "Marxism-Leninism." And it will continue to be termed thus until society enters a new historical era. This is why we reject such formulations as Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Enver Hoxha and other communist leaders have rejected the many attempts to place them on the same level as Marx and Lenin as far as their contributions to the theory and principles of the Communist movement. Not because they were any lesser men. Rather because they viewed themselves as the faithful disciples of Marx and Lenin instead of as "inventors" who were going to raise Marxism-Leninism to a higher stage. Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha are continuers of Marxism-Leninism. They proved that Marxism-Leninism was not a local or a national doctrine, but in fact an international doctrine, one that was applicable to all countries at all times in the present era.

Yet there have been repeated attempts to separate these leaders from Marxism-Leninism. This is done somewhat "cleverly" through flattery, telling them that they are the greatest geniuses of all time, that they have raised Marxism to an entirely new level. Is it any coincidence that the factionalists of the old CPUSA, Foster and Bittelman, competed with each other to see who could prove himself to be the best "Stalinite?" With Marxist clarity, Stalin crushed the attempts to set him up on a pedestal to make a better target of him. "Foster and Bittelman see nothing reprehensible in declaring themselves 'Stalinites' and thereby demonstrating their loyalty to the CPSU. But, my dear comrades, that is disgraceful. Do you not know that there are no 'Stalinites?'" (11) The "cult of the individual" had nothing to do with Stalin, except insofar as he consistently opposed it. Really it was the enemies of the CPSU such as Foster and Bittelman who pushed the



cult of the individual, who proclaimed their loyalty to "Stalinism." As for Stalin, he made his position quite clear: "I am only a disciple of Lenin, and my whole ambition is to be a faithful disciple." (12)

Stalin and Mao both made it clear that in being disciples of Marx and Lenin, they were in the highest way fulfilling their duties as communists. These two great leaders always repudiated attempts to invent something new and wonderful, which did not correspond to the real world, such as a "new era." The historical examples they have set show that those who strive to be leaders by inventing new "isms" and proclaiming themselves as ultimate geniuses are not more than opportunists. Leonid Brezhnev and Gus Hall are prime examples of this. No, the real leaders of the proletariat, such as Stalin and Mao Tse-tung have distinguished themselves by their application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in their countries. In so doing, they have carried out the tasks of this historical era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Lin Piao used the very same tactics as Foster and Bittelman, only with more skill and international effect than his predecessors. In fact, close to a billion people, almost one third of the entire world, were exposed to Lin Piao's hero worship of Mao Tse-tung. We refer of course to the famous Red Book which carried Lin Piao's instructions: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively, and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage." (13)

This formulation appears time and time again in Lin Piao's writings. It practically became his trademark. He had hit upon an explosive idea. All over the world, so-called revolutionaries who hadn't read any Marx or Lenin anyway now found so-called "theoretical" justification for their ignorance, and from a leading member of the Communist Party of China, no less! Marxism-Leninism became old hat, "outdated," while "Mao Tsetung Thought" was raised to the level of an "ism" for a brand new "era." With the shortsightedness that characterizes all amateurs, these naive revolutionaries pinned on their Mao badges, stuffed the "Red book" in their back pocket, memorized a few quotations (after all, hadn't Lin Piao also told us that the best way to learn Mao was to memorize a few key passages?), and proclaimed themselves the vanguard of the proletariat. Little did these people know that they had fallen into a carefully conceived trap, a trap that assumed international dimensions. Let us examine the dialectics of this trap more carefully.

First, Lin Piao did not carry out his plan alone. He had to prepare as many people as possible ideologically. The immediate problem was this. Mao Tse-tung has always considered himself a continuer of Marxism-Leninism, and this point is made often enough in his writings. Now, how to make everyone read Mao Tse-tung and yet miss this essential point? The solution came with the problem. Urge a method of study which tends to produce philistines and not rounded Marxist-Leninists: "In order really to master Mao Tse-tung's Thought, it is essential to study many of Chairman Mao's basic concepts over and over again, and it is best to memorize important statements and study and apply them repeatedly." (14) This seems like an easy and palatable way to master Marxism-Leninism. Too easy. The mastery of Marxism-Leninism is an uphill struggle, one that demands conceptual understanding. But of course Lin Piao greatly feared just such a conceptual understanding. He needed the freedom to move that came with people's mistaken belief that he was a faithful Marxist. He needed the "freedom" to put forth his own "theories" on the

Chinese revolution, theories that would pave the way for the seizure of state power by the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Let this be a good lesson to us. We communists must carefully scrutinize every communist leader and every communist party from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism. Those parties and leaders which are truly Marxist-Leninist will demand such scrutiny, while those who are not fear it. Marx long ago warned that we cannot afford to base our opinion of an individual on what he thinks of himself, but only on what that individual represents objectively, and this applies to parties as well. We support Marxist-Leninists and parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism always and everywhere; but we are fools if we support individuals and parties simply because they attach the name communist or socialist to themselves.

Chronologically, the first step in Lin Piao's "theory" was the idea of a "new era" and the separation of Mao Tse-tung from the historical continuity of Marxism-Leninism. Though the philosophical basis of Lin's theory in general is idealism, the concrete manifestations are these two concepts. They are the most obvious deviations, and form the keystone of the rest of his "theory." It would be wrong, however, to stop with the surface phenomena. For in fact it is really some of his other deviations that have the most profound impact on the international communist movement. I refer particularly to his assessment of the Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the attempts to restore capitalism in the USSR and in China, the national and colonial questions, and the role of ideological struggle in the proletarian movement. Clarity on these points is hardly an abstract endeavor at this particular time. No, we could go so far as to say that without this clarity, we will be unable to move forward. This hardly means that Lin Piao is some sort of evil genius because he has succeeded in confusing certain sections of the communist movement. On the contrary, he represents a bourgeois deviation in the movement; his writing constitute a summation of that deviation; and therefore in refuting him, it becomes clearer and clearer that he is only a secondary target. Our primary aim is the exposure and expulsion of this deviation from the communist movement.

### III. The Role of the Cultural Revolution and the Bourgeois Line of Capitalist Restoration

Restoration of capitalism and cultural revolution - what is the connection between these? Lin Piao would have us believe that the prevention of capitalist restoration is simply a matter of "ideological struggle," of winning over men's minds. Thus the whole purpose of the cultural revolution is distorted. The essence of cultural revolution is not simple ideological purification. No, cultural revolution is anecessary process in strengthening the socialist economic basis. Unless this relation between cultural revolution and the economic basis of society is grasped, we could very likely accept the notion that restoration of capitalism involves no more than the seizure of the leading posts in the state apparatus. In fact, seizure of these leading posts is only the first step and in many ways the least complicated step in the restoration of capitalism. The second step is the restoration of capitalism in agriculture. Following this (of course, not in a simple "1-2-3" chronological process) comes by far the most difficult, if not impossible, task, the dismantling of the entire Soviet state apparatus; ie, the exclusion of the working class from economic planning. Until these three things have been accomplished, we must speak of restoration of capitalism, especially



in the USSR today, in a contradictory way: yes, the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist state, in so far as the leading positions in the government have been seized by the Russian bourgeoisie; and no, capitalist restoration has not been entirely effected in the Soviet Union, precisely because the working class has not yet been entirely dispossessed. Let us examine this contradiction in more detail.

The question of the restoration of capitalism after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie has been a critical issues ever since the first workers' state of the Paris Commune was overthrown a century ago. The Paris Commune taught the proletarian movement not only that they must seize state power but that the old, bourgeois state had to be thoroughly smashed. The dictatorship of the proletariat was from then on understood to be a qualitatively different type of state, in fact, "The Commune ceased to be a state in so far as it had to repress, not the majority of the population but a minority (the exploiters)." (15) The Paris Commune definitely did enjoy popular support as did the Soviet Government in the USSR. History has thus concretely proven that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the first state in the history of mankind which may enjoy popular support. May - because saying it does not make it so; because there is more to the dictatorship of the proletariat than just the state apparatus; because winning the lasting support of the masses is something that can only be accomplished over a long period of time. It is true enough that during the insurrectionary period the first item of the agenda is the seizure of state power and the smashing of the old bourgeois state. This is what the Communards attempted to do, and in the process gave the world a glimpse of what socialist would be like in practice. The next glimpse did not come until 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized state power.

The first year of the Russian Revolution was one of decrees, nationalizations and intense revolutionary activity. The bourgeois world was momentarily stunned. But not for long. By 1920, fourteen nations had attacked the Soviet Union after a devastating episode in the First World War which cost millions of Russian lives and resulted in severe economic dislocation. The extent of this devastation was reported at a conference in Amsterdam in 1931.

"The national economy of the Soviet Union suffered a severe decline as a result of the imperialist war and the civil war, as a result of internal counterrevolution and of the subsequent intervention by a number of capitalist countries. Industrial output, which was valued at 5.6 billion rubles in 1913, declined to 1-billion pre-war rubles in 1920. Agriculture also suffered severely. The sown area in 1916 was 281.6 million acres. By 1920 the sown area had decreased 25%, while the gross production of grain had decreased 50%. Railway transportation was completely disorganized. In 1913 there were 20,030 locomotives; in 1920-21 only 18,757 were left. The percentage of locomotives in disrepair increased from 16.3% in 1913 to 62% in 1921." (16)

Now the Soviet Union had to muster all her forces to fight off both her internal bourgeoisie and the foreign bourgeoisie with which it had united. The Bolsheviks did not have to invent any new ideas to see that classes and class struggle continued to exist after the seizure of state power by the proletariat. In fact, in 1920 Lenin put forth a clear analysis of the possibilities of capitalist restoration and the economic basis of the bourgeoisie under socialism.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by a new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production." (17)

Thus the organizing role of the state in establishing the economic basis for socialism is laid bare. A state alone is all the proletariat has at first. But if it rests content with that, the proletariat will lose the state as well. This is why Lenin wrote, "Either we lay an economic foundation for the political gains of the Soviet State, or we shall lose them all." (18) And what is the essence of this economic foundation and its relation to the state?

"To make things even clearer, let us first of all take the most concrete example of state capitalism....It is Germany. Here we have 'the last word' in modern large-scale, capitalist engineering and planned organization, subordinated to Junker-bourgeois imperialism. Cross out the words in italics, and in place of the militarist, Junker, bourgeois, imperialist state, put also a state, but of a different social type, of a different class content - a Soviet state, that is, a proletarian state, and you will have the sum total of the conditions necessary for socialism. Socialism is inconceivable without large-scale capitalist engineering based on the latest discoveries of modern science," etc. (19)

Why is large-scale industry so necessary to socialism? First, because without it, the division which exists between town and country under capitalism would continue to grow under socialism. Under capitalism, the country becomes subordinate to the town; agriculture always lags seriously behind the development of industry. It is not necessary here to go into all the reasons for this. Suffice it to say that the result is that thousands of peasants and farmers live on a subsistence income and those who cannot make it in the country flock to the cities in search of nonexistent jobs. In Latin America, for example, there are 60 million campesinos who make an average of 25¢ (USNA currency) a day. And surrounding the cities of Latin America are filthy slums in which live 50 million unemployed or underemployed workers (20). There are the concrete results of the division between town and country. There are the conditions which the socialist state inherits. Without large-scale industry, these conditions cannot change. Agriculture cannot move ahead without mechanization. Fallow land cannot be made fertile again without fertilizer industries and scientific use of the soil. To put it simply, large-scale industry makes possible mechanization and rational use of land; these in turn make possible collectivization; collectivization is the bridge to the proletarianization of the peasantry and the abolition of classes in the countryside.

This division between town and country is quite dangerous for the socialist state because it leads to the most intense kind of profiteering and economic chaos. The socialist state does not do everything in its power to eliminate this division between town and country out of some liberal "humanitarian" motives. No, the elimination of this division is the life and death of socialism. This is particularly true in a country such as the Soviet Union or China, where small-scale production, especially in the countryside, was the dominant aspect of production. Small scale production has serious consequences both economically and socially, and these consequences are completely interrelated.



Economically, small-scale production provides the perfect environment for the regeneration of capitalism. First of all, social production is at a minimum. Each peasant has his own private plot and will fight to the end to save it. Once the harvests are in, each individual must sell his produce. The sale of his commodities for the greatest profit is the life and death of the individual proprietor. Thus the incredibly intense competition in the agricultural market. The only law which prevails in such a marketplace in which aspiring capitalists sell their goods is the production for maximum profit. Production for maximum profit goes hand in hand with anarchy of social production, the opposite of socialist economic planning. Because the overriding incentive for better production is profit, the result is overproduction of one variety of commodities after another. And the class that suffers from this the most is of course the proletariat, which survives from the food produced by these methods. Conditions are made even worse by the constant influx of peasants who come to look for nonexistent jobs in the cities after being driven out of business by the cut-throat competition. Dealing effectively with this type of production is a much more difficult and complex thing than nationalizing large-scale industry where the production has already been socialised, particularly in the Soviet Union and China where the vast majority of the population consisted of peasants. As Lenin pointed out, "The peasants constitute a huge section of our population and of our entire economy, and that is why capitalism must grow out of this soil of free trading. That is the very ABC of economics as taught by the rudiments of that science, and in Russia taught, furthermore, by the profiteer, the creature who needs no economic or political science to teach us economics with." (21) These profiteers took advantage of the fact that the Soviet proletariat at that time was literally starving. They were hardly concerned about the need of the proletariat for grain. What mattered to them was the realizable demand of the proletariat; in other words, their ability to pay for the grain. Without this pay these profiteers withheld their grain from the market, smuggled it outside the Soviet borders and in general resorted to a variety of maneuvers to secure the highest prices for their goods.

How, concretely, is this environment eroded away by the socialist state, undermined to the point that agricultural production is carried out by proletarian agricultural armies? The history of the Soviet Union shows us that this is first of all a process involving many stages. The first stage is of course nationalization of the land and supplying the ruined peasantry with land. The extent of this nationalization is shown in the following figures:

(SEE FOLLOWING PAGE)

SOVIET AGRICULTURE  
(Land redistribution) (22)

Millions of dessiatins	Before revolution	Confiscated	After revolution	Incr. Decr.	Percent change
1. Poor and middle peasants	20	--	34.5	+14.5	+72.5
2. Kulak (rich peasant) farms owned by non-peasant bourgeoisie	8.6	6.8	1.8	-6.8	-79.0
3. Estates and Church land	12.1	12.1	--	-12.1	-100.0
4. City land	0.6	0.3	0.3	-0.3	-50.0
5. State and communal land	--	--	4.7	+4.7	--

Total 19.2 43.3

"Revolution meant the real liberation of the poor and middle peasants from the exploitation of the big landowners. It increased considerably their landholdings, and at the same time sharply reduced the burden of taxation by means of which the landowners' government had additionally exploited these sections of the rural population. The middle peasant became the central figure in post-revolutionary agriculture." (23)

This liberation of the poor and middle peasants laid the basis for collectivization of agriculture. What did collectivization mean? "Collectivization involved the elimination of boundary strips and the formation of large land areas, which enabled the peasants to make better use of their means of production and apply machine methods more advantageously." (24)

The primary form this collectivization took was the artel type of collective farm. The artel was a form in which only the principal means of production were collectivized. An extremely important role in this was played by the machine and tractor stations which were set up all over the Soviet Union and China and Albania. For the first time the peasant had an opportunity to develop new land, not alone, but in cooperation with his fellow peasants. On this basis the collective farms could be united into larger and larger units.

The more successful these collective farms are, the more the real material basis is created to eliminate the wealthy capitalist elements in the countryside. So we can see that collectivization is not just a process involving solely peaceful forms of struggle. No, collectivization of agriculture could only be accomplished through intense struggle against the rich peasants, or kulaks as they were known in the Soviet Union. At the same time, this collectivization had to be completely coordinated with the development of large-scale industry. The most concrete manifestation of the link between the industrial proletariat and the peasantry were



the machine and tractor stations. But they could not have been built without steel mills, tractor factories, etc. The tractors could not run without the development of fuel resources. The grain could not be taken to the cities without locomotives. This is the economic basis for the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in the Soviet Union, China and Albania. Just to show how long and drawn out this process was, though, we quote from Stalin's Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, written 30 years after the NEP period:

"But the collective farms are unwilling to alienate their products except in the form of commodities they need. At present the collective farms will not recognize any other economic relation with the town except the commodity relation - exchange through purchase and sale. Because of this, commodity production are as much a necessity with us today as they were thirty years ago, say, when Lenin spoke of the necessity of developing trade to the utmost.

"Of course, when instead of the two basic production sectors, the state sector and the collective sector, there will be only one all-embracing production sector, with the right to dispose of all the consumer goods produced in the country, commodity circulation, with its 'money economy' will disappear, as being an unnecessary element in the national economy." (25)

The creation of a single production sector involves not just the transformation of an agrarian-industrial country such as the USSR or China into an industrial-agrarian country, but, also the development of true socialist relations of production. Socialist relations mean much more than the seizure of state power by the proletariat. Otherwise NEP would have been unnecessary. By socialist relations of production we mean the direct rule (ownership) over the means of production by the working class itself. Lin Piao, who blithely pronounced the complete restoration of capitalism in the USSR, did not deal with this important point. Under capitalism, the working class has no say in the management of the economy, except insofar as it fights for better conditions for the sale of its labor power. As a matter of fact, the capitalists as a class have no real control over the economy either in the sense of ability to solve the basic problems of capitalism, which despite sophisticated devices, manipulations, etc, operate according to objective laws which operate blindly and beyond the consciousness of the "masters," who try in vain to avoid crises, depressions etc. The basic economic law of socialism - "the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques" (26) - is also an objective law, different only in the sense that the class in power, the proletariat, understands and can utilize it in a conscious, rational way, that is, the law of socialism is consciously applied, in such a way that eventually millions of workers take part in consciously building the socialist economic basis. The socialist state plays an active role in building the socialist relations of production. In the USSR this took place under the State Planning Commission of the USSR, which coordinated the work of drawing up an economic plan for the entire country. The extent of participation of the workers in the drawing up and fulfillment of the plan is revealed here:

"The single plan of national economy drawn up with the help of the masses and expressing the will of tens of millions of workers is actively carried out by them. The struggle for the fulfillment of the plan takes place on all sectors

of the economic front. The numerous difficulties which arise during the drive for its fulfillment are overcome. The fulfillment becomes a matter of honor for the respective groups of workers in the various sectors, and becomes an object of competition among them. Every phase of the plan, every part of the task attracts the attention of millions of workers." (27)

"The plan of national economy in the Soviet Union is a plan of the millions of workers. Millions of workers draw it up, carry it out, and watch closely the course of its development. This is the basis of success of planned economy. This is the fundamental advantage of the Soviet system of economy. This is the source of the unprecedented rate of development in the Soviet Union." (28)

By the time Stalin died over 100 million people were involved in this process. What the complete restoration of capitalism means is the disenfranchisement of these millions of workers. It means the dismantling of all the Soviets, of all the planning bodies within each factory and farm. So we see that restoration of capitalism after 40 years of socialism is not so easy as it may seem. It isn't just a question of control of the Central Committee; it is a question of transforming perhaps the most all-embracing, popular administrative apparatus in history into a tool of a tiny minority of the population.

That is why the bourgeoisie in the USSR and China concentrate on revising the basis of agriculture before demolishing this entire administrative apparatus in their attempts to restore capitalism. It is in agriculture that small-scale production still has a hold. Small-scale production, as we have seen, provides initially the most favorable soil for the growth of capitalist elements. In the Soviet Union, China and Albania, the bourgeoisie well understands that because of the historical development of these countries, agriculture and the small-scale production which in part characterizes it is the weak link. Once we understand the effects of small-scale production on the economic basis, then we are in a position to see its effects on the superstructure - the state, culture, ideology and so forth. The social counterpart of small-scale production is well known. Illiteracy, cultural backwardness, bribery and corruption on all levels. Bourgeois sociologists like to argue that these traits are national in origin and similar claptrap. But anyone who has lived in or seen an industrially underdeveloped country can immediately see that this is hardly the case. Others assume that these traits arise from the state apparatus itself, or, using even more shallow reasoning, from "bad ideology," "revisionist thinking," etc. This is the deviation which concerns us, since it is so prevalent in the left today, and here again it was Lin Piao who summarized many of its basic tenets.

As we have said, China was forced to follow a similar path as far as collectivization of agriculture and the development of large-scale industry were concerned, to that of the Soviet Union. And just as in the Soviet Union, there were those in the Communist Party of China who, representing the interests of the bourgeoisie, realized that an attempt at restoration of capitalism was just so much empty talk without an attack on the collective farms. This was the case with the infamous traitor Liu Shao-ch'i. By the time he was finally purged from the Communist Party of China and from the government he and his thousands of followers throughout China had succeeded in wreaking havoc in the collective farm movement. It is no accident that the focal point of this attack was the return of all collectivized property to individual ownership. This could not be done openly, as the Soviet revisionists are trying to do it today, but secretly



and deviously. Why did Liu Shao-ch'i concentrate on agriculture? Imagine returning an industry to private ownership under socialism. First of all, industry, especially large-scale industry, is the most nationalized sector of the socialist economy. In the Soviet Union, for example, we have the following figures as early as 1926-7: "...A total of 91.3 per cent of industry covered by the census was state industry, 5% was cooperative industry and only 2.3% was private capitalist industry." (29) Under capitalism the owners of industries and banks constitute by far the smallest class in the population. Under socialism they are dispossessed altogether. Further, there is no social basis for the reversion of capitalism in industry. In industry you are dealing with a capitalist who employs many laborers and who cares less whether he makes radios or popcorn as long as he turns a good profit. In agriculture, you are dealing with a peasantry the majority of whom are not exploiting the labor of others - that is, the poor and middle peasants. They are tied to their land which is the only thing they have and which they will not give up unless they are convinced that doing so will benefit them. That is why Liu Shao-ch'i basically oriented his followers toward agriculture. This does not mean, however, that he didn't advocate the destruction of socialist large-scale industry too. He did that too, urging total reliance on light industry because it was more "profitable" than heavy industry. Small, light industry is, once it is isolated from heavy industry and set in opposition to it, the complement of an anarchic market economy in agriculture. The two factors operating simultaneously create the proper environment for the attempt to restore capitalism.

The very first place where Liu had to be defeated was in the state apparatus. This is what the event we call the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was all about. It was the focal point of the cultural revolution that is a permanent institution in every socialist country. It was a continuation of the class struggle that is still continuing in China. It spelled the doom of the large capitalist elements in the countryside, firstly by smashing their niche in the state apparatus, as well as by continuing to develop socialist relations in the collective sector. The battle was focused on the bureaucracy within the state apparatus, the corruption of state officials who were following Liu Shao-ch'i's dictates, etc. By the involvement of millions of peasants in the revolution further to consolidate state power the link between the bureaucracy and corruption in the government and party, on the one hand, and petty small-scale production, on the other, was revealed.

It was only natural for the bourgeoisie to try to conceal this link. After all, they had to do everything possible to protect their economic basis. Enter Lin Piao. The first item on his agenda was to isolate the Cultural Revolution from history, to make it seem like something special that had never happened before. He tried to do this in 1967 when he wrote the following:

"China's great proletarian cultural revolution has won a decisive victory. In the history of the international communist movement, this is the first great revolution launched by the proletariat itself in a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is an epoch-making new development of Marxism-Leninism which Chairman Mao has effected with genius and in a creative way." (30)

Lin's main hope here was to convince people that Mao was creating something new, that there was no use even seeing what Lenin and Stalin had to say on the subject because they had not even thought about it. But once we firmly reject that line we can see right away that here again Mao Tse-tung did no more - and no less! - than consistently apply the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the cultural

revolution.

Lenin pointed out in 1921 that the economic basis of socialism could not be built without raising the cultural level of the masses. "The task of raising the cultural level is one of the most urgent confronting us," he said (31), and "We also need the culture which teaches us to fight red tape and bribery. It is an ulcer which no military victories and no political reforms can heal. By the very nature of things, it cannot be healed by military victories and political reforms but only by raising the cultural level." (32) Now what is Lenin talking about if not cultural revolution? But, the argument goes, the Chinese cultural revolution was the first actively to involve millions. Lin Piao says it in the following way: "This extensive democracy is a new form of integrating Mao Tse-tung's thought with the broad masses, a new form of mass self-education. It is a new contribution by Chairman Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship." (33)

Here we have to return to one of the main points of the cultural revolution - the elimination of the rich landlords' economic power in the countryside. In this respect the Chinese Cultural Revolution is very similar to that which brought about the elimination of the kulaks in the Soviet Union between 1928 and 1930. And was this something done simply by the Party alone, without the broad participation of the masses? No. "The distinguishing feature of this revolution was that it was accomplished from above, on the initiative of the state, and directly supported from below by the millions of peasants, who were fighting in freedom to throw off kulak bondage and to live in freedom in the collective farms." (34) So it is that here too Mao applied the historical experience of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions within China. It should be added that here too the CPSU expresses the correct relation of the party and the working class in the cultural revolution. So long as classes exist, the Party must never relinquish its leading role; it must never be led by the proletariat, but must always lead it. At the same time it can only lead it by involving millions of workers and peasants in the class struggle in a conscious way. Lin Piao's formulation that the cultural revolution was initiated by the proletariat is not only in contradiction to reality but denies the leading role of conscious Marxist-Leninists. And the argument that Liu Shao-ch'i controlled a large part of the Party holds no water here. The Cultural Revolution proved beyond a doubt that the vast masses of Marxist-Leninists were loyal to their class science and not to him.

The cultural revolution in the Soviet Union did not just involve the transformation of the economic basis, but also of the superstructure. It involved compulsory education for millions of children and workers, an end to illiteracy, abolition of national and sexual privileges, etc. The History of the CPSU is quite clear on this point: "This was a veritable cultural revolution. The rise in the standard of welfare and culture of the masses was a reflection of the strength, might and invincibility of our Soviet Revolution. Revolutions in the past perished because, while giving the people freedom, they were unable to bring about any serious improvement in their material and cultural conditions. Therein lay their chief weakness. Our revolution differs from all other revolutions in that it not only freed the people from tsardom and capitalism, but also brought about a radical improvement in the welfare and cultural condition of the people." (35)



The more we study the history of the Chinese and Soviet Revolutions, the more we see that the former is a continuation of the latter. The Marxist-Leninists of both countries confronted the same basic problems and solved them in the same basic way. This is only natural since they were, as we have said, Marxist-Leninists and not Stalinists or Maoists.

The one thing that really stands out in this history is that the cultural revolutions of both countries were hardly for culture alone. The improvement in cultural standards cannot be separated from the improvement in material standards. The fight in the super structure goes hand in hand with the fight to change the economic basis and develop the productive forces. It is precisely this fact that Lin Piao was so anxious to conceal. His separation of the Chinese Cultural Revolution from the Soviet cultural revolution attempted to lay the basis for this much more fundamental deviation. As we stated before, Lin Piao as a representative of the Chinese bourgeoisie had to conceal and protect the capitalist elements in the economic base, particularly those who had been given a new lease on life by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk. The best way to do this? Make it seem that the whole cultural revolution was only concerned at the most with the state apparatus and at the least with ideology in general, in the abstract, isolated from material production and the state as well. Make it seem that bureaucracy and red tape had their basis in the socialist state apparatus. Here is where the separation of Mao from Lenin and Stalin and the separation of the Chinese from the October Revolution really pays off. For Lin Piao uses none other than Lenin himself to "justify" his theory. He gives us the following quote: "Lenin also stated that 'the new bourgeoisie' was 'arising from among our Soviet government employees.'" (36) Now let us look at the entire quote in the original text and see what Lenin was really saying:

"For instance, Comrade Rykov, who is closely familiar with the facts in the economic field, told us of the new bourgeoisie which have arisen in our country. This is true. The bourgeoisie are emerging not only from among our Soviet government employees - only a very few can emerge from their ranks - but from the ranks of the peasants and handicraftsmen who have been liberated from the yoke of the capitalist banks, and who are now cut off from railway communication.... It shows that even in Russia, capitalist commodity production is alive, operating, developing and giving rise to a bourgeoisie, in the same way as it does in every capitalist society.

"Comrade Rykov said, 'We are fighting against the bourgeoisie who are springing up in our country because the peasant economy has not yet disappeared; this economy gives rise to a bourgeoisie and to a capitalism.' We do not have exact figures about it, but it is beyond doubt that this is the case." (37, emphasis mine)

By extracting a couple of sentences from Lenin and using them out of context, Lin Piao managed to distort the whole Marxist-Leninist theory on the source of strength of the bourgeoisie after the seizure of state power by the proletariat. The essence of this revisionist line is that the "new" bourgeoisie grows out of the socialist state apparatus. Why? Because, it is claimed, the socialist state apparatus is a bureaucracy. And bureaucracy, as everyone knows, breeds bourgeois elements. But can't we smell a rat here?

First of all, what is bureaucracy? Everyone knows that every state apparatus has administrative bureaus. Under capitalism and especially with the advent of its moribund stage, imperialism, these bureaus become the end-all and be-all of government. Every imperialist governmental official operates strictly from the point of view of preserving his particular bureau, his niche in the governmental apparatus, regardless of whether or not it is in the interests of the general population, which it seldom is. This is bureaucracy. A bureaucrat is not simply someone who is in charge of a bureau, or else we would have to call Stalin, head of the Political Bureau of the CPSU (B), a bureaucrat. A bureaucrat preserves himself by separating himself and his bureau from the masses of workers and peasants, whether under capitalism or socialism. The ideological basis of the bureaucrat is distinctly capitalist. That is why Lenin pointed out:

"In a Socialist society, this 'something in the nature of a parliament,' consisting of workers' deputies, will of course determine the conditions of work, and superintend the management of the 'apparatus' - but this apparatus will not be 'bureaucratic.' The workers, having conquered political power, will break up the old bureaucratic apparatus, they will shatter it to its very foundations, until not one stone is left upon another; and they will replace it with a new one consisting of these same workers and employees, against whose transformation into bureaucrats measures at once will be undertaken..." (38)

Secondly, bureaucracy has to have some kind of material basis. Where does that leave us if we assume that the material basis of the bourgeoisie is the socialist state apparatus? We are saying then that the socialist state is basically the same apparatus as the capitalist state, only that it is controlled by the proletariat instead of the bourgeoisie. But the line of Marxism-Leninism on this is that the difference between the socialist and capitalist state is not only quantitative but qualitative. Lenin wrote of the Paris Commune: "Here we observe a case of 'transformation of quantity into quality:' democracy, introduced as fully and as consistently as is generally thinkable, is transformed from capitalist democracy into proletarian democracy; from the state (ie, a special force for the suppression of a particular class) into something that is no longer really the state in the accepted sense of the word." (39) The bureaucracy that does exist in the socialist state apparatus is not something that is spawned by this apparatus in and of itself. It is a hangover from capitalism, whose bourgeoisie needs a well-developed bureaucracy to keep the class struggle in check and to suppress the proletariat. It develops under capitalism because the bourgeois state is a parasite on society. Capitalist state officials are paid many times more than the average factory worker. They are subject to the more incredible bribes and corruption in various forms. Is this the case with the socialist state officials? In general this cannot be said. The socialist state is the only state in the history of man that has the potential to eliminate bureaucracy, to eliminate the gap between the state official and the factory worker. To go into all the ways it does this would take a whole other article, but one need only study Lenin's State and Revolution and the history of the Soviet state to see that this is indeed the case. Of whom did the bureaucracy in the Soviet state apparatus consist? Bureaucracy was practiced either by officials who were inexperienced and whose cultural level was low, or else, more importantly, by capitalist elements who wormed their way into the state apparatus. The latter group, we should remember, did not sneak into this apparatus primarily because of laxness on the part of the Bolsheviks. During the early years of the Revolution, especially during NEP, they had to be invited back in order to stabilize the economy and restore large-scale industry. Once NEP was over, by 1923, these elements were



swiftly being replaced by proletarians who had been trained to handle their jobs. As was to be expected, the former did not give up their privileged positions without a fight. Interestingly enough, this fight was carried out under the Trotskyite slogan of "smashing bureaucracy." The Trotskyites were really out to smash the Bolsheviks and establish themselves, the real bureaucrats, as the rulers of the USSR under the direction of Nazi Germany. Of the many examples of this, we shall cite one. The Trotskyites always proclaim that during the purges conducted in the CPSU (B) during the latter half of the 1930s many innocent communists were purged or put on trial. This proves, they claim, that the Soviet State was bureaucratic. But what they neglect to tell us about is that not-so-well-known fact that the head of the Soviet secret police for part of this period was none other than Yagoda, a member of the secret bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, who was later exposed and removed from the stage of history. Is it any wonder that this Yagoda did not prosecute the real Trotskyites, but in fact went after innocent communists, that is, whenever he could get away with it? He himself ordered the release of Kirov's assassin three days before Kirov himself was shot and the former had been caught red-handed with a map of Kirov's route to the office and a gun. We could give other examples, but the point is already clear. In both China & the USSR, generally speaking, bureaucracy, bribery and corruption were resorted to by the capitalist elements who had wormed their way into the state. They used bureaucracy as a means of undermining the authority and prestige of the Soviet state apparatus in the eyes of the workers and peasants, as a means of creating the right environment for an attempt at restoration of capitalism.

The basis of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and China was not, as Lin Piao and his "left" followers around the world assert, in the Soviet state. Lenin made this clear enough: "In our country bureaucratic practices have different economic roots, namely, the atomized and scattered state of the small producer with his poverty, illiteracy, lack of culture, the absence of roads and exchange between agriculture and industry, the absence of connection and interaction between them." (40) No wonder that Lin Piao did not bring this aspect out and as a matter of fact distorted Lenin in order to hide this connection. In doing so he was protecting his own economic basis, the basis of the Chinese bourgeoisie. It is indeed unfortunate that so many people have accepted Lin's projection on the restoration of capitalism lock, stock and barrel. They think that one need only to look for "bureaucracy" in the state apparatus to see whether or not capitalist restoration has been effected. They think that the cultural revolution affects only the superstructure and not the basis. Most unfortunately of all, they have applied this empirical method to their analysis of the Soviet Union, saying nothing different from what Lin Piao said, that is, that Brezhnev, Kosygin and company have brought about an "all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union." (41) Thus with a stroke of the pen Lin Piao declares that both the state and the basis of socialism have been completely eliminated, and with them 40 years of socialism.

We reject such simplistic notions of restoration of capitalism in the USSR or China. Taking over the socialist state is one thing; converting a socialist economic base back into a capitalist one is a horse of a different color and can never be done - if indeed it is really possible to do it at all - by a coup d'etat such as brought the bourgeoisie to power after Stalin's death.

Secondly, we recognize that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a brief historical event. As Lenin pointed out:

"The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters - who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it - throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundred-fold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise' of which they have been deprived..." (42)

Lenin makes it "perfectly clear" that this transition involves intense class struggle, one which produces not only Lenins and Stalins but Brezhnevs and Kosygin. To say that the restoration of capitalism has been completed in the Soviet Union, to say that the Soviet Union is a "superpower" exactly like the USNA, is to deny the intensity of class struggle inside the Soviet Union. It is a denial of the reality of the temporary hegemony of the USNA over the imperialist world. This line contends that the world today is characterized mainly by a struggle between "rich - superpower" nations and "poor - third world" nations. We do not here have to go into all the consequences of this argument, except to say that it places the proletariat of each nation under the hegemony of its own bourgeoisie, a notion we communists emphatically reject. Finally, we reject this line because it is a complete denial of the revolutionary role of the socialist state and the communist party which guides it. When we strip the argument of all its frills we are left with the same old bourgeois idealist claptrap: Power corrupts. Isn't this what the bourgeoisie says about every proletarian revolution? "Just you wait. You may be very progressive and revolutionary now, but after a while you'll become just like us, bureaucratic and separated from the masses whom you claim to serve." If Lin Piao had stated his position in these words it would have been rejected outright. But he was too clever to do that. Instead he took advantage of the theoretical backwardness of the international communist movement, and was able to substitute a simplistic notion for a very complex process. And it should be kept in mind that this article is only going into the barest detail on the question of cultural revolution and capitalist restoration. But even so we can learn a very important lesson from Lin Piao, that is, that we must train ourselves to look beneath the "Marxist" trimmings of things, because today especially we find all sorts of notions parading around under the banner of Marxism. Whether or not they are indeed Marxism demands of us study and theoretical analysis applied to concrete conditions, and not the blind acceptance which Lin urged on his followers all over the world.

#### IV. Lin Piao on the National-Colonial Question

"In the final analysis, the national question is a class question." This is an axiom of the communist movement. It implies that the fundamental contradiction in the world today is a class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. That is why we strive for unity of all proletarians, regardless of nationality. But to achieve it we must recognize disunity along national lines. Therefore we support all national liberation struggles which push the proletarian movement forward and objectively hinder imperialism. Further, history has



proven that the national bourgeoisie of the colonies is too weak to lead such a movement successfully. In order to defeat imperialism the proletariat must have hegemony in the movement.

Since the end of World War Two there has been, without question, an upsurge of national liberation movements against imperialism, particularly USNA imperialism. The revolutionary wars being fought in Southeast Asia now and for the last decades have brought millions of people into revolutionary politics. Is it any wonder then that the bourgeoisie is doing everything within its power to lead the national liberation movements onto the wrong trail? On the one hand they oppose them with force of arms. On the other, they subvert these struggles, the main agent of this subversion being international revisionism, headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the last twenty years the Marxist-Leninist line on the national-colonial question has become so distorted and twisted in some sections of the left movement that it has become almost unrecognizable. It has been transformed into an eclectic hodge-podge of populist, syndicalist and nationalist "theories" which have nothing in common with Marxism. And here again we find Lin Piao playing his role as the adept servant of the Chinese and Soviet bourgeoisie. It is unfortunate in a way that Lin did not write more on the national and colonial question; we would have been able to expose him all the more thoroughly. What little he did write, however, will serve as a good enough basis for our argument. In fact, it provided the impetus for a full-blown deviation on this important question, a deviation that placed the colonial revolutions under the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie in the colonies and condemned the proletariat to a passive, spectator role. It is a deviation which fundamentally rejects proletarian internationalism, proposing that the socialist revolution can be brought about by one nation defeating another nation instead of one class defeating another class. It leads straight to the "Third World" line which projects these two theses: 1) the colonial national bourgeoisie, in spite of the advance of history since the October Revolution, is capable of leading a real struggle to smash imperialism; and 2) the proletariat of the oppressor countries cannot forge an alliance with the proletariat and peasantry of the oppressed nations, for the only battle in the world today is between the "super-powers" and the "Third World." And just as before, there is enough Marxism in Lin Piao's argument to confuse the issue and hide the deviation.

To begin with, he begins his argument in the familiar way, separating the Chinese Revolution from the October Socialist Revolution in order to justify "new" theories. In "Long Live the Victory of People's War" he writes, "The victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war breached the imperialist front in the East, wrought a great change in the world balance of forces, and accelerated the revolutionary movement among the people's of all countries. From then on, the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America entered a new historical period." (43)

Again we must go back to the master to refute this attempt to isolate the Chinese revolution. It was Stalin who put forth a clear explanation of the three periods of the development of the national question in history. He speaks of them thus: the first, that of the initial appearance of national and multi-national states; second, that of imperialist annexation and the complete division of the colonial world among the imperialist powers; and third, the Soviet period, that of the

elimination of national inequality and oppression. Several further conclusions are drawn from this formulation. For one thing, we are no longer in the first period at all. Bourgeois-democratic revolution is no longer a progressive phenomenon in the world today. This does not mean, of course, that there is no longer such a thing as a two-stage revolution, the first stage being a new democratic one in which the remnants of feudalism are destroyed. But this is an entirely different type than the old type bourgeois-democratic revolution under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. For another thing, the second and third periods clearly overlap each other. The third can only exist within the socialist camp, because only there are the conditions created for the final elimination of all national oppression. The colonies and neo-colonies of imperialism are all in the second period of the national question. Let us examine some more of the specifics of it.

"...In the second period, however, the national question is transformed from an intra-state question into an inter-state question - into a question of war between the imperialist states to keep the unequal nationalities under their domination, to subject to their influence new nationalities and races outside Europe." (44) Both Lenin and Stalin understood that in this period the national bourgeoisie was no longer capable of leading a real national liberation struggle. In fact, as Lenin notes, a definite conciliatory trend began to develop within that class. Faced with the prospect of a proletarian revolution and socialism, it began a marked turn toward the imperialists. After all, the national bourgeoisie cannot be separated from capitalism; no matter whether they are the bourgeoisie of an oppressed colony. Chiang Kai-shek was a prime example, going from a "patriotic" national bourgeois to an outright comprador for the Japanese and USNA imperialists. This is what prompted Stalin to write, "It became obvious that the emancipation of the laboring masses of the oppressed nationalities and the abolition of national oppression were inconceivable without a break with imperialism, without the laboring masses overthrowing 'their own' national bourgeoisie and taking power themselves." (45) And further, "Thus, the October Revolution, having put an end to the old, bourgeois movement for national emancipation, inaugurated the era of a new socialist movement of the workers and peasants of the oppressed nationalities, directing against all oppression - including, therefore, national oppression - against the power of the bourgeoisie, 'their own' and foreign, and against imperialism in general." (46)

Now we must ask ourselves the question, is the Chinese Revolution the beginning of a brand new era for the national-colonial question, or is it not in fact striking confirmation of the lessons of the October Revolution? If the former is the case, then what exactly is it that distinguishes this new period from the second period which Stalin is discussing? Not a thing, because we are not in some "new" period. Lin Piao and his followers, however, want us to believe that the national bourgeoisie can lead the national liberation struggle, just as they did before the October Revolution. If this is a new period for the national liberation movement, then it is not in objective reality but only in the heads of Lin Piao and his adherents around the world. They want us to believe that the Chinese Revolution happened in a historical vacuum, that its laws and experiences were exceptional. But here again it was Lenin and Stalin who pointed out that it was the October Revolution that awoke the laboring masses of the East, that drew them into the fight against world imperialism.

The idea that the Chinese Revolution inaugurated a new era in the national-



colonial question has a much more sinister motive, however. It is the separation of the colonial revolution from the class struggle within the imperialist countries controlling the colonies. The national question is thus converted into a question that is not really a part of the class question but one of pure economic development in the colonies and the imperialist countries. This is the essence of much of the populist nonsense about the third world so popular in the left movement today. In order to explore this more fully, let us see how Lin cleverly develops this scheme in the book on people's war.

"Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called the cities of the world, then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the 'rural areas' of the world. Since World War Two, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of the cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population...." (47)

Here again is another of Lin's dogmas which has been religiously accepted by some revolutionaries without their ever taking the trouble to analyze it. The fundamental error of the above statement is more in what it does not <sup>say</sup> than in what it does, something which is hardly ever mentioned in any of his writings. We are referring to the revolutionary alliance of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world as one of the preconditions to the worldwide victory of socialism. This question is given so little play in Lin's "analysis" and is so taken for granted in the dilettante sections of the revolutionary movement that it merits some going into.

Proletarian internationalism is an old theme of the international communist movement. Long ago, Karl Marx put forward the thesis that the working class has no nation. This profound internationalist showed how nations developed out of bourgeois and not proletarian interests. The development of nations originally had nothing to do with patriotism or any other such ideological trend. No, nations developed from basic material interests, from the need of the bourgeoisie to control a definite home market with definite territory. Later, what we know as bourgeois patriotism developed as an ideological rationale for this historical development. If we see the material nature of national development, then we can understand why the proletariat in essence has no nation. Obviously, the proletariat has no market to capture. The only market it is concerned with under capitalism is that in which he sells his labor power, but he does not do so in order to turn a profit but in order to survive. Thus one capitalist is exactly the same as another in this respect. The single more important interest for the proletarian is his class, not his national, interest. It stands to reason therefore that the proletariat of one country has far more in common with that of another nation than with its own bourgeoisie. When this fundamental fact is not realized by the workers only a tightening of the chains of enslavement can result. Such is the case of the British workers with respect to their understanding of their internationalist duties towards the Irish proletariat

and peasantry. As long as they do not take an active stand for the right of the Irish nation to secede from Britain, they themselves will never be free. Marx pointed this out so long ago that it is indeed a shame that the revisionist communist parties of Britain who claim to be Marxist haven't yet been sent into exile by the workers. The same may be said of the CPUSA, who refuse to support Lenin's demand (48) of the right of the Negro Nation to secede from the USNA state. To the Marxist, no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations. The revisionists answer this by saying, "We will try, and we will do it by aligning ourselves with the bourgeoisie, closing off the border to foreign, especially Mexican, workers, by peaceful reforms, etc." And what has been the result of this collaborationist policy? Anything but freedom for the USNA proletariat! We communists in the Anglo-American nation have rejected this bourgeois approach to the national question. We view the Mexican worker, the Negro worker, the workers of the whole world, as our class brothers and sisters. We regard the bourgeoisie of our own nation as an alien element. It is from this standpoint that we regard the overthrow of our own bourgeoisie as the supreme example of proletarian internationalism. It is not our job to tell the proletariat of other countries how to conduct their own revolutions without attending to our own first. We communists cannot be sideline commentators on the struggle of the oppressed nations to be free from the yoke of imperialism. No, we have a heavy responsibility to fulfill, one that will take all the forces we can muster. That responsibility is to defeat our own USNA bourgeoisie. That is why we don't send guerrillas to Latin America or participate in any other similar adventurous escapades. We desperately need all the cadre we can get for the fight here at home, and this is in the best interests of the liberation of the colonies as well. As Lenin put it, the foundation of all proletarian internationalism is the overthrow of one's own bourgeoisie.

Is there such a thing as internationalism in the colonies as well? If we were to read Lin Piao alone, we would no doubt conclude that internationalism started and ended with the workers and the peasants of the colonies. However a communist of the oppressor nation has responsibilities to the international communist movement as well. "People who have not gone into the question thoroughly think that it is 'contradictory' for the Social-Democrats of oppressor nations to insist on the 'freedom to secede,' while the Social-Democrats of oppressed nations insist on the 'freedom to integrate.' However, a little reflection will show that there is not, and cannot be, any other road to internationalism and the amalgamation of nations, any other road from the given situation to this goal." (49) These tasks are carried out in practice according to the national conditions, but a communist who confuses this with support of one's own bourgeoisie is not a communist at all but a philistine. Though philistines abound in the oppressor countries, as the CPUSA has proven time and time again, there is no question but that it is in the bourgeoisie's interests to cultivate them in the colonies as well, a prime example being Lin Piao himself.

The essence of the whole question is that the alliance of workers and oppressed peoples of the world not only is the prerequisite of the worldwide victory of socialism but also the prerequisite of the victory of socialism in individual countries as well. By the latter I am not referring to the seizure of state power alone, as this can in no way be conceived as the final victory of socialism in one country. Lenin never hesitated to dramatize the role played by the international proletariat during the hard years of the early twenties when the



Soviet people were starving by the thousands and their country was being attacked by fourteen nations. One of the main reasons the bourgeoisie of these predator countries could not defeat the Soviet Union was that they could not get the full support of their own working classes to attack her. The same may be said of the USNA imperialists' war against the Vietnamese people, even though the resistance of the workers here was almost entirely spontaneous in character. Imagine how different things would have been if there had been a real Marxist communist party in existence in this country at that time! The historical necessity of this alliance is clearly expressed in Lenin's theses to the Third International on the national question: "From these fundamental premises it follows that the Communist International's entire policy on the national and colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie." (50)

It is no accident that Lenin does not talk about the colonies surrounding the imperialist powers. The alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is not a question of nations surrounding each other, but of one class defeating another class. Lin Piao's formulation puts the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries into a position of either observing the world or volunteering to fight in other countries, becoming "international guerrillas," as it were. These two alternatives have been widely accepted by the "new left," but they obviously offer nothing to the USNA proletariat. The proletarian is not a liberal do-gooder; he enters the revolutionary movement on behalf of no class except his own; he is not like the petty bourgeois radical who wants to save "the poor." What then is the historical role of the USNA proletariat in general and the Anglo-American proletariat in particular?

"It is self-evident that the final victory can be won only by the proletariat of all the advanced countries of the world, and we, the Russians, are beginning the work which the British, French and German proletarian will consolidate. But we see that they will not be victorious without the aid of the working people of all the oppressed colonial nations, first and foremost, of the Eastern nations." (51)

Therein is expressed the truly historic role of the Anglo-American proletariat as well as its internationalist duties. What Lenin said fifty years ago could not be truer today. The examples of Cuba, Chile, and Vietnam prove this over and over again. The proletariat of the USNA will never accept being linked forever to its own bourgeoisie such as Lin Piao and the left revisionists say it is. No, USNA imperialism will never be killed from without. It must be overthrown from within, and that is a task that only we can accomplish. That is why all the bourgeois propaganda about Chinese tanks landing in Seattle is such a ridiculous absurdity.

In place of the unity of the working classes of all countries and nations such as was advocated by Marx and Lenin, Lin puts an alliance fundamentally based on economic development of the productive forces to the forefront. This is all the formulation of "the countryside surrounding the cities" can amount to. In this context, we should note that it was Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin's predecessor, who was China's primary advocate of the "productive forces" theory.

This theory advocated that because China was so underdeveloped economically, she would have to develop her productive forces before anything else. This theory separates the productive forces from the role of the state and in fact maintains that there is no possibility of a socialist state really existing before the productive forces have been "adequately" developed. In the final analysis, this theory maintains that economically underdeveloped countries might as well not even try to have a socialist revolution, because they must go through a state of full-blown capitalism first anyway. Before Liu Shao-ch'i, this theory was widely advocated during the early twenties by opportunists within the Soviet Union, who were disheartened by the extreme hardships of that period. Lenin railed against these phony theories and showed that it was in fact the main function of the Soviet state to provide the social conditions for the development of the productive forces. He also showed that the development of the productive forces was not primarily a question of machines and factories, as the opportunists asserted. He wrote, "The primary productive force of human society as a whole is the workers, the working people. If they survive, we shall save and restore everything." (52) Lenin had to emphasize this point because of the confusion that existed due to the lack of large-scale industry during the early 1920s. On the one hand, it is certainly true that socialism can only ultimately be built upon the foundation of modern, large-scale industry. On the other hand, this axiom is often distorted to the point of denying the fundamental role of the proletariat. This is the essence of the opportunist so-called "productive forces theory." Historically, this theory has popped up within socialist countries during periods of intense economic development. Though superficially it seems to support that development, in reality it does not. In practice, what it is really saying is that economic development of a country is everything, that the development of the socialist relations of production should be put off and the "productive forces" (in quotes because for the opportunists this does not include the workers) should be developed, if necessary, under capitalist relations of production. Thus the class struggle is "shoved under the rug." "Economic development" is turned into a question not of strengthening the position of the proletariat but of simply getting more factories and more machines; it becomes a "non-class" question. But if there ever was a "class" question, this is it, and that is why Lenin and the Bolsheviks wasted no time in smashing this opportunist line in the Soviet Union. In China, during a period when there prevailed conditions similar to those in the Soviet Union during the early twenties, Liu Shao-ch'i became one of the main ideological representatives of the same bourgeois deviation. He correctly pointed out that China's economy after the seizure of power in 1949 was a backward one. But even a fool could have seen that. What showed Liu to be a traitor to the proletariat was what he proposed to do about the situation, that is, have China develop her productive forces under essentially capitalist relations, especially in the countryside. His agents commenced to return land to individual ownership. Collective farms were broken up. In industry, a policy of operating strictly according to profitability was initiated, in direct contradiction to the basic economic law of socialism as defined by Stalin. One of the great victories of the Chinese Cultural Revolution was the exposure of this line and the removal of Liu Shao-ch'i and a sizeable number of his supporters who had been entrenched in the Party and government.

However, as anyone who has fought a war knows, a battle cannot proceed on all fronts simultaneously. This is just as true of the battle against bourgeois



ideology in the Party. As Chou En-lai stated, "Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers another. The opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism which advocated 'all alliance, no struggle' covered Wan Ming's 'Left' opportunism which advocated 'all struggle, no alliance.' The rectification of Wang Ming's 'Left' deviation covered Wang Ming's 'Right' deviation. The struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionism covered Lin Piao's revisionism." (53) Thus the latter was able to build up his forces during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the struggle against Liu. He seemingly represented the forces of the "Left" and stood in sharp opposition to Liu and his "Right" forces. Upon closer examination, we find that Lin Piao was simply the other's counterpart, particularly on the question of the productive forces. Chou, in his Report to the Tenth National Congress, discussing Lin's Report to the Ninth Congress, says, "Prior to the (Ninth) congress, Lin Piao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with Chen Po-ta. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shao-ch'i and Chen Po-ta had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that 'between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society.'" (Documents, Peking, 1973, pp18-19)

Thus, both Liu and Lin pushed the "productive forces" theory as the solution to the question of China's development. Lin further extended this theory as the solution to the question of the national liberation struggle. Here we return to this thesis that the colonies are the country-side and the imperialist countries are the cities. The division between oppressor and oppressed countries has existed for centuries. But this is not the only division in the world, and in fact is not the fundamental division in the world. That, as we have stated before, is a class division. But this never comes out in Lin Piao's writings, which speak only of the division between the imperialist countries and the colonies and neo-colonies. Following Lin's theory, then, the fundamental division in the world today would not be a class, but rather a national division.

Obviously this is not a question of either/or. When we say the class contradiction is the fundamental one, it simply means that the contradiction between oppressor and oppressed nations is one of the main manifestations of the class contradiction. That is the whole basis of the necessity for the proletariat to play the leading role in the national liberation movement. If the national division were fundamental, the hegemony of the proletariat would be unnecessary. The main question for the colonies would be their economic development, and not socialist revolution. History has of course proved that the colonies will never develop an independent economy so long as they are under the thumb of their own national bourgeoisie.

The followers of Lin Piao's "Third World" line fly in the face of history. They maintain that the "Third World" should get together in whatever way they can, especially on the question of developing independent economies. They maintain that this can be done without revolution. Thus they advocate the hegemony of the colonial bourgeoisie over the colonial proletariat.

This "third world" line has already been amply refuted in the pages of the old People's Tribune of the Communist League, and there is no need to reiterate all the arguments here. Suffice it to say that the communist position on the colonies and neo-colonies has been defined by Marxism-Leninism for many decades. If the national bourgeoisie does something which really hurts the imperialists then that is fine and we will applaud them for that particular act. But the real question in the colonies is the role of the colonial proletariat and the unity between the proletariat and the peasantry. Only the proletariat can lead the colonies to final emancipation, and not by themselves, but in alliance with the colonial peasantry and the progressive representatives of the national bourgeoisie, and especially in alliance with the proletariat of the oppressor countries. The opportunists who muddle this question by making it seem as if the national bourgeoisie is capable of leading a colony to real emancipation are doing a great disservice to the international proletarian movement. This variety of opportunism on the national question has cropped up again, thanks to the like of Lin Piao and Liu Shao-ch'i. One would think that that alone would be enough to make the "third-worldists" stop and think about the theories they are spreading all over the world.

#### V. Lin Piao on the Ideological Struggle

In this section we are forced to deal the least with what Lin Piao actually wrote and more with the influence of his teachings, especially during the period of the Cultural Revolution and afterward. We refer to the question of ideology and ideological struggle. Lin Piao and his followers basically have pushed the line that ideology and ideological struggle are separate from theory and politics, and that the latter is simply a question of remolding men's minds. Instead of being conducted to strengthen the communist party it is conducted for the purpose of self-purification.

What is ideology? First of all, Marxism holds that any ideology represents the general outlook of a particular class of society. "Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc - real, active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces and of the intercourse corresponding to these, up to its furthest forms. Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process. If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down as in a camera obscura, this phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life process." (54) The revisionists and philistines, who are not capable of looking at any process except from the most superficial point of view, are left muddle-headed time and time again by this inversion of the life-process and consciousness (ideology). Therefore they put forward the theory that ideology abstracted from politics and theory is the sole basis of change, that ideology has nothing to do with environment, with the life process of man. But ideology can never exist in the abstract or in a classless vacuum. This was proven by Marx and Engels long ago!

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: ie, the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its



disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance." (55)

Thus, in present-day society, we have basically two ideologies: bourgeois and proletarian. Each represents a particular class. And in capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisie is in power, the bourgeois ideology is dominant, as it is, in fact, in the world taken as a whole. It is only in the socialist countries where proletarian ideology can begin to be consolidated as the ruling ideology of the societies, because only in those countries where the proletariat has emancipated itself has it been able to change the relations of production and therefore create a material basis for a new ideology, reflecting its emancipation from capitalist oppression, to develop. Thus by proletarian ideology we do not mean some vague conception of how one worker acts toward another under capitalism, but rather we mean socialist ideology. Socialist, or communist, ideology is the opposition - the only opposition - to bourgeois ideology. As Lenin put it: "Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology." (56) We see from this that proletarian ideology cannot be separated from the science of Marxism-Leninism, and is part of that science.

Once we admit that ideology has to be connected with the science of Marxism-Leninism, with theory and the application of the theory to the concrete conditions of the class struggle, then we have to means of ridding ourselves of the narrow, philistine version of "ideological struggle" Lin Piao-style. He, like his predecessor Liu Shao-ch'i, argued that ideology was simply a question of remolding men's minds, and that "Mao Tse-tung Thought was Marxism-Leninism to remold the souls of the people." This is something very close to Liu Shao-ch'i's definition of ideological cultivation:

"What after all is meant by ideological cultivation? I consider that it is in the main a struggle in our minds between the ideology of the proletariat and other ideologies; a struggle in our minds between the communist outlook on life and the Communist world outlook on the one hand, and all other outlooks on life and world outlooks on the other; and a struggle between two concepts: the personal interests and aims of Party members and the interests and aims of the Party and of the people." (57)

The more we look into the question, the more we see how Lin Piao and his various followers have distorted the Marxist position on the question of ideology, the essence of which is that it is a social, a class, phenomenon. When discussing the question of ideology, therefore, to start from the point of view of the individual - whether it is called "remolding men's souls" or "ideological self-cultivation" - is to reduce the question to one of bourgeois psychology masked with Marxist phrases. No wonder the opportunists and revisionists get so confused

when confronted with bourgeois ideology in the working class. They have spent long hours trying to divorce ideology from its material base, and every worker with bourgeois ideology disproves their "theory." The working class's outlook as a rule under capitalism is bourgeois; and that is precisely why the communists as class-conscious elements are so necessary. Without them the working class would continue to have a bourgeois outlook.

The opportunists reply that this is a very pessimistic view of the working class, that the workers are revolutionary simply because of their relationship to the means of production, that the horrors of the factories will push them toward the socialist revolution spontaneously. They set themselves up as being the most revolutionary elements, the ones who make no compromises on the question of the working class leading in everything. Thus Lin Piao emerged as the leader of the "left," even though the real content of his revisionism was painfully "right."

In many ways, this is only a rehash of the deviation Lenin criticized long ago in his article "Political Agitation and the 'Class Point of View.'" Lenin chastized those who could only think of the "workers" and nothing else. With this narrow outlook he contrasted the following:

"The class character of the Social-Democratic movement must not be expressed by restricting our tasks to the direct and immediate needs of the 'purely labor' movement. It must be expressed in our leadership of every aspect and every manifestation of the great struggle for liberation that is being conducted by the proletariat, the only genuinely revolutionary class in modern society. Social-Democracy must constantly and unswervingly spread the influence of the labor movement to all spheres of public and political life of modern society. It must not only lead the economic struggle of the workers, but also the political struggle of the proletariat. It must never for a moment lose sight of our ultimate goal and always carry on propaganda for, protect from distortion and develop further, the proletarian ideology - the theories of scientific socialism, ie, Marxism." (58)

Even during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Lin Piao exposed himself as an exponent of this phony "class point of view." In 1970 a book was published entitled Important Documents on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. This book was obviously printed under the direction of Lin Piao, since out of 17 articles 12 are signed by him personally. In this book, which has been withdrawn from publication since his demise, we find the following evaluation of Stalin: "We must destroy blind faith in Chinese and foreign classical literature. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. His criticism of the modernist literature and art of the bourgeoisie was very sharp. But he uncritically took over what are known as the classics of Russia and Europe and the consequences were bad." (59) This vague attack on Stalin only opens the door to attacking Lenin, Engels and Marx as well. After all, Marx himself was "uncritical" about classical literature, being a student of Aristotle, Shakespeare and Goethe. The "class point of view" asserts that we can learn nothing from other classes, only from the proletariat. Suffice it to say that Marxism could not have come into being if that were the case.



But we must also examine the effects of this "class point of view" on our own Party. The most immediate manifestation is an overemphasis on the distinction between comrades who have come from varying social backgrounds. One comrade becomes known as a "worker," another as a "petty-bourgeois." If a comrade makes an error, the first thing that is looked at is the comrade's class background, not the effect the error has on the party's work or the comrade's history in the revolutionary movement. This directly violates Lenin's teachings on the party of a new type. "On the other hand, the organizations of revolutionists must be comprised first and foremost of people whose profession is that of revolutionists (that is why I speak of organizations of revolutionists, meaning revolutionary Social-Democrats). As this is the common feature of the members of such an organization, all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals, and certainly distinctions of trade and profession, must be dropped." (60) This question should not be confused with that of where the party should base itself, that is, in the industrial proletariat. It is only saying that even though the party does base itself in the industrial proletariat, it will attract certain progressive members of the intelligentsia who will join. Once they do, it must be made clear that the unity of the party consists in its adherence to Marxism-Leninism, not in the class background of each comrade.

The second deviation that stems from this "class point of view" is that of what we might term the "fight for purity." This goes back to the point we discussed early, the fight for ideological self-cultivation. The essence of this theory is that if we make each individual in the party think from a proletarian point of view, then the party as a whole will act from a proletarian point of view. The unity of the party is achieved by making each member think alike. Thus ideological struggle becomes a struggle to purify comrades' minds. The result is that much precious time is wasted on getting comrades to think "the right way;" errors are viewed from the point of view of some abstract moral system rather than from the point of view of what will move the party and the class struggle forward. Ideological struggle becomes a sham. It more resembles a bourgeois "encounter group" session than a tool the party uses to improve its work.

Ideological struggle conducted in the proper way is of great benefit to the party. This means first of all that the question of ideology cannot be separated from Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the opposition to bourgeois ideology, not some purely organizational system of morals and rules. Second, ideological struggle must be tied to the application of this theory to the concrete conditions of the proletarian movement. We conduct ideological struggle to improve the party's work in some noticeable way. That is why the struggle to purify minds is so futile. What this struggle actually amounts to is a fight to keep the party from recruiting new elements. Every new member of the party, because he is not a "pure" Marxist-Leninist when he joins, makes the party "impure." But this is an impurity the party must have. The purity we communists fight for is the purity of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the constant improving of its application. We judge people by how they act, not by what they think in their "innermost thoughts."

We recognize no set of "rules" for ideological struggle either in the party or in the mass struggle, except two. First, the struggle must be firmly connected with the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism;

second, it must proceed from the point of view of strategy, not tactics. That is, it must be a principled struggle, and not a pseudo-psychological struggle over minor defects which simply wastes the party's time. In these ways we can take the concept of ideological struggle out of the marsh where Lin Piao has put it and restore it to its proper place.

## VI.

### Conclusion

It is possible that some may interpret this paper as an attempt to "straighten out" the Communist Party of China. Though this has never even been hinted at in the main body of the paper, it is important to set the record straight.

First of all, it is being written well after the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China which exposed Lin Piao as a bourgeois agent. The CPC has already demonstrated time and time again its ability to deal with conspirators within its own ranks. And even if there were not so, if by some chance Lin and his henchman had taken over, the primary responsibility of overthrowing them would lie with the Chinese proletariat and peasantry and not with the Anglo-American revolutionaries.

No, the first and foremost reason we join the attack on Lin Piao is that we are a part of the international communist movement and he had an effect on that movement. It is in this spirit that we join the Marxist-Leninists of China as close comrades in arms. There is no question in our mind that the Marxist-Leninists of China will be victorious and that their leader Mao Tse-tung is the foremost Marxist of the present time.

Secondly, we join in the attack on Lin Piao to expose certain deviations within the revolutionary movement in the USNA, deviations that were nurtured by Lin and his ilk. It is in this sense that the exposure of his line has immediate relevance for those of us who have just formed the Communist Labor Party of the USNA. Some naive people believe that simply because Lin Piao was killed in a plane crash and was exposed to the whole world, his ideas died with him. The bourgeoisie has wished for 90 years that this had been true of Marx. It is just as ridiculous to assume that the struggle against what Lin Piao represented is over with. It is just beginning. This is because the essence of the struggle involves questions such as the ones I have discussed: the tasks of our era, the restoration of capitalism in socialist countries, the national-colonial question, ideology, etc - in short, questions around which clarity is important if we are to build our party on the proper foundation.

To the extent that our Party can lead the proletariat to overthrow the USNA bourgeoisie, it will truly aid our comrades in China, Albania, North Korea, Vietnam, and throughout the world. It is the our concrete work that will prove our internationalism, not just in words but in deeds. Let us learn from Lin Piao by negative example. Instead of producing parrots who repeat Marxist phrases by rote, let us train thousands and eventually millions of workers to master the content of Marxism-Leninism. Then and only then will we see the living proof of what Marx foretold long ago: Theory when gripped by the masses becomes a material force.

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FOOTNOTES

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## THE MARXIST CONCEPTION OF INFLATION

### I. NATURE AND CAUSE OF INFLATION

Bourgeois economists never miss a chance to spread poisonous, backward and reactionary ideas amongst the workers; ideas which cause the proletariat to turn against itself, stumble, and halt along the path of the proletarian dictatorship. Today this is brought out most sharply in the bourgeois press around the subject of inflation.

Posing as detached onlookers of the class struggle and practitioners of impeccable objectivity, bourgeois economists spew out their venomous attacks on the working class. These flunkys usually begin their analysis by defining inflation simply as a general rise in prices (1). Then most go on to state that higher prices result from "high wage increases" and "excessive demands for goods" on the part of workers (2). "We have inflation", say these gentlemen, "because wage 'explosions' are pushing up the cost of production, and because consumers are demanding more goods than supplies can come up with. The net result is higher prices." It should be noted that by consumers, these "impartial observers" are speaking of the working class and the petty-bourgeoisie, excluding the imperialists. To end their analysis, they come to common agreement that to "win" the battle against inflation, workers should recognize that they are the heart of the problem, and therefore make some sacrifices. No more wage increases, higher taxes and "productivity" (speed-up) are a few starters. It is no accident that these are just those measures which every profit-hungry capitalist dreams of as the best of all possible worlds -- that is, the best of all measures to further enrich himself by further exploiting the workers.

Outside of the naked class interest reflected in these ideas, what is wrong with them scientifically? How does the proletariat refute them?

To begin with, it is absolutely incorrect to define inflation as a simple rise in prices. Rather, this is its effect. Of course, this is a well-known fact within Marxist political economy as well as so-called bourgeois economic science. The fact that under capitalism prices will rise in response to a host of different factors has long since been established. Nonetheless, for the purpose of clarity it is important to mention a few: prices of commodities are known to rise because of a rise in the value of commodities, because of temporary changes in supply and demand, because of a fall in the value of gold, or because of factors associated with the pre-crisis boom period. To reiterate, all these and many other factors can lead to a rise in prices of goods. But inflation means something quite specific: it refers exclusively to a rise in prices as a consequence of an over-issue of paper money. Emphasizing this point, Leontiev wrote that "inflation is....depreciation of currency (money)" (3). Even a few

shamefaced, reactionary bourgeois economists will own up to this fact. "Inflation is always caused by the over-issue of money by the government", says Ralph Borsodi in his book, Inflation Is Coming (4). "It is not caused by anything which the public does or does not do", he further states.

The revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, Karl Marx, gives a thoroughly scientific explanation of inflation in his analysis of capitalist production, laying out a correct understanding of the interconnection between value, price, gold and paper money, all of which is required in order to obtain a grasp of this problem. We do not have the space to go over these subjects in detail; a brief outline is sufficient for our purposes.

Marx showed that a) the value of commodities is determined by the socially necessary labor-time required for their production; b) that this value is expressed in a certain amount of money-commodity (gold), which has required for its production the same amount of labor-time; c) that paper money has no value as such, and when replacing gold as money, can only symbolize a certain quantity of the latter, which has value; d) that at any given moment, only a certain amount or limit of gold is required for the circulation (trade) of commodities; e) and if paper money of like denomination, when replaced for gold in circulation, exceeds this amount, then each unit of paper money would represent a smaller quantity of gold and therefore values measured in this smaller unit of money would be higher in price (5).

To make this a little clearer, let's take a look at the following example: suppose \$50 million was the quantity of gold required for the circulation of commodities. If the state were to replace this with \$500 million in paper money of like denomination, then the \$500 million paper dollars would represent \$50 million in gold. Now each paper dollar would symbolize 10¢ of gold, or 1/10 of the socially necessary labor-time embodied in each gold dollar. On the other hand, every gold dollar would be symbolized by 10 paper dollars, and therefore any commodity formerly worth \$1 in gold would now be worth \$10 in paper money. The value of the dollar would have fallen by 1000%, and prices of all goods would rise by 1000% (6). One might think this example to be somewhat extreme; however, the history of money has shown that bourgeois and feudal governments have inflated money equal to or greater than our example. From 1790-1795, the French bourgeoisie pumped over 47.5 billion assignats (analogous to the U.S. dollar) into circulation without gold backing and clearly beyond the needs of trade. As a result, prices in 5 years rose 40 times. A pair of shoes costing the equivalent of \$1 in 1790 cost \$40 in 1795 (7). A less dramatic case closer to home occurred during the Civil War in the U.S. This was the "greenback" fiasco. In order to finance the war effort, the Union government resorted to printing up and circulating as payment over \$450 million of greenbacks. This money, too, lacked proper gold support. The result was that prices of goods doubled in four years (8). Similar cases from U.S.N.A. history of substantial money inflation are to be found from 1913-19, 1925-29.

We see, then, that to define inflation from the point of view of its effect, an upward movement of prices, is incorrect to say the least, and extremely useful to the imperialists. It allows them to hide from view that it is they, not the proletariat who are at fault. For it is the imperialists who, through the state apparatus (treasury, budget, etc.), exercises control over the money supply. And it is their action, and only their action,



that gluts the conduits of circulation with paper money. The working class has nothing to do with this matter. Only by tying inflation down to its precise meaning are we able to see the connection between the protracted rise in prices of food, clothing, etc. over the past few years and the stained hands of the bourgeoisie, dripping profusely with green ink.

As for the charge that wage increases necessarily lead to price increases, Marx long ago demolished this argument. In his writings he showed conclusively that the prices of commodities are determined by their value, the socially necessary labor-time required for their production. From this he demonstrated that even though the prices of commodities fluctuate around their value, in the long run they exchange at their value. Then he analyzed the total value of commodities into two parts: that which is transferred to the new product in the process of production (plant, raw materials, machines, etc.), and that which is created anew by the consumption of labor-power. And of the latter, it too divides itself into two parts: that which goes to replace the used-up labor-power, and that which is stolen, taken by the capitalist as profit. Given this, it goes without saying that an increase in wages will not increase prices, but will simply redistribute the portions of newly-created value between capitalist and workers in favor of the workers, causing a fall in profits (9). To better illustrate this point let us take the following example:

Figure #1

	Hours SNLT	Gold Price	Paper Money Price
Total Value	100	10 oz.	\$500
New Value	80	8 oz.	\$400
VC-Wages	40	4 oz.	\$200
SV-Profits	40	4 oz.	\$200
Transferred Value	20	2 oz.	\$100

Suppose a capitalist hires 10 workers to produce 100 dresses a day. And suppose that all the dresses require for their production 100 hours of socially necessary labor-time which is also embodied in 10 oz. of gold. The 10 oz. of gold would express the gold-price of the dresses. For the sake of convenience, if we allow 1 oz. of gold to be represented by 50 paper dollars, then the 100 dresses will have a price in paper dollars of \$500. In other words the 100 hrs. of SNLT embodied in the dresses would find their expression in \$500 of paper money.

Now in the process of producing the dresses, let the transferred value (raw materials, machinery, etc.) be equal to \$100. Let the new value created by the 10 workers be equal to \$400 -- \$200 going to replace the cost of producing labor-power, and \$200 going to the capitalists in the form of profit. Since wages and profit stand in inverse relation to each other, we can see that an increase in wages, let us say, of 25% (\$200 - \$250) will lead to a decrease in profits by the same per cent (\$100 - \$150), while the total value and price (\$500) will remain unchanged. As Marx shows, all we have is a change in the proportion of the new value going to the worker and the capitalist. And nothing occurs which requires a rise in price (10).

This, however, does not stop our modern monopoly capitalists, who because of their domination of the market are able to recapture profits following a rise

in wages by upping the price. We have seen this a thousand times, as GM, Firestone, and other imperialists pass on wage increases in the form of higher prices for their products. But it must be absolutely clear that this capability to pass on wage increases in the form of higher prices results not from any economic necessity between wages, prices and profits, but from the power of domination and supremacy of the monopolists in the market-place. They can raise prices above their value because their competition from small-scale and un-organized capital is too weak to undercut them. The latter, in all product markets, are not in a position to undersell the monopolies without facing ruin. This of course does not mean that there is no competition at all within monopoly markets, which would tend to keep prices near their value. As the great Lenin taught, "Monopoly, which has grown out of free competition, does not abolish the latter, but exists alongside it and hovers over it, as it were, and as a result gives rise to a number of very acute antagonisms, frictions and conflicts" (1). So in all branches of production, even the most monopolized, competition is present; it is sharp, and exists between the large monopolies themselves and between the monopolies and small capital. In modern capitalist society, the effects of monopoly on price formation are of great importance, second only to money-inflation. Both of these factors are the fundamental reasons for the great, prolonged advance of prices in U.S.N.A since 1936. Even during the great world-wide crisis of overproduction between 1929-1937, Stalin made mention of the power exerted by monopolies on prices. "Present day capitalism, as distinguished from older capitalism, is monopolistic capitalism, and this inevitably gives rise to the struggle between the capitalist combines to maintain high monopoly prices of commodities in spite of overproduction" (12).

Because of the drive for maximum profits, the fact of the matter is that the monopoly capitalists raise prices irregardless of any rise in wages. Monopolies raise their prices whether there are wage increases or not. They only use the excuse of wage increases as a justification for their actions to squeeze as much as they can out of the working class.

The allegation that increased buying-power of workers is pulling up prices is so shallow that we will speak to it only in passing. Does it take much depth to see that for the last few years the average workers, in comparison with the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, has not been on a buying spree? The average worker has not had thousands of dollars with which to casually dispose. Instead, things have become more hardpressed. This is especially true for the lower paid, unskilled and national minority workers, millions of whom are paid below \$2.50/hour. Increased buying-power would mean that real wages of workers have gone up in the past few years, whereas even bourgeois figures prove the opposite trend. According to U.S. News and World Report, in the past year real wages have fallen about 3-4% (13). The U.S. Labor Department estimates the loss in real wages to be about 6% between April of 1973-1974 (14). Keep in mind that all these figures are actually much larger. Add to this the fact that it is now recognized amongst bourgeois economists that loan default and bankruptcy are sharply on the rise amongst workers, and we can't escape the conclusion that the condition of workers is growing worse, their impoverishment is growing, daily (15).

Having dealt briefly with the nature of inflation, and answered the wild claims of the most vulgar bourgeois economists, let us now touch upon the effects of inflation.



## II. Effects of Inflation

It is an understatement to say that inflation does not affect all classes in capitalist society in the same way. First, the proletariat. The rise in the price of labor-power -- that is, the money wage, always lags behind all other prices. This leads to a fall in real wages. As Marx showed long ago, real wages change (vary) inversely to profits, and therefore a fall in real wages brought on by inflation must lead to a rise in profits of the capitalist class as a whole (16, 17), along with a transfer of wealth to the bourgeois state. Again, recent data support this conclusion. In the April 29, 1974 issue of Newsweek magazine, the authors openly brag that:

"Inflation has sent business costs soaring, but the easing of controls has allowed corporations to raise their prices at an even faster rate. The result has been good to great first-quarter earnings for most companies."

They further state:

"Higher prices are primarily responsible for the strong profits picture. Since government controls were eased companies have been able to raise prices fast enough to cover increased cost and then some."

They go on to gloat:

"Reynolds Metals' per share earnings were up sevenfold and Safeway Stores saw profits jump 34.3 per cent" (18).

Can there be any doubt that inflation means a transfer of wealth -- taking from the proletariat and giving to the bourgeoisie? As is expected, bourgeois economists are silent on this aspect of inflation. All they can do, especially the liberal radicals, is muster up a few sympathetic phrases about the fall in real wages for the poor workers. But nothing is said about the fact that the portion of wages which have fallen ends up in the pocket-book of the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeois state. Such is the effect of inflation of the proletariat.

And now the petty-bourgeoisie. Members of this class are severely squeezed by inflation. The small producers, merchants and farmers, faced with higher prices for the commodities they buy, are not able to pass on these higher prices to consumers because of intense competition from the monopoly capitalists in the market. Thus inflation, especially high rates (10% and upward), serve to facilitate their expropriation by the big monopolies and transfer into the proletariat.

The effects of inflation as regards the capitalists are not exhausted by what was said before. As a whole, capitalists have many ways of avoiding its deleterious effects. They transfer their wealth, existing in paper money, savings, bonds, etc. into commodities like gold, silver, raw products, precious gems, etc. and stable foreign currencies (19). This is done for the obvious reason that it prevents the loss of wealth existing in the form of paper money representing smaller and smaller amounts of value as inflation progresses. This action is based on the recognition that paper money has no intrinsic value, as Marx taught, but only represents the intrinsic value embodied in commodities, i.e. labor-time. And since the value (SNLT) of precious metals varies the least of all commodities, they are sought after most. This is confirmed by today's growing crisis of inflation. The February 25, 1974 issue of Newsweek magazine reports that imperialists are flocking to buy gold and silver as inflation

"hedges" in record numbers (20). The transfer of value from rapidly inflating currency to a more stable foreign currency has added benefits for the imperialist of a given nation. It allows his products to be sold in the country with stable currency at lower prices, and therefore captures a greater share of the market. For example, as a result of the intense battle for markets during the recession of 1969-71, U.S.N.A. imperialists devalued the U.S. dollar in relation to gold. The gold backing was refuted from \$35 per ounce to \$38 per ounce. This, of course, gave rise to more inflation in the U.S.N.A. In the international market, however, it improved the U.S. position. Let's take Germany as an illustration. Formerly, one mark exchanged for .2877 dollars, or one dollar for 3.475 marks. Afterwards, however, 1 mark was equal to .3136 dollars, or 1 dollar = 3.188 marks (see figure #2). Therefore an item costing 1 mark produced in Germany and sold in the U.S.N.A. would sell at \$.3136, or a rise of 9% in price. Need it be said that such an increase in price would lower its competitive ability with like products in the U.S.? Similarly, in 1971 an item produced in the U.S.N.A. selling at \$1 would be sold in Germany for 3.475 M. After devaluation, it would sell for 3.188 M, a fall in price in Germany of 9%. Again, need it be said that this product would be in a better competitive position than before? These changes would hold for all products in all capitalist countries, because the rest of the capitalist nations define their currencies in relation to the U.S. dollar. The net effect of the devaluation led to a further consolidation of U.S.N.A. imperialism over the Common Market bloc (principally West Germany and France) and Japan in the world market. It shifted the burden of the crisis of 1969-71 onto the backs of the workers of these nations, and workers and peasants of the colonies.

Figure #2: Money Exchange Rates Between U.S. Dollar and German Mark (21)

	Mark	=	Dollar	Dollar	=	Mark
before Dec. '71	1	=	.2877	1	=	3.475
after Dec. '71	1	=	.3136	1	=	3.188

The effect of inflation on the reproduction and accumulation of capital serves to heighten internal contradictions. It renders it more difficult to obtain a balanced exchange between the departments of production. At higher levels of inflation, a correct calculation of value, so necessary for capitalists, becomes near impossible. Raw materials purchased today will be higher in price tomorrow when turned into finished products, and will have increased even more the next day, when new materials have to be purchased for further production. The rapid loss of purchasing power makes credit unstable. A delay of payments can't be held off for long, since it is not known how money will stand tomorrow. People with money try to get rid of it as soon as possible, people who own commodities try to hold on to them as long as possible in order to get a higher price. Uncertainty reigns. "Black" markets arise. Under such conditions a stratum of vultures emerges from the bourgeoisie, known as speculators. These carnivores engage in all sorts of manipulations with money, prices and commodities so as to make a "quick buck" at the expense of "honest capital" and society at large (22). Their actions only further heighten the uncertainty and contradictions, preparing the groundwork for deeper crises.

In the main, debtors (those owing money) are aided by inflation, because they can repay their debts with money representing less and less value (SNLT); whereas creditors (those granting credit) are injured because they receive repayment



in this "poorer" money. For example, a loan of \$5,000, used for the purchase of 250 bushels of corn, to be repaid in one year, would be repaid at a considerable loss to the creditor if, as a consequence of inflation, prices rose at a rate of 50% in that year. Measured in terms of the corn, \$5,000 repaid would only buy 135 bushels.

The special position of the bourgeois state in regard to inflation is this: by issuing paper money to cover its expenditures, it receives real values (commodities) without giving any value in return. This practice is in essence a form of tax, which results in shifting a portion of the wages of the working class and income of the petty-bourgeoisie to the bourgeois state, to be made available for use in the service of imperialism.

### III. Inflation in the U.S.N.A.

Concretely, the prolonged rise in prices within the U.S.N.A. since 1939 can be traced to three factors which are bound up with imperialist rule:

- 1) The upward pressure of monopolies on prices;
- 2) Money-inflation; and
- 3) Currency devaluation.

In as much as we have already touched on the impact of monopolies on prices, we will henceforth concentrate our discussion on the latter two factors.

Firstly, over the past 3½ decades, any rough comparison of the movement of prices, industrial production and the money supply show conclusively that the glut of paper money has had a marked impact on prices. As proof, let us take note of the data in Figure #3.

Figure #3: Growth of Money Supply, Consumer Price Index, Wholesale Price Index, and Industrial Production Index Since 1939 (23)  
(Index: 1967=100)

	1939	1974	% Change
Money Supply (MS) in Millions of \$	37,391	273,296	680.9
Consumer Price Index (CPI)	41.6	144	246.2
Wholesale Price Index (WPI)	39.8	155.3	290.2
Industrial Production Index (IPI)	21.7	124	474.7

The figures show that the money supply (composed of both paper currency and private checking deposits) underwent a much larger increase than prices or industrial output between the years 1939-1974. The fact that the money supply grew much larger than industrial output is very significant. Since the growth of industrial output is a rough measure of the actual requirements of the economy for money as a means of circulation, the larger growth in money supply (680.9%) above the growth of industrial production (474.7%) indicates that excess money has been placed in circulation. The excess money is being reflected by an astonishing growth of the price level, some 2½ times (CPI up 246.2% and the WPI up 290.2%).

For a better view of the truth of our argument, let us roughly divide the Post-Depression (1939) era into four (4) distinct periods according to the growth in the level of prices, and analyze the separate pressures on prices (see

Figure #4)

- |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1) 1939-1945 | 3) 1952-1967 |
| 2) 1945-1952 | 4) 1967-1974 |

During the first period (1939-1945), the all-embracing effort to carry out the inter-imperialist war against Germany and Japan caused huge amounts of surplus money to be dumped into circulation by the Federal government for the purchase of war supplies. In Figure #4 this shown most clearly by the fact that the average annual growth of the MS (29.9) was more than double the growth in the IPI (14.5%) for the same period. In response to this flood of paper money, prices rose to over 1/3 of the former level (CPI up 29.9% and WPI up 37.2%). It should be kept in mind that prices would have risen much higher if it had not been for the price controls placed on the economy during the war. These price controls, aimed mainly at the wages of workers, nonetheless did have some success in holding down consumer and wholesale prices.

Figure #4: Per Cent Change in Prices, Industrial Output and Money Supply, 1939-1974 (24)

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	
INDEX	1939-45	1945-52	1952-67	1967-74	1939-74
CPI ayr	<u>29.6</u> 4.9	<u>47.5</u> 6.8	<u>25.8</u> 1.7	<u>44</u> 6.3	<u>246</u> 7.0
WPI ayr	<u>37.2</u> 6.2	<u>62.3</u> 8.9	<u>12.9</u> 9	<u>55.3</u> 7.9	<u>290.2</u> 8.3
MS ayr	<u>179.1</u> 29.9	<u>26.4</u> 3.8	<u>46.9</u> 3.1	<u>40.1</u> 5.9	<u>680.9</u> 18.0
IPI ayr	<u>87.1</u> 14.5	<u>24.6</u> 3.5	<u>97.6</u> 6.5	<u>24.7</u> 3.5	<u>474.7</u> 13.6
Consumer Price Index (CPI); Wholesale Price Index (WPI); Money Supply (MS); Industrial Production Index (IPI); Average Yearly Rate (ayr).					

The second period (1945-1952) was dominated by the economic readjustments following the end of World War II and the new stresses created by the Korean War of 1951-52, where U.S.N.A. imperialism was dealt a major set-back in trying to lay its hands on Korea and China. Because of the new deficit spending associated with the latter and because of the removal of price controls at the end of World War II, the period suffered through a staggering rise in prices. The CPI shot up 47.5%, or an average yearly rate of 6.8%, and the WPI shot 62.3% on an average yearly basis of 8.9%. This is more astonishing when we consider that between 1948-49 the economy went through a minor recession (crisis of overproduction), which tends to pull prices down. Apparently the money-inflation accumulated during World War II was too powerful to be significantly affected by the crisis.

Relative price stability characterized the third period (1952-1967); the CPI rose only at an average yearly rate of 1.7%, and the WPI eked forward at an annual clip of 0.9%. This slowdown in prices resulted from a number of factors. The large growth in real output (IPI up 6.5% on an average annual basis) served to absorb much of the superfluous money carried over from



periods 1 and 2. Secondly, the three small recessions (1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61) exerted a strong downward pressure on prices. And lastly, the imperialist state slackened the growth of the MS, cutting its growth from an annual rate of 3.8% in the former period, to 3.1%.

The fourth and last period of our analysis (1967-74) shows a sharp acceleration in the upward movement of prices (CPI up at an annual rate of 6.3%, WPI up at 7.9%), primarily due to the dramatic rise in the growth of the MS, coupled with a slowdown in total output of the economy. A major impetus for the swelling of the money supply is traceable to the financial needs of U.S.N.A. imperialist aggression in Indo-China.

However, toward the end of this period the problem of the falling rate of profit was equally responsible for the growth of money supply. Because of the growth of foreign competition, the recession of 1969-70 and the general tendency for the rate of profit to decline with capitalist development, U.S.N.A. imperialism -- during the latter half of the 1960's -- sustained a sharp drop in the rate of profit. To overcome this problem and restore the rate of profit, the imperialists increased the rate of money-inflation and imposed a wage freeze (August, 1971 to December, 1973). This, in turn, forced up the rate of profit by lowering the standard of living (real wages) of workers. This conclusion is verified by the following facts: from 1966 to 1970 corporate profits before taxes -- for all industries -- fell from \$84,224 million to \$74,041 million or 12%. However, as a consequence of an acceleration in inflation beginning in 1968 and the wage freeze in 1971, profits between 1970 and 1973 increased by 70%! (25) So to restore profits, the imperialists had to raise prices indirectly through money-inflation.

The third major factor affecting the rise in prices during the fourth period was the official devaluation of the U.S. dollar in late 1971 and early 1972.

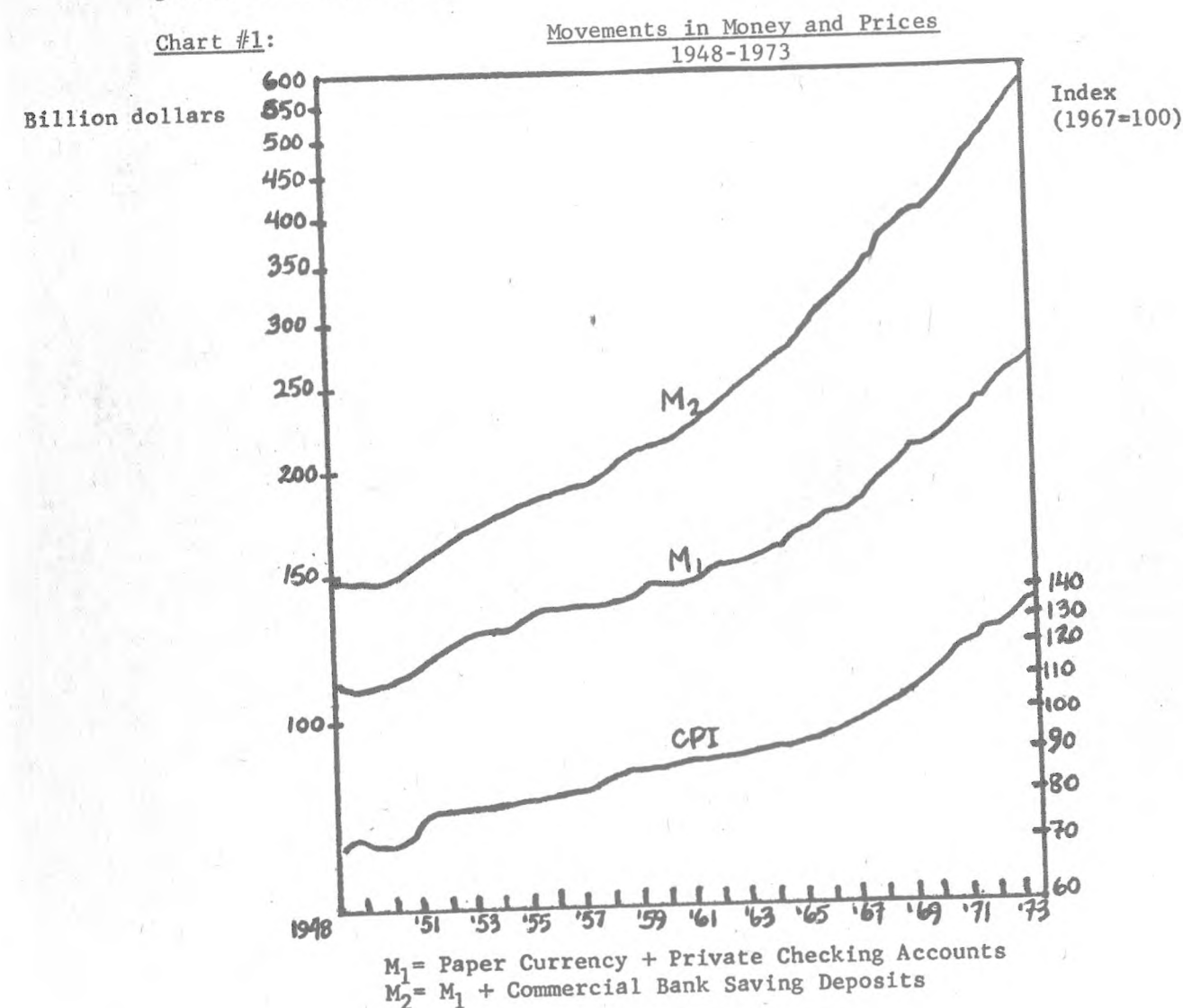
The first devaluation came in 1971, and called for an 8.5% devaluation of the U.S.N.A. dollar against all other major currencies of the capitalist world. It also stipulated that the U.S.N.A. dollars would be depreciated in relation to gold: the new exchange rate was set at \$38 to 1 ounce rather than the old formula of \$35 to 1 ounce. The second devaluation in February, 1972 was a little harsher. It called for a 10% fall in the value of the U.S.N.A. dollar in relation to the other currencies of the capitalist world, plus a new exchange rate with gold of \$42.22 to 1 ounce (26). The aim of these devaluations, from the point of view of U.S.N.A. imperialism, was clearly to improve its position in the world market in relation to the other up-and-coming imperialist powers -- West Germany, Japan, France, and the Soviet Union; to cheapen its (U.S.N.A.'s) goods, making them more competitive and thereby capturing a larger share of the market. Subsequent history has shown that this strategy paid off, and U.S.N.A. imperialism has recaptured a large hunk of the world market. As proof, during 1973 alone U.S.N.A. imperialism increased its exports by over 44%, a record high for the post-World War II period. The People's Tribune has correctly seized on the significance of this new development when they argue that U.S.N.A. imperialism has once again gained undisputed hegemony over the capitalist world market:

"A concrete analysis by the leadership of the CL disclosed that far from entering into its immediate doom, U.S.N.A. imperialism was expanding its hegemony and tightening its grip on the dependent areas of the world. That is most easily proven by the growth of the U.S.N.A.'s share in the world market. As has been stated many times in the People's Tribune, the careful monitoring of inflation has meant the

lowering of the value of the dollar internationally, and consequently, the cheapening of U.S.N.A. goods abroad - even if the result was a sharp increase in the price of necessities here at home." ("International Report", People's Tribune, Vol. 6, #5, May 1974, p. 12)

As has been expected, the effect of the devaluations at home has been to increase the prices of imports and therefore to pull up the entire price level from the angle of higher competitive prices. Secondly, since the dollar represents 18.7% less gold (or SNLT), 18.7% more dollars are necessary to express the former value in circulation, and therefore prices must -- in the long run -- rise to at least the same extent.

Ironically, additional data and statements supplied by the conservative (we should say fascist) economist Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago further confirm the thesis of the paper -- that the manipulation of money affairs by the U.S.N.A. imperialist state is responsible for the rise in prices. In the March 6 issue of the Wall Street Journal, in an article entitled "Why Curbing Inflation is the Fed's Job", Friedman presents the following chart, and argues that the rise in prices since 1948 is due to growth in money supply.





The chart shows conclusively that the growth of the CPI and the MS ( $M_1$  and  $M_2$ ) have grown along the same pattern. From 1948 onward their growth patterns parallel each other; with the rapid acceleration in MS about 1966-67, we find the CPI picking-up its growth also. Through this chart and other figures, Friedman correctly concludes that the growth in money supply has caused the rise in prices. "Economic theory", says Friedman, "and empirical evidence combine to establish a strong presumption that the acceleration in monetary (money -- ed.) growth is largely responsible for the acceleration in inflation." Despite the pretentious air and the shame-faced phrase "strong presumption", Friedman is forced to confess that it is the growth of the money supply at the hands of the U.S.N.A. imperialist state that is responsible for inflation.

To sum up this section, we have seen that without any doubt, the responsibility for the rise in prices since 1939 can in no way be laid at the feet of the working class. The wage increases of the proletariat have had nothing to do with this matter; they have only been an attempt, a poor one at that, to catch up with rising prices of the means of subsistence. We see that the manipulation of the money supply by the U.S.N.A. imperialist state is the heart of the problem. Derived from this conclusion, it becomes absolutely clear that the imperialists in no way desire to end inflation or to "win the war against inflation". Instead, they only want to limit its scope and intensity to bounds which are advantageous to monopoly capital.

As of this date, the contradictory effects within the practice of money-inflation are beginning to cause heightened antagonisms within imperialist circles. The rise in prices to a yearly rate of 12% is beginning to severely cut into the real income of the rentier strata, those who live off of fixed investments solely (or mainly) (bonds, savings, stocks, etc.); and large industrial and agricultural corporations, who must pass on a greater share of their increased profits to the banks in the form of higher interest rates (27). This growing contradiction is the source of much of the hullabaloo about the need to control inflation in the capitalist press. Secondly, a section of the imperialists are becoming fearful that the growing impoverishment of the consumptive power of the working class will lead to another crisis of overproduction on the magnitude of the Great Depression. Need it be said how they fear the threat to capitalist relations if this were to happen? And for these reasons, some imperialist groups are demanding a slow-down in the expansion of the money supply as a consequence of deficit spending.

Modern inflation is a part of the general crisis of capitalism, characterized by chronic unemployment, under-capacity of production, and periodic crises of overproduction. Because of its systematic and meticulous use by the imperialists for the reasons outlined above, modern money-inflation is, in essence, a feature of state monopoly capitalism. Modern capitalist production is inconceivable without it, just as it is inconceivable without state intervention.

For the proletariat, the solution to rising prices is intricately bound up with the existence of the capitalist system. Just as the proletariat must overthrow capitalist relations of production if it is to relieve itself from the curse of chronic unemployment and other evils of capitalism, the same must be said as regards inflation. The proletariat must destroy capitalist relations of production, overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, and establish socialism in order to free itself from all exploitation.

A. T.  
San Francisco

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# THE BOSTON BUSING CRISIS:

## LIBERALISM AS THE BREEDING GROUND FOR FASCISM

Boston, the capital city of the only state of all the 50 states in the U.S.N.A. that voted for the "liberal" McGovern against the "reactionary" Nixon in the Presidential election of 1972, has now become the center for the imperialists' generation of a fascist movement among the white section of the U.S.N.A. working class. How could this happen?

The principle vehicle for this development has been the forced busing of Negro pupils into white working class neighborhoods and white pupils into poor Negro neighborhoods.

The federal government, the main prop of our main enemy, the U.S.N.A. imperialist ruling class, forced the busing on the people of Boston. In the September issue of People's Tribune, we said the following:

"Why are these decisions coming now--at a time when the whole of our class is already uptight about inflation and rising unemployment? The bourgeoisie knows that the class is disunited, having created these conditions through years of playing the 'game' of 'divide and conquer'. Bringing the busing issue to a head at this time only exacerbates the already existing hatred and mistrust that many Anglo-Americans and Negro national minorities have towards each other. All of the frustration caused by working harder and harder trying to 'make it', but always slipping further and further back, is now being turned inward on ourselves, rather than on our class enemy, the bourgeoisie." (p.3)

This is certainly a large part of the answer. The other important aspect, the national aspect, of this issue is the imperialists' attempt to turn the clock back to the era of the civil rights movement, to focus the Negro national minority in the North and through them, the Negro nation in the South, on the "problem of segregation" and the problem of "white racism," viz. the white section of the working class, rather than on the problem of national oppression and imperialism; and on the solution of "integration" rather than on the solution of national independence and socialism.

During the period of the Civil Rights Movement, there were massive Negro school boycotts, which were in effect a demand for equal education, including busing to achieve integrated ("equal") education. In the mid-1960's, the Negro people advanced beyond this era of the "civil rights" movement into the short-lived but significant era of the Black Power Movement. Under the impetus of the Black Power Movement, the Negro people's demand for quality education took on a more advanced form -- Black community control of the schools. (1)

Forced busing decreed by the federal government through the federal courts in 1974 must be distinguished from the stage in the Negro liberation struggle which was highlighted by the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Forced busing today is a liberal, i.e. non-fascist, imperialist scheme which includes the obsolete shell of a just demand of the Negro national minority, emptied of its mass, anti-imperialist content.

In the course of the Negro liberation movement, the majority of Negro parents had come to understand that "integrated" education is not the same thing as quality education. Today, the only popular expression of the desire of a section of the Negro people in

Boston to bus their children to school is the MetCo program, a remnant of the old integration era, which buses a small percentage of Negro children whose parents voluntarily send them into suburban white areas, where they get some of the white middle class children's education. The present forced busing includes only Boston proper so that the largely poor and working class schools of the inner city are the only ones being "integrated." On the surface, the busing which was a part of the just demand made by the Negro masses during the late 1950's for quality education for their children resembles the present busing in Boston; but this is only on the surface. In fact, all the polls taken before the opening of the schools this year indicated that the majority of Negro parents as well as the majority of Anglo-American parents in Boston did not want to bus their children to "integrate" the schools!

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The forced disruption of both the Negro and white working class communities with no substantial gain in educational opportunity for their children, was bound to create resentment or at least irritation among both communities, especially the white community of South Boston which has for years fed on the poison of white supremacy and the idea that "you may be poor but you're still better off than the Black people." The result in the first few days of the school year was that the small number of white children who came to the schools of the Negro neighborhoods were generally treated in a civil if not friendly fashion; whereas in South Boston there occurred the disgusting spectacle of young white hooligans throwing rocks at small Negro children coming to school.

In the first days of school only a small number of white thugs were involved in the attacks on the Negro school children. Large masses of the white community were involved, however, in the white boycott of schools.

The boycott of the schools by the white working class people of Boston had two aspects to its political content. The fact that during the past 20 years the white workers have been bribed to one degree or another out of U.S.N.A. imperialism's super-exploitation of peoples of color throughout the world, and have been poisoned with white supremacist ideas, has served to divide them from and made them hostile to the Negro people. The negative side of the white school boycott was that it represented an organized expression of the white and great nation chauvinism of the white workers. At the same time, however, the white boycott also represented an organized resistance of working class people to the dictates of the federal government.

In Charlestown, a white working class area of Boston and in other areas, boycott of the schools was initially directed against the forced nature of the busing and against the government. But to the forced busing alternative offered by Senator Kennedy, Mayor White, Judge Garrity and other liberal government politicians, the parents in all the white working class communities in Boston, and in South Boston in particular, were offered only the fascist politics of City Councilor Louise Day Hicks and School Board Chairman Kerrigan.

The way that the so-called "vanguard forces" in Boston responded to the white school boycott helped determine that the neo-fascist movement, rather than making a one night stand in Boston, was given an open invitation to make its home there. The CPUSA openly fanned the flames of division and diversion by influencing a section of the Negro community to follow the pro-busing position of the federal government. The CPUSA justifies its support for the main tool of the main enemy, the federal government by calling for everyone to "oppose" the fascistic Hicks-Kerrigan forces. But the CPUSA's united front against fascism, since it supports the still-dominant, non-fascist imperialist form of rule, strengthens reaction and thus strengthens the source



of fascism. With the Massachusetts Congressional Black Caucus, the CPUSA led a march supposedly supporting the courage of the Negro children being bused into South Boston, but objectively pushing the forced busing plan. This demonstration was used by the imperialists and fascists as "proof" that the Negro people are behind the busing program. So, on the class aspect of the issue, the CPUSA served to divide the class further at a critical moment. On the national aspect of the question, in response to the attacks on the Negro school children, the CPUSA revisionists back the most conciliationist, Black Bourgeois liberal politicians like Thomas Atkins and push non-violence on the Negro community. At the same time the CPUSA revisionists have kept alive a proposed non-violent march into South Boston (hoping for protection from the federal government), an adventurist proposal, to help bury the real strength of the Negro people in their own communities through armed self-defense, etc. The October League and other so-called "anti-revisionists", afraid to break with the CPUSA and the liberals, and having no confidence that the white workers can distinguish between pro- and anti-fascist opposition to busing, shrunk from taking an anti-forced busing position.

Our Party is not yet strong enough in Boston to respond organizationally to the busing crisis. The proletarian revolutionaries, then, have not yet been able to break the 10,000 or so white working class people actively involved in the white school boycott movement, its marches and demonstrations, etc. from the 200 or so young thugs that are in the vanguard of the neo-fascist movement.

As a result of all this, the fascist politicians were able to link up the just grievance of the white working class parents in South Boston who opposed the forced busing out of and into their community, with the fascistic anti-Negro movement that beat up small Negro children and eventually any Black person entering South Boston. In fact, the fascist movement has grown simultaneously with the growing fascization of the still-dominant, still "non-fascist" wing of the imperialist ruling class.

Newsweek Magazine reported:

"When, for reasons that are still unclear, members of the city's Tactical Police Force stormed into a rundown hangout of the anti-busing forces known as the Rabbit Inn, leaving ten people injured and causing \$20,000 worth of damage, Southie [South Boston] snapped. The result was a protest against police 'brutality', followed the next day by an anti-busing rally and the attack on Yvon [a black Haitian immigrant on his way to pick up his wife from work]."  
(10/21/74, p.37)

Thus the Tactical Police Force kept the fascist movement alive by physically attacking it! The Negro people counter-attacked and the liberal Governor Sargent and liberal Democratic Mayor White both argued for bringing federal troops, or national guard, or state or registry police, etc., etc. into Boston, not to keep down the fascist hoodlums but to keep down the Negro community as it began to retaliate. Finally President Ford, in the midst of the mounting violence, made his surprise criticism of the busing plan which pumped even more new blood into the growing fascist motion in South Boston. Newsweek observed, "cheered by the President's remarks...suddenly, their growing pessimism about the future of their busing boycott disappeared..." (p.38)

It is no wonder that the working people of South Boston have allowed their massive white school boycott to be led by the same KKK-type forces who have historically attacked Catholics like themselves as well as the Negro people, and by School Committee Chairman Kerrigan and former School Committeewoman Hicks, who are the same fascist politicians responsible for their schools, as well as the schools in Negro neighborhoods, being in such terrible condition to begin with! With no alternative

to their leadership of the white school boycott, the anti-Negro fascist movement has grown from strength to strength as the forced busing in Boston continues. And now, to their latest rally in South Boston, the Hicks-Kerrigan fascists have attracted large numbers of white middle class people from the suburban South Shore (of Boston). These middle class people may well become a more permanent base for the neo-fascist movement.

In late October, the first real political challenge to the Hicks-Kerrigan leadership has been put up by the five workers from CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) who have come into Boston to organize a local Chapter on an anti-busing basis. The acting national director of CORE, Mary Dennison, stated her opposition to busing and her support for community control of schools. She called for a city-wide vote to determine "the will of the people." CORE thus challenged the Hicks-Kerrigan forces in the arena of "democracy." And when Hicks tried to link herself up with the CORE opposition, Mary Dennison called Hicks' praise "the lowest form of political hustle" and exposed Hicks' ten-year drive fanning the flames of hatred, and orchestrating the chaotic educational crisis in Boston. While we recognize that CORE has a Black capitalist line and policy, and therefore a dual character, we support its anti-imperialist side wholeheartedly, and we recognize the fine political initiative that CORE has taken in this crisis.

Our position breaks with opportunism in two basic ways:

(1) Our support for the national aspirations of the Negro community has a class, anti-imperialist content and not a liberal content; and therefore we are able to have an uncompromising position on the class aspect of the struggle as well. Our position dares to challenge the Hicks-Kerrigan leadership of the white school boycott movement. We are very happy that CORE has come to Boston to organize around an anti-busing position in the Negro community. Hopefully we will be able to develop unity of action around this issue with the CORE forces who have already begun to challenge the Hicks-Kerrigan mob.

We recognize that with no real voice in the matter and with no tangible gains for their children, the Negro masses and white working people of Boston have had their children uprooted from their communities. In the name of liberal integration, dictatorship is being exercised against them. In the name of "democratic" opposition to this dictation from Washington, i.e. the right to have our children go to school in our own communities, fascism is being cultivated among the white working people of South Boston. This is how liberalism acts as the breeding ground for fascism.

Only by understanding this process of development can the proletarian vanguard break a link in the chain of events that is leading the white workers of South Boston into the laps of the fascists which development bodes ill for the future of the white workers throughout the U.S.N.A. and therefore would be a major setback for the cause of socialism in the U.S.N.A.

How do we break concretely with the liberalism of the "petty bourgeois democrats" and begin to reach the white workers of Boston with an anti-imperialist line and policy that includes unity with the Negro people of Boston? We must take the democratic form of the white school boycott and try to replace its fascist content with a democratic, an anti-imperialist content. This means projecting a call for a joint Black and white boycott of the schools: -- (1) to end the busing plan forced on the people of Boston by the federal government, (2) to jointly demand quality education of their children, and (3) to put forth the demand for quality education through the



form of Negro community control of their schools, and working class control of the schools in the white working class communities. Such a joint Black and white boycott with these demands would represent united opposition both to the sham liberalism and real dictatorship of the still-dominant "non-fascist" section of the imperialist bourgeoisie and to the sham "democratic" and really fascist motion being led by the Hicks-Kerrigan forces. Such a united struggle of the Negro national minority community and the white workers of Boston could be linked up with the fight for nationalization of education proposed by our Party, i.e. the fight for equal distribution of funds to every school district throughout the U.S.N.A.

(2) Most importantly, we come down strongly on the national aspect of the struggle. The right of the Negro people to armed self-defense of their community that has already had some organized expression at Columbia Point Housing Project, must be supported and encouraged. Armed self-defense by the Negro people is impossible to maintain outside of the Negro community. Therefore allowing their children to be bused out of their neighborhoods puts their children (and their community) in a position vulnerable to physical attack, and encourages the fascist thugs to continue and intensify their campaign. The Negro community in Boston should use any and all means necessary for the protection of their people, for the Negro people are the present targets of the neo-fascist movement.

As in their Black Belt homeland, the Negro national minority forces in the North will only be able to win the white workers to unity through their united strength in struggle, i.e. through their community organizations, both political and military, through their ties to other national minority communities within the same city, particularly the Puerto Rican and/or Chicano communities, through their ties to the Negro nation in the Black Belt, and finally through ties where they exist to the white section of the working class in their cities. Hopefully our Party can become the center for the coordination of this great potential strength of Negro national minority communities that come under siege in the North.

For only our Party has an understanding of (1) the fact that the white section of the U.S.N.A. working class has by and large been a bribed section of the working class of the U.S.N.A. oppressor nation for the past 20-30 years; (2) the fact that we must break on a principled basis from the liberalism of the petty-bourgeois democrats, and particularly from the general white left movement, in order to be able to reach the basic working masses of the white population, in order to break the white workers away from the rest of the imperialist white society and to unite them back up with the rest of the working class and the oppressed peoples in the U.S.N.A.; (3) that while the fascist motion is gaining ground, the dominant wing of the imperialist ruling class is still operating through "democratic" forms, that Rockefeller, Kennedy, etc. are giving aid and comfort to the rising neo-fascist movement but have not yet adopted it as their own, that the main way to dry up the source of fascism's strength is to keep the main blows directed against the dominant non-fascist form of imperialist rule; and (4) most importantly we understand that at present the main force for the defeat of the Hicks-Kerrigan fascist forces and their source, U.S.N.A. imperialism, is the Negro national liberation movement centered in the Black Belt.

L. A., R. K.

(This article was originally submitted to the People's Tribune, political organ of the CLP, and rejected because it did not represent the political line of the Central Committee of the organization. The authors re-submitted it to the Proletariat, which is meant to serve as a forum for debate, polemics and comradely criticisms by both comrades and friends of the Party. We welcome this sort of honest article. - Editor)

#### Footnotes

1. In the Deep South, it was in response to the growing pressure by the Negro people for the control of their community's schools that finally brought about widespread integration of the schools there. Not federal law, nor demands for integration, but struggle for power by a united oppressed people brought about integration in the South. Not federal government "desire" to unite Black and white people in the South, but their desire to keep the Negro people from uniting against the Southern and federal ruling class inspired their desegregation (of schools) in the Deep South.

So today we are faced with a paradox -- the schools of the Deep South are largely integrated, while Boston, the center of the Abolitionist Movement of 100 years ago, and the center of liberalism in the present period, has become the stronghold of reaction against the integration of schools. In fact, in mid-October, an integrated group of 4 students from Hyde Park High School traveled to Charlotte, North Carolina to "see how integration can work"!



ON CERTAIN THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS OF  
FASCISM; DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

As a starting point, consider this quote from "On Contradiction" by Mao Tse-tung:

"There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions.

"For instance, in capitalist society the two forces in contradiction, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, form the principal contradiction. The other contradictions, such as those between the remnant feudal class and the bourgeoisie, between the peasant petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, between the proletariat and the peasant petty-bourgeoisie, between the non-monopoly capitalists and the monopoly capitalists, between bourgeois democracy and bourgeois fascism, among the capitalist countries and between imperialism and the colonies, are all determined or influenced by this principal contradiction.

The contradiction we are dealing with, when we consider the question of fascism, is a secondary contradiction. It is a contradiction within the bourgeois aspect of the superstructure, just as the contradiction between monopoly and non-monopoly capitalism is a contradiction within the bourgeois aspect of the economic base. But within the economic base and within the political superstructure there is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is the overall relations between these classes which determine and influence the development of the contradiction between bourgeois democracy and fascism, as two aspects of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus we are dealing with two dialectically related forms of capitalist rule.

This elementary Marxist proposition is what the revisionists obscure about fascism. Instead of exposing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, instead of showing how "democracy" is predicated on class oppression, the CPUSA has focussed attention on these two forms of rule, as though they were two different kinds of social systems. In doing this they have performed a valuable service to the bourgeoisie by fostering petty-bourgeois prejudices among the workers about the necessary tools of liberation, and possibility of destroying the bourgeois state and therefore with both its forms. In dealing with this question the Marxist asks the question, "democracy for whom?" The masses in this country have never enjoyed real democracy; there has only been varying degrees of democracy for the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes. The rights which finally became extended in law to proletarians are usable, are allowed, only so long as they confine their attention to settling problems of capitalist rule. Even in the "best" of all possible bourgeois worlds, in very peaceful capitalism, still masses of people are necessarily locked out of the democratic process. It is not "democracy" but bourgeois democracy, and even when it works at its best, it effectively works not at all for millions of people on the bottom of society. In bourgeois society, under "democratic" conditions, the individual proletarian may have rights, but the proletariat-as-a-class can't use the rights, unless they are to be used to

re-inforce the power of capital. That's what bourgeois democracy means.

At the height of its popularity, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was extremely hidden, and at times even the majority of the people participated in strengthening its authority. During that period the masses acquire a certain faith in bourgeois democracy, a belief that the only possible kind of democracy is that which is granted to the people in law by the bourgeoisie. But that period is passing. The period of capitalism we are living in is the period of imperialist decay, the period of prolonged and general crisis, where the slightest movement among the people - the mere rustle of leaves - is cause for panic in the ruling class. This is a revolutionary epoch, and despite a lag in consciousness, the working class is beginning to shed its illusions about bourgeois democracy, while the bourgeoisie, despite tactical differences, moves towards discarding its own constitution and with it any pretense at democratic rule.

The history of bourgeois democracy is marked by backward and forward movement, from relative reliance on deception and bribery to relative reliance on force. But the ultimately permanent and unconditional aspect is open military dictatorship. While fascism is specific to imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism, after the epoch of the proletarian revolution has already begun, the preparation for fascism is inherent in the bourgeois dictatorship and has a long history of repeated practical execution. What causes the bourgeoisie to discard the constitution which yesterday they seemed to uphold? What causes them to adopt open terror and massive force? Why do they change from one form of rule to the other? Because they can no longer rule in the old way.

Why can they no longer rule in the old way? Because of an objective crisis, an economic and political crisis which is independent of anyone's will. The crisis is the result of the development of the contradictions in the mode of production, in the economic base between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie tries one policy after another but the situation grows worse. Actually there is no policy which the bourgeoisie could implement to prevent the crisis. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie is the ruling class and is therefore responsible for the crisis.

"And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented. (Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto)

When Marx and Engels wrote these words, the proletariat was just developing into an independent class, and was lucky to have even a few economic organizations to defend itself during a depression. In those times the bourgeoisie got out of the crisis just as Marx and Engels explained. The proletariat was unable to defend itself, and, being the main productive force, a portion of the class did not survive the crisis. Through starvation, disease, fatally hazardous occupations taken in desperation, and in general, through the lack of means to propagate the species, a small mass of the productive force - "labor-power" - ceased to be produced and reproduced, and another small mass was unable to survive. Moreover, another small portion of the proletariat was sacrificed by the bourgeoisie



in the conquest of new markets. At the same time, their ranks were replenished, at the end of the crisis, by a proletarianized section of petty-bourgeois who, having lost their meager means of production during the crisis, were economically compelled to offer their labor-power for sale in competition with the workers.

The overall political effect of the series of crises which capitalism has survived is that real economic and political power has been increasingly concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. Each crisis leaves the economic base of capitalism more centralized, more socialized, more concentrated. After a few such experiences, the proletariat began to wage organized economic and political struggles against the bourgeoisie. Armed struggles broke out. Yet the proletariat was still unprepared politically to actually seize power, and in consequence a part of the class did not survive the crisis.

During that very early period of capitalism, bourgeois democracy still represented a progressive political movement in part directed against the remnants of the feudal ruling classes (or, in our case, against the slave-owning aristocracy). But the rise of the bourgeoisie to power means also the creation of the grave-diggers of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, and the ideological negation of capitalism - communism. While the proletariat always fought resolutely for the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution, the bourgeoisie, observing the political potential of the proletariat, grows increasingly reluctant to carry through its own democratic movement. If the bourgeoisie had to call upon the workers to fight against aristocratic reaction, they immediately disarmed the workers after the job was done, and bolstered the state apparatus as an instrument of coercion over the rising proletarian movement. Having been defeated in the theoretical field, bourgeois ideology turned to deception, while politics came to be based on fraud, corruption and bribery.

The struggle to have democratic rights recognized in law is the bourgeois democratic struggle. The establishment of these rights in law is the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution. The struggle by the proletariat to use these rights in their own, proletarian-class, interests, is not a continuation of the bourgeois democratic revolution; it is already the objective beginning of the proletarian socialist revolution.

All the contradictions of capitalism are intensified and magnified by the evolution of capitalism into its highest stage - imperialism. The domination of monopoly capital undermines the "free speech and assembly," and mass electoral machinery. Imperialism subjugates whole nations and perpetuates absolutist rule. The form of rule in the colonies is generally open military dictatorship, denial of democratic rights for the oppressed nationality, occupation by the troops from the oppressor nation and political direction from the Capitol of the oppressor nation. The bourgeois democratic rights which continue to be extended to the citizens of the oppressor nation are all fraudulent, representing an aspect of reaction all along the line.

The imperialist bourgeoisie encourages "its own" proletariat to feel pride and comfort in the rights and privileges belonging to the members of an oppressor nation. It encourages political machinery for the purpose of involving the more active workers in the politics of the empire, in the corrupt reformism which endlessly negotiates for petty concessions, concessions which are not

even aimed at alleviating the conditions of the whole class, but almost always for a small section of the class. And the imperialists have the money, derived from the superprofits taken from the colonial peoples, to pay for such political movements. The political difference between the proletariat of the imperialist nation and the proletariat of the colonial nation, combined with the large-scale economic bribery of a section of workers in the imperialist nation, splits the working class into definite antagonistic political wings; one representing social-reformism and one representing revolution; one representing alliance with the imperialist bourgeoisie based on chauvinism and national privileges, and one representing alliance with the national liberation movement based on proletarian internationalism and the common struggle against imperialism.

The history of the USNA state illustrates this very clearly. For this imperialist state achieved its international position of power through the forcible suppression of the Negro people and other colonized peoples, through reactionary violence and the military occupation of colonial territory. And it did this with the help of the leading officials of the US labor movement, the bribed tools of reaction.

The imperialist bourgeoisie can continue bourgeois democracy only so long as it can back up this political base with material benefits. Otherwise it has no economic base in the population, not even with the millions of small producers, small capitalists, most of whom could not survive the competition with monopoly capital. Thus the continuation of bourgeois democracy is contingent on the ability of the imperialists to provide a relatively sustained period of the expansion of capital, to keep super-profits flowing in; this is the only way they can build up a base of support among the petty-bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the proletariat who have a toe or two in the petty-bourgeoisie. But the imperialists can only maintain their superprofits internationally in fierce competition with the other imperialist ruling classes. And ever since the proletarian revolution in Russia, the imperialists have to face the existence of territories where no capital can flow and no superprofits can be gained. The movement for national liberation poses the same threat, and the hegemony of the proletariat in that movement ensures that the territory will be, like the socialist countries, off-limits to the imperialists.

All this naturally intensifies inter-imperialist competition, and intensifies the contradiction between each imperialist ruling class and "its own" proletariat. The imperialist bourgeoisie is a class which depends for its very existence and the maintenance of its rule, on superprofits, and therefore on the maintenance of economic hegemony and control of the productive forces of other nations. In the end, it is dependent on aggression. Economic crisis in the era of imperialism cannot be separated from the imminent threat of world war.

Fascism is a product of the crisis. Fascism has already become the principal aspect of the imperialist bourgeois dictatorship. The periods in which bourgeois democracy prevails are no more than preparatory phases for an offensive against the proletariat. Slogans like "the state of the whole people" and phrases like "let's heal the divisions and work together for our great nation" are ideological preparation for fascism. We can be sure that the imperialists' appeal to "democracy" is but a prelude to the destruction of their own beloved constitution, just like we can be sure that bourgeois pacifism is but a prelude



to new wars. The imperialists will have to go to war to protect the empire. But they will have to resort to extraordinary measures at home if they intend to send the workers into battle against a foreign nation. It has already been shown that the workers will not fight without serious and large-scale rebellion - that is what the experience of Vietnam proves. And that is why Stalin's words, from 1928, are so relevant today: "It is impossible to wage war for imperialism unless the rear of imperialism is strengthened. It is impossible to strengthen the rear of imperialism without suppressing the workers. And that is what fascism is for."

The crisis is well on the way. Economic observers have pointed out that it is the worst mess capitalism has gotten into since the thirties. The main brunt of the crisis has so far been shifted on to the backs of the other countries which are suffering much worse inflation than we are. And yet look how the inflation has generated political movement in the USNA! Just imagine what a 50% or 100% inflation rate is like!

Thus the point is inexorably reached where the bourgeoisie can no longer rely on deception and bribery. Not only can the bourgeoisie not rule in the old way, but as a result of the economic chaos it has caused it has also generated in the masses, in the ruled classes, the inability to be ruled in the old way. The anarchy of production which turns into economic chaos is reflected in the political sphere by political anarchy, by spontaneous mass struggle which demonstrates incontestably that masses of people are willing, in fact eager, to discard old forms of rule and old constitutions because they will not live in the old way, will not survive by the old way and are ready to break through all constitutional barriers in order to get out of the crisis. In other words, bourgeois democracy becomes useless to both the decisive classes in society. It is in general what Lenin described as a "revolutionary situation."

"To the Marxist it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation which leads to revolution. What, generally speaking, are the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly not be mistaken if we indicate the following three major symptoms: (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the "upper classes," a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for "the lower classes not to want" to live in the old way: it is also necessary that "the upper classes should be unable" to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in "peace time," but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the "upper classes" themselves into independent historical action.

Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible." (Lenin, The Collapse of the Second International, --the same idea is expressed in Ch. 10 of "Left-Wing" Communism....)

It is of the utmost importance that we grasp Lenin's definition very firmly. It means that, independent of anyone's will or consciousness of the fact, there comes into being a change in the relation between ruling and ruled classes. It means that the objective relation between the ruling class and all the classes which it oppresses and especially the proletariat is one of acute class contradiction, is one in which these classes are resisting the ruling class either spontaneously or consciously. In fact, whether they are conscious of the consequences of their own practice, this practice has weakened the bourgeoisie, has made it impossible for the bourgeoisie to rule in the old way, in the bourgeois democratic way. As Stalin said, the victory of fascism

"...Must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie already is unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration - it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war. (Quoted by Dimitrov, in his Report to the 7th Congress of the Communist International)

The bourgeoisie has been weakened objectively by the class struggle of the proletariat. But the bourgeoisie enjoys a temporary tactical advantage, because the proletariat may not be conscious of the extent to which its practice has weakened the bourgeoisie. The party is responsible for bringing this consciousness to the proletariat. The party makes the class conscious of the fact that political struggle means the struggle between classes for state power and that state power means the effective command over an armed force. The party has to represent the most advanced consciousness of the class as a whole and make it aware that its movement has been preparing for years and generations to take state power and that it must carry this through to the end.

The bourgeoisie has also been preparing for years and generations, preparing its state apparatus and para-military formations to defend its rule by fire and sword. And the bourgeoisie is much more conscious of its own preparation than is the proletariat. Why is this? Because the bourgeoisie has long experience being on the strategic offensive whereas the proletariat is long accustomed to the strategic defensive. The bourgeoisie has long experience in developing and making use of the state apparatus in the class struggle, whereas the proletariat, having almost no such practical experience, has to be taught the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has to be taught about the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the Paris Commune to the underground Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union and the cultural revolution in China. If such knowledge can be imparted to ten thousand revolutionary workers, the problem of particular forms of struggle is already on the way to being solved.

What actually happens in a revolutionary situation depends entirely on the subjective factor in the proletariat.



"it is not every revolutionary situation that gives rise to a revolution; revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above-mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis "falls", if it is not toppled over." (Lenin, from The Collapse of the Second International, continued from the same passage)

The historical experience of the proletarian revolutionary movement shows that fascism is the result of the bourgeoisie launching civil war on its side, while the proletariat is prevented from waging the other side, the proletarian side, of the civil war, prevented from within its own ranks.

Imperialist war transforms opportunism, which had appeared as social-reformism, into social-chauvinism and an open alliance with the imperialist bourgeoisie. The revolutionary situation which developed during the first world war accelerated this identity into social-fascism. The policy of revisionism, of right-opportunism and its "left" off-shoots, is widely recognized as paving the way for fascism. How does it do this?

Revisionism does not recognize the principal contradiction in capitalist society as the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; it does not recognize that political struggle means the struggle between these two classes for state power, and it does not recognize therefore, that the aim of the struggle is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revisionism understands imperialist society as having a progressive aspect which leads to socialism and a reactionary aspect which leads to fascism. Both of these aspects are seen as existing within the bourgeois state, and the struggle centers around lining up the workers behind the "progressive" side of the bourgeoisie. The role assigned to the working class is that of an external condition on the bourgeoisie who constitute the internal basis of change. It is a conception of eternal struggle for better conditions under which to struggle for better conditions; it is a conception of eternal rule by the bourgeoisie and eternal struggle without victory by the proletariat. It is a conception of a never ending strategic defensive. In practice, revisionism relies on bourgeois democracy to defeat fascism. The revisionists fear fascism and cling desperately to bourgeois democracy.

Revisionism first appears as economism, as an attack on the conscious element. Its policy is the substitution of reformism for revolutionary Marxism. Its whole function is to draw off a section of the more advanced workers into the politics of the bourgeoisie, to channel the prejudices of the petty-bourgeoisie about "democracy in general" into the proletariat and create a petty-bourgeois democratic movement inside the proletariat --to create, in other words, an alliance between a section of the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie against the oppressed masses of proletarians and against the oppressed nations as well.

The maturing of the economic crisis and the consequent revolutionary situation breaks down this unity; the revolutionary workers begin to break away from bourgeois-democratic prejudices and organize for the purpose of establishing

the dictatorship of the proletariat. This development, which represents a leap from bourgeois to proletarian democracy, appears to the reformist politicians to be a provocation. It appears to them that the breakdown of bourgeois democracy can be prevented by this or that policy made by this or that party, just like the bourgeoisie believes that the crisis can be prevented by this or that policy made by this or that party. Revisionism has no use for any such concept as "objective relation between classes". Revisionism does not recognize any situation which is objectively revolutionary. The breakdown of bourgeois democracy cannot be prevented by any policy of any party. What can be prevented is the breakdown of bourgeois democracy into fascism. But the only way it can be prevented is precisely by the revolutionary workers breaking away from bourgeois democratic prejudices and organizing for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Revisionism therefore teaches the workers that the struggle is between democracy and fascism and not between the bourgeois dictatorship and the proletarian dictatorship. It teaches the workers that in this struggle between "democracy" and fascism, which determines everything in the world, including the victory or defeat of socialism, that in this struggle, the fascist aspect is strengthened by communism, by the consciousness of Marxism-Leninism and conscious and purposeful revolutionary practice. The truth, as we can see from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, and from the history of the proletarian class struggle, is that it is precisely the spontaneous struggle against the bourgeoisie which makes it more and more difficult for the bourgeoisie to rule in the old way; it is precisely the lack of consciousness of the new way which paves the way for fascism, and it is only the planned, conscious movement for the dictatorship of the proletariat which makes it impossible for the bourgeoisie to rule in any way.

The revisionist CPUSA has been spreading reformism for a long time undisturbed by a Marxist-Leninist party which is only now just been born. The absence of a revolutionary Marxist critique left room for a "left" adventurist line which exercises some influence among the revolutionaries. The most advanced expression of this "left" line is George Jackson's analysis of fascism. (see Blood in my Eye) Taking the CPUSA as representative of Marxism on the subject, Jackson came to the conclusion that we have always lived under fascism. Hidden in Jackson's criticism of the CPUSA is the revolutionary attitude of the proletariat which understands that democracy granted in law by the bourgeoisie is no more than a facade for the dictatorship of that class. However, reformism cannot be defeated by anarchism. Anarchism obscurs the distinction between bourgeois democracy and fascism and also has no use for the concept "objective revolutionary situation". The reformist believes that there is never a revolutionary situation until after the fact, until after it is proven that the masses were subjectively prepared. The anarchist believes that there is always a revolutionary situation, beginning with the recognition of the class nature of the state in the subjective consciousness of the vanguard.

The "left" error also gives the revisionists a golden opportunity to distort Dimitrov's definition in a liberal way. It is asked, if Dimitrov referred to the most chauvinist, most reactionary, most imperialist, then doesn't that mean that there must also be a least chauvinist, reactionary, imperialist, side of the bourgeoisie? Yes that is indeed what it means. However, that is no wonder.



The wonder is that communists, who understand the world through the philosophy of dialectical materialism, should wonder at such a proposition. Doesn't everything divide in two? Why can't the bourgeoisie divide in two? In fact, the unity of the opposites within the bourgeoisie is strictly temporary, relative, and conditional. It is impossible, in the final analysis, for the bourgeoisie to form a monolithic political body, since there is nothing they can do, no policy they can implement, which can save their rule. For the proletariat the situation is just the opposite. It is possible for the proletariat to create a monolithic political body because the proletariat can make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and for it there is such a thing as a correct political line manifested in a definite, and definitely correct policy which can turn into a material force and change the world. That's one of the differences between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Dimitrov's definition refers to these as part of the rule of finance capital, i.e., both aspects belong to, are characteristic of, that class. Thus, the opposite of "most chauvinist" is not "internationalist"; the opposite of "most reactionary" is not "progressive"; the opposite of "most imperialist" is not "socialist". That distortion, which is not at all inherent in Dimitrov's definition, is precisely the revisionists' liberal-reformist conception of the state. So that, while we understand the differences, the contradictions, the opposing political alignments within the bourgeoisie, we also understand the unity, that they are all within the bourgeoisie, all expressions of the rule of that class. We recognize that in relation to the state one aspect or the other must be principal and that determines the particular form of rule at any particular time. The particular form of rule of one imperialist state may be in contradiction to the form of rule of another imperialist state; for example, the bourgeois democratic states were in contradiction to, and eventually antagonistic contradiction to, the fascist states in the 1930s-40s. Nevertheless, the bourgeois democratic states and the fascist states together formed a unity in opposition to socialism; thus, even while the bourgeois democracies fought against fascism and helped the Soviet Union, they constantly conspired with the fascist governments to weaken and overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is clear that an attack by the bourgeoisie generates widespread resistance. The proletariat must defend itself against the attack; it has to defend its living standards, its political rights, its economic and political organizations, etc. Certainly the revisionists will try to lead a movement to resist fascism, in the form of an anti-fascist, anti-monopoly coalition. The aim of this revisionist led movement is to restore the old class harmony which was the basis for the continuation of bourgeois democracy. This reflects the interests of a substantial base in the population, a base which is disintegrating, it is true, but whose political consciousness always lags behind its new conditions. The politics reflecting the petty-bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the proletariat is to fight against the effects of capitalism on themselves while fighting to maintain the capitalist system as a whole. Under attack by the fascist elements of the bourgeoisie, millions of small producers, skilled workers and intellectuals will fight against fascism to defend their old status in bourgeois society. Even some of the liberal bourgeois may be willing to resist transgression of the constitution.

Thus there is a temporary basis of unity existing under the umbrella of resistance. The CPUSA says flatly in a recent editorial in the People's World that resistance is the only weapon we have. The CPUSA is already preparing the ideological ground for the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie in their "defense" of the proletariat. The conciliators of revisionism are helping to prepare this defeat by spreading the illusion that imperialism is collapsing and can be pushed over without a revolutionary offensive. The "left" opportunists will insist that the proletariat should have nothing to do with the resistance movement and will conduct premature armed struggle, thus guaranteeing revisionist domination of the movement.

The problem of communism is how to unite the working class in a movement to defend the bourgeois democratic revolution and the rights gained from it, and transform this movement into an offensive, into the proletarian socialist revolution. The movement to resist fascism appears as a continuation of the strategic defensive. In fact it is actually a tactical defensive in the context of a new stage of strategic offensive. Only revolutionary Marxism can make this clear. Revisionism stands opposed to Marxism; it strives to contain the struggle and keep it within the confines of strategic defensive. The party of the proletariat must prepare the whole class and all the oppressed people for a second attack even if the defense is successful. The lesson we learn from history is that a strong communist party leading the mass movement of resistance to fascism may successfully beat back fascism; but if such a movement does not understand that in order to defend itself it must pass over to the offensive, then fascism won't be defeated, only temporarily delayed. Only when the proletariat learns, and the oppressed masses can see by their own experience, that only proletarian revolution actually defeats fascism, will the defeat of fascism be certain.

It is necessary to repeat: the subjective factor is the only factor we have control over. The extent to which the proletariat is united behind its Marxist-Leninist party is the extent to which the bourgeoisie will be split and its forces in disarray. The main weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie is the confusion, the lack of consciousness, the influence of opportunism, in the proletariat. We can see the elements of a revolutionary situation coming into being right now. We can see that a world economic crisis is already under way. We can see that an imperialist war is an imminent threat to the exploited and oppressed people everywhere. A few months ago comrade N.P. spoke in San Francisco and touched on this subject. He said that fascism represents a danger and an opportunity and that we should not be afraid to take the initiative. He emphasized, in that speech, the decisive role of ideas, of the ability of the revolutionary people to think, to plan, to understand and deal with objective reality. To see only the danger is a right error. To see only the opportunity is a "left" error. And the worst error of all is to underestimate the role of consciousness. Our task is to educate the proletariat in the science of Marxism-Leninism, to establish a revolutionary communist presence in the class which can become the vanguard of the oppressed and exploited workers. Only with such a force in the working class can we unite the class, break the influence of opportunism, and build a united front against fascism which can go over to the offensive and defeat fascism once and for all. Everyone must understand that a whole lot depends on what we do.

M.M., Chicago  
(based on, and edited slightly from, a speech given on behalf of the S.F. Continuations Committee, August 10, 1974)



### On the Situation in Cuba

On July 26, 1953, some 150 men led an armed attack on the Moncada barracks, part of the oppressive state apparatus of USNA imperialism in Cuba. The attack failed, but the "26th of July Movement" developed as the leading voice of the struggle of the Cuban proletariat and peasantry against the USNA imperialist control of Cuba. Unfortunately, the situation in Cuba today is one in which the ruling class of the Soviet Union has replaced the imperialists of the USNA as the oppressor of the Cuban proletariat and peasantry. It is of great importance to understand how this development took place.

We must first ask, "Why was Castro's 26th of July Movement able to free Cuba from USNA imperialism?" The 26th of July Movement correctly summed up the suffering of the Cuban masses, the source of this suffering, and most of what was necessary to eliminate it. After he was captured at Moncada, Castro laid out his plan for Cuba's revolution in the defense speech at his trial - the famous "History will Absolve Me" speech. The problems of Cuba which demanded immediate resolution, he said, were in the areas of land distribution, housing, education, health, industrialization and unemployment, and the restoration of public liberties and political democracy.

As early as the guerrilla campaigns in the Sierra Maestra (1956-1958), steps were taken to resolve these problems. The guerrilla army provided medicine and food and education for the peasantry whenever possible, and won much of the peasantry to the revolutionary cause in this way. And after the military victory in 1959, an agrarian reform law was passed which gave land to 100,000 peasants, rent and electricity rates were lowered, previously segregated public facilities were integrated, and the professional army which had supported the neo-colonial regime was replaced by a Revolutionary Armed Forces and People's Militias. In 1961 all USNA holdings were nationalized, and illiteracy was reduced from 27% to less than 4%. 1962 saw the eradication of at least seven major diseases. Mass organizations - Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women, the Association of Small Farmers - were established to insure the democratic participation of the Cuban people in the affairs of the country. Since the early 1960's, thousands of hospitals, schools and other cultural facilities, and extremely low-rent or rent-free housing units have been constructed in the countryside, which previous to the revolution had almost none of these, and in the cities, which didn't have enough. And the revolution has cut pre-revolutionary unemployment rates (700,000 out of a population of 5 million) down to 0%. With the notable exception of self-sufficiency through industrialization, the Cuban revolution has gone a long way in reaching all the goals set down by the Moncada program.

USNA imperialism, although it supplied the fascist Batista regime with planes, guns and ammunition, could not defend its neo-colonial regime

against the forces of the 26th of July. The CIA upheld the counterrevolution in Guatemala in 1954 and the Marines did the same in the Dominican Republic in 1965, but the Bay of Pigs invasion could not bring the counterrevolution back in Cuba in 1961. The Cuban revolution was strong enough to turn back the overt attacks of USNA imperialism. But not really basing itself in the science of Marxism-Leninism, the Cuban revolutionary leadership has shown itself unable to resist two of the most powerful weapons of imperialism - revisionism and the policies of detente.

By the end of the missile crisis (1962), the policies of collusion between the USNA and the USSR had been solidified. In 1960, Cuba established relations with the socialist countries, and in 1961, on the eve of the Bay of Pigs Invasion (Playa Guiron), the Cuban leadership declared their revolution socialist. Later the missile crisis resulted in a pact in which the USNA guaranteed not to invade Cuba while the USSR agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba and to convince the Cuban government to stop "exporting" revolution.

By 1970, Soviet economic domination of Cuba had taken the form of one million dollars per day of "aid," which has not been concentrated in heavy industry and has resulted in holding the economy back from self-sufficiency. This economic influence was bound to have its effect on Cuba's political line, and it is now evident that Cuban politics are taking a more and more openly revisionist tone.

And now we come to the essence of the present situation in Cuba - what is the true nature of the Cuban revolution, and in what directions is it presently headed? Here we must see that there are only two ideologies and two camps, and that revisionism, being in opposition to Marxism-Leninism, is bourgeois ideology and can only lead to bourgeois policy.

It is well known that the old Cuban Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular), although having led a number of labor and mass struggles in the 1930's and 1940's, was basically a weak and extremely revisionist party. It even opposed the progressive actions of Castro's 26th of July Movement, and did not support the revolution until its victory was clearly in sight. When the present Cuban Communist Party was formed in 1965, a number of arch-revisionists, such as Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and Osvaldo Dorticos, retained top leadership positions. Rodriguez is on the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, and Dorticos is President of Cuba. Through men such as these, the ties to the CPSU were continued and strengthened. Now let us see what result has emerged from the addition of this Soviet brand of revisionism to the progressive but non-Marxist-Leninist petty bourgeois 26th of July leadership.

In his speech on the 20th anniversary of the 26th of July attack on the Moncada Garrison (1), Castro claimed that even before the Moncada attack, the leadership of the 26th of July movement was Marxist-Leninist: "The basic nucleus of leaders of our movement who, in the midst of intensive activity, found the time to study Marx, Engels and Lenin, saw in Marxism-Leninism the only means of understanding the situation of our country with absolute clarity."



At his trial after the Moncada attack, Castro stated that "The revolutionaries must proclaim their ideas courageously, define their principles and express their intentions so that no one is deceived, neither friend nor foe." (2) But if, as Fidel said 20 years later, the 26th of July leadership was indeed Marxist-Leninist even before the Moncada attack, then we would expect the "History Will Absolve Me" speech to be a proclamation of Marxist-Leninist principles and goals. The speech is a courageous declaration of very progressive petty bourgeois revolutionary goals, but it does not go beyond this to an exposition of Marxist-Leninist principles. It says nothing of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It consistently stresses a reliance on the masses, but says nothing of the Party, the conscious element, needed to guide the mass struggle to victory.

Reliance on the masses while at the same time rejecting the conscious element, amounts to a rejection of Marxism-Leninism. "Some of us, even before the 10th of March, 1952 (when Batista took power,) had come to the conclusion that Cuba's problems had to be solved in a revolutionary manner and that power had to be seized at a given moment with the masses and with arms, and that socialism had to be the objective....But how were we going to lead the masses along that road," asks Castro, "since they were subjected to a constant flood of anti-communism....?" (3) Would this be accomplished by bringing Marxist-Leninist theory to the working class movement, by merging these two elements into a truly revolutionary communist party? Would this revolutionary communist party then lead the working class and peasantry to seize state power and institute the dictatorship of the proletariat? Any Marxist-Leninist who had read and understood Lenin's What is to be done? can easily grasp the universal applicability of this strategy.

But the Cuban Party replies, "As we saw it, the masses...would be... the driving force of the revolution, even though they might not yet realize where the road to a real and definitive solution lay. Revolutionary struggle itself...would give them political education." (4) One could hardly wish for a finer exposition of the worship of spontaneity! And yet, "The political strategy of the struggle which started on the 26th of July was based on these ideas...(and) the concept that the struggle itself would create the advanced political awareness in the masses that would lead us to a socialist revolution has proven to be absolutely correct in the conditions of our country." And it seems that this "Cuban exceptionalism" can be generalized to a "Latin American exceptionalism," where spontaneous struggle gives rise to socialist consciousness, because "Cuba stands tall to point out a path in this part of the world." (6)

The Cuban Party's apparent faith in the leading role of the masses is no more than superficial. In fact, with the negation of the conscious element (Marxist-Leninist theory), the leading role of the masses, much less the leading role of the working class, is turned into its opposite: the masses are led by a small group of petty bourgeois democrats. That this is true in Cuba is exemplified by the part played there by Marxist-Leninist education.

The position of the Cuban Communist Party on Marxist-Leninist education, brought out in a March 13, 1968 speech, gives us a strong clue

as to the origin of much of the Party's confusion. Here is their position:

"And it must be said that a certain factor has contributed to that lack of sufficient political instruction, and that factor has been not so much the use as the abuse of the manuals of Marxism-Leninism. It must be said that many revolutionary militants went through the schools known as Revolutionary Instruction Schools - which did, in fact, have the aim of giving revolutionary instruction - and philosophical questions were studied, the elements, the fundamentals of Marxism...But there's something the Revolution itself has taught us - because, after all, the Revolution is the greatest teacher of revolutionaries - and that is the enormous gap that sometimes exists between general concepts and practice, between philosophy and reality. And, above all, it has taught us how far the manuals have gradually become outdated, have become something of an anachronism, since, in many instances, they don't say one word about the problems the masses should understand. Often the manuals are nothing but a series of abstract generalities, vague and devoid of content, so that, just when you think you have a truly developed revolutionary, you find that what you have is a militant who does not understand many of the most serious problems of the contemporary world.

"We must also say that the manuals contain a large number of cliches and stereotyped phrases and, what is more, some falsehoods although it is not our intention to go into an analysis of manuals here. This is a factor which, unquestionably, has been instrumental in that weakness of formation, of instruction, from which our people are still suffering." (7)

Workers' study circles exist in Cuba, but participation is not required, and the documents studied are of Che and Fidel almost exclusively. The Marxist-Leninist classics are little studied, if at all, by the workers; only Party and Army members, teachers, artists and other intellectuals study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

But without a true Marxist-Leninist education, how can the proletariat institute its dictatorship? The answer, of course, is that it cannot. And without the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no real defense against imperialism.

Given the objective conditions of imperialism and social imperialism which exist in the world today, a state can maintain its economic and political independence only if it adheres firmly to the principles of Marxism-Leninism as its guide to domestic and international policy. That this is so even in the case of a small country has been proven by North Vietnam, North Korea and Albania. Cuba has shown that, unfortunately, the reverse is also true: without the firm stance of Marxism-Leninism, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, no country can hope to remain indefinitely independent, either politically or economically. Cuba's lack of true Marxist-Leninist leadership has left its people open to Soviet economic dominance, because



the socialist goal of economic self-sufficiency has not been understood by the Cuban Party. Once economically dependent on the Soviet State, Cuba was forced into supporting the revisionist political line of the Soviet Party.

Under the 26th of July Movement, the 1953-early 1960's revolution brought Cuba from a neo-colonial status (where the comprador and puppet rulers were in charge of the state for the imperialists, and the economy was controlled by the imperialists), to an independent status (where a clear political and economic break is made with USNA imperialism but where the government was not in the hands of the proletariat). This state form must either be carried forward with the consolidation of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat or it will slip back into neo-colonialism, and unfortunately in the case of Cuba, the motion is definitely back into neo-colonialism.

The revolution in Cuba has not been carried through to socialism, because while the Cuban leadership has been progressive, it has never been Marxist-Leninist. It has not built a Leninist Party of a New Type which could consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Cuban Communist Party, old or new, never waged a battle against revisionism and was therefore powerless to resist the social imperialism of the Soviet Union.

We can learn important lessons from the example of Cuba. Firstly, the obvious need for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party to lead the proletariat and peasantry and to ensure proletarian leadership in the struggle. And secondly, unless the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated and a struggle continues against all capitalist elements in society, the inevitable outcome is a step backwards to a neo-colony.

The Anglo-American proletariat must support the valiant struggles of the Cuban workers and peasants. We must recognize the great contributions they have made to the national liberation movements in the Americas, but at the same time we must recognize the errors of their leadership. We must redouble our efforts to build a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party that will be the first concrete step in our support of the national liberation movements not only in the Americas but in the entire world. The socialist revolution in the USNA is inseparably connected up with the revolutions in South and Central America. We must work to do as Stalin says - turn the reserves of imperialism into the reserves of socialism.

Long live the valiant struggles of the Cuban people!

Build a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party!

Onward to Socialism!

Comrades in the Southwest

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