

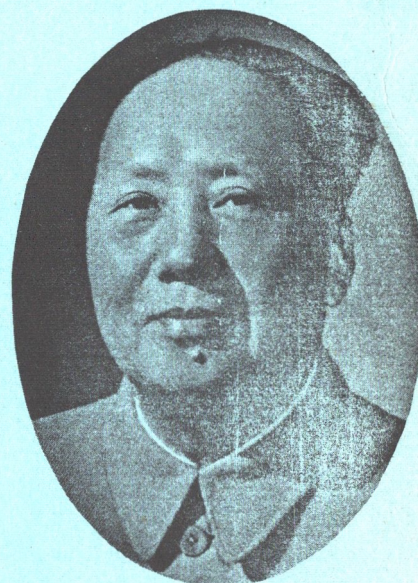
PROLETARIAT



Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working-class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice; for theory, and theory alone, can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; for it, and it alone, can help practice to realise not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future. None other than Lenin uttered and repeated scores of times the well-known thesis that:

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."

The twenty years of the Communist Party of China have been twenty years in which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has become more and more integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. If we recall how superficial and meagre our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and of the Chinese revolution was during our Party's infancy, we can see how much deeper and richer it is now. For a hundred years, the finest sons and daughters of the disaster-ridden Chinese nation fought and sacrificed their lives, one stepping into the breach as another fell, in quest of the truth that would save the country and the people. This moves us to song and tears. But it was only after World War I and the October Revolution in Russia that we found Marxism-Leninism, the best of truths, the best of weapons for liberating our nation. And the Communist Party of China has been the initiator, propagandist and organizer in the wielding of this weapon.



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COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY



Beginning with the next issue we would like to print letters to the editor which deal with responses to articles, additions, polemics, criticisms, etc. In the past many comrades and friends have said that they would like to comment on a given article, but do not have time to write a complete article expressing their opinion. While not wanting by any means to discourage the writing of complete articles, we do want to provide a forum for shorter responses. Therefore we will welcome and print letters sent to us on political points which have been expressed in the PROLETARIAT.

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THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF OIL

This paper is not intended to present a detailed analysis of the international oil cartel, but rather to draw together in its general outlines the development of the complete monopolization of oil, and provide an example of how one branch of imperialist enterprise has been concentrated and at the same time internationalized, brought under the complete control of international imperialism headed by USNA finance capital and specifically the Rockefellers.

It is important to understand at the outset that we are dealing with a unity—the thorough plunder of the oil resources of the entire capitalist world by a single handful of bandits—in which all local and national interests have become subordinated to the interests of a single group of international finance capitalists. However it is a customary bourgeois tactic to camouflage this unity behind a mask of competing corporate interests. Thus, in order to understand this unity it is necessary to resolve it into its former components and then proceed to describe how these apparently separate, rival interests are indissolubly connected.

Historically, the "Seven Sisters"

Most literature on the subject of the "international oil cartel" refers to the oil (or more generally, the energy) industry as dominated by seven separate gigantic, competing multinational corporations, the "Seven Sisters," posing these in opposition to the OPEC cartel.

Who are the seven sisters?

Exxon

The largest of the seven is Exxon, formerly known as Standard Oil of New Jersey, the nucleus of the original Standard Oil Trust. In 1911, following anti-trust legislation, the Standard Trust was broken down into several, nominally separate, corporations, the center and head of which was Standard of New Jersey.

The great Standard Trust, Rockefeller's original cornucopia, arose in the last part of the 19th century. Having discovered vast wealth in oil, Rockefeller proceeded ruthlessly to buy out or ruin most domestic competition. By 1879 Standard owned 80% of the total oil refining capacity of the USNA and by 1910 marketed almost 90% of all crude oil processed by USNA refineries. The basis of Rockefeller's tremendous success was two fold: 1) domination of the home market and 2) a vast, world-wide marketing apparatus, developed before the turn of the century.

Thus, if competition refused to yield, Rockefeller could ruthlessly undersell, making up the profit loss in another corner of the world, or domestically as the case may be, while ruining his competitors and, eventually having his way, buying them out. The original world marketing apparatus sold machine oil and kerosene primarily. By the post-World War I auto boom and the increased marketing of gasoline, the Rockefeller empire was firmly established.

Presently, Exxon, the single largest industrial corporation in the world, is an umbrella for a variety of subsidiaries which include Humble Oil (Esso and Enco), Standard Vacuum (Stanvac), Ethyle Corporation (owned 50-50 with General Motors), as well as 95% of Creole Petroleum (the major part of Venezuelan oil). Additionally, Exxon has a 30% interest in Aramco (Arabian-American Oil Co. of Arabia), and accounted for 24% of Near Eastern Development Corp., later Iraq Petroleum, a consortium formed to exploit the vast oil reserves of Iraq.

Royal Dutch Shell

The second of the seven sisters is Royal Dutch Shell, an equally imposing multinational oil giant, originally based on the vast oil reserves of the Dutch East Indies. However, the Dutch oil company lacked a world-wide marketing apparatus, and later merged with the British Shell Company thus gaining access to a large fleet of ships and markets. (The Shell Co. was originally a merchant venture which marketed shells, etc.). Having united the vast Dutch oil reserves with an world-wide marketing apparatus, Royal Dutch Shell became a stiff competitor and serious threat to Rockefeller. Because the Dutch feared interference in their oil trade by the British government, they were reluctant at first to merge with the Shell Company. After receiving the proper assurances, the merger was effected. The British government pursued its own oil interests by merging with a Royal Dutch subsidiary, Burmah Oil, later forming Anglo-Persian, later Anglo-Iranian, and still later, the British Petroleum Company.

Although separated, very early off Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum became linked through several of Royal Dutch Shell's 121 subsidiaries. British Petroleum, smallest in size, is another of the Seven Sisters.

Texaco

Next largest of the seven after Shell is Texaco, originally the Texas Company, one of the original exploiters of the oil wealth of Texas. With easy access to

the Gulf of Mexico, the Texas Company early on built itself a world-wide marketing apparatus. Originally a 50-50 partner in Aramco (with Standard of California) Texaco now possesses 30% of Aramco, as well as extensive oil holdings in Africa.

Gulf

Gulf Oil was formed around the original Texas fields along with Texas Company. Later, Gulf was acquired by the Mellons, whose fortune—based on the complete monopoly of aluminum (Alcoa), as well as enormous coal (Pittsburg Coal Company), copper and steel (Bethlehem) interests—rivalled the Rockefellers'. Gulf accounts for 25% of domestic oil production, through independent and joint ventures (with Rockefeller) 13% of Venezuela's oil, and got the lion's share of a 60-40 split of Kuwait's mammoth oil resources with British Petroleum, and dominates the Cabinda oil fields of Angola.

Mobil Oil

Mobil, another member of the original Standard Trust was originally Standard Oil of New York, also known as Socony, Socony Mobil, and Mobil International. Mobil now has a 10% share of Aramco, and was one of the original partners, along with Exxon, Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum in the Near East Development Company (Iraq Petroleum).

Standard of California

The remaining "sister" is Standard of California. Originally the west coast arm of the Standard Trust, Standard of California was one of the original exploiters of the vast Arabian oil fields, an original partner in Aramco (still holding 30%), as well as oil rights to the offshore Arabian island of Bahrein, where Arabian oil was first discovered by Standard of California.

So stand the "Seven Sisters" who, between them, control the oil and energy resources of the capitalist world. This group of seven originally represented US, British and Dutch imperialist exploitation.

7=1

However, upon further scrutiny, we can now begin to expose the interconnections which reveal not seven sisters, but one alone, with seven faces.

As previously stated, the original domination of the Standard Trust was based upon its firm hold of the domestic market and its world-wide marketing apparatus. However, in 1911 the trust was broken down. Exxon, Mobil and Standard of California count as three of the seven sisters. But the dissolution of the Standard Trust was merely cosmetic. Organizationally separate, these three, as well as numerous other companies (Standard of Indiana [Amoco], Atlantic Richfield [originally Pennsylvania Standard], Standard of Ohio [including Sinclair and Cities Service], as well as Marathon Oil, Imperial Oil, Consolidated Oil and Continental Oil) remained under Rockefeller control.

In the early 1900's the international oil market boomed, and exploitation of the middle-east began (middle-eastern oil rights were already explosive issues in World War I!). By 1920, the oil fields of Iraq and Iran were partitioned between international consortiums comprised of Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Standard of New Jersey (referred to by its current name, Exxon, for convenience) and Mobil, under an agreement which restricted participants from exploring outside the apportioned areas.

Later, Standard of California, unhindered by the consortium's restrictions, began explorations on the island of Bahrein off the coast of Arabia and discovered tremendous quantities of oil, which led to negotiations for mainland exploration and the discovery of Arabia's unimagined oil fields. Appetites whetted, the other major oil companies were as yet constrained from participation in the exploitation of Arabia by their consortium agreements. However, the oil of Arabia proved too much for Standard of California to handle, having a limited marketing apparatus. On the other hand, Texaco, as yet unrepresented in the rich middle-eastern oil fields, had a well-developed marketing apparatus. Thus, Standard of California and Texaco jointly formed Caltex, a joint venture for the exploitation of Arabia's oil. The name of this joint venture was later changed to Aramco. Uniting the marketing capabilities of Texaco with Standard of California's overabundant Arabian oil drew Texaco under the Rockefeller umbrella, as it became an integrated member of the Standard empire.

When the other Standard partners later found the Iraq consortium agreement too restraining, they used the instrumentality of the U.S. State Department to declare the deal in restraint of trade, broke the agreement and redivided the Arabian interests among them.

By 1944, Iran's vast oil wealth had similarly been divided by an international consortium comprised of Texaco (7%), British Petroleum (40%), Gulf (7%), Mobil (7%), Exxon (7%), Shell (24%), the remaining 24% falling to a French government oil company, CPF.

Instead of seven sisters, then, we now have four: one comprised of the Rockefeller interests (Exxon, Standard of California, Mobil and Texaco), then Gulf, Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum.

But from four we pass very quickly to two.

On the one hand, Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum remained separated, and yet they were clearly linked from birth. While Royal Dutch merged with British capital to form Royal Dutch Shell, one condition was that the British government keep hands off. However, British Petroleum was formed from Burmah Oil, a Royal Dutch subsidiary, and the British government. The two "sisters" remained linked between numerous shared subsidiaries and joint

Interlocking Directorates

The above discussion primarily deals with the external relations between the various aspects of the world oil monopoly. But the high degree of integration and unity among these seven companies, the essential internal interconnections, are achieved via interlocking directorates (directors who sit on the boards of several companies simultaneously). Although it is illegal for the same director to sit on the Boards of two competing companies in the same industry, we also understand from Lenin's analysis of imperialism that the critical interconnections under imperialism are through the merger of industrial and finance capital, and thus, through interlocking directorates between banks and industry.

Rockefeller banks are represented on the boards of all the major oil companies through shared directorates. In most cases, the Rockefeller insurance giants (Equitable Life and Metropolitan Life), vast repositories of finance capital, are also represented. These interlocking directorates represent concrete links between the banks and insurance companies and the oil monopoly, links in the chain of international capital.

Let us for a moment examine some of these links.

Exxon shares two directors with Chemical Trust Bank (Rockefeller), which in turn shares directors with Equitable, Metropolitan, Mobil and Texaco. Exxon also shares a director with Chase Manhattan Bank which in turn shares directors with Equitable, Metropolitan, the Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Arco (Rockefeller), Diamond-Shamrock (Rockefeller-Mellon), and Standard of Indiana. Other directors of Exxon sit on the Boards of Prudential and Morgan Guaranty and Trust (also under the influence of Chase Manhattan.)

Texaco has directors sitting on the Boards of Chemical Bank and the Rockefeller Foundation, where directors of Equitable, Metropolitan, Exxon, Chase Manhattan and First National City Bank (Rockefeller) also sit.

Mobil shares directors with First National City Bank, Bankers Trust and Metropolitan Life, who simultaneously sit on the Boards of the Rockefeller Foundation, Consolidated Edison (Rockefeller controlled), Shell, Equitable Life, Exxon, Texaco, Continental Oil (Rockefeller), Chase Manhattan, First National City Bank, Mellon Bank, Morgan Guaranty and Republic Steel.

Gulf shares directors with Mellon Bank (in turn sitting on the Boards of Equitable Life, Metropolitan Life and thus with directors of all oil "majors") and Diamond-Shamrock (thus interlocked with the Boards of British Petroleum-Standard of Ohio).

Shell shares a director with Rockefeller's First National City Bank, who also sits with directors of Metropolitan Life, Rockefeller Foundation, Consolidated Edison and Mobil.

ventures, generally acting together against their common enemy, Rockefeller. Thus, we have two main antagonists, the US group, represented by the four major Rockefeller "sisters" (Exxon, Mobil, Standard of California, and Texaco), and the Royal Dutch Shell-British Petroleum group.

But what, one might ask, became of Gulf? It was only a matter of time before the only other major US oil giant fell under the influence of the Rockefellers. By the 1950s, in the main the Mellon interests came under the influence of the giant Rockefeller Chase Manhattan Bank. Thus, Bethlehem steel, originally Mellon, found large quantities of its stock in the hands of the Rockefellers. Mellon's Pittsburgh Coal Co. merged with Rockefeller's Consolidation Coal Co. thus becoming Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co., the largest in the USNA. Through interlocking directorates, the Chase Manhattan and Mellon Banks were further united through such companies as Diamond-Shamrock Oil, Equitable and Metropolitan Life Insurance (both Rockefeller controlled), and British Petroleum.

It would then appear that the "seven sisters" were really feuding twins: Rockefeller (Exxon, Standard of California, Texaco, Mobil and Gulf), and Royal Dutch Shell-British Petroleum.

But finally seven becomes one!

As early as the 1928 cartel agreement, accord was made between these two major antagonists. This agreement made between Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, and Standard of New Jersey divided up the world oil reserves, the world market, and fixed the price of oil at the price of Texas crude in the gulf ports, thus fixing a world price hundreds of times higher than the South American and Middle Eastern prices, fixing the world price, in fact, at the highest possible figure.

This infamous cartel agreement, and the various consortium agreements throughout the world, continued to unite these antagonists into cooperative arrangements for their mutual benefits and maximum profits. However, by the end of the Second World War, with Europe in ruins and the United States the undisputed leader of the imperialist world, the walls came tumbling down. As US capital invaded Britain and Europe, the oil giants were prime targets. By the late 1960's British Petroleum became linked to Atlantic-Richfield (Rockefeller) through the acquisition of east Coast Sinclair and Cities Service. However, in a deal completed in 1975, British Petroleum "returned" these subsidiaries by merging with Standard of Ohio, objectively becoming just another jewel in Rockefeller's crown. With British Petroleum came Royal Dutch Shell; it could not have been otherwise, for the two are concretely linked together through joint subsidiaries and a staggering 23 joint ventures.

Thus the Rockefeller interests, by the 1970's, had consolidated absolute hegemony over the oil, and thus over the entire energy industry.

Standard of California shares a director with Bank of America, who thus sits with directors of Prudential, Getty Oil, Union Oil, and Southern California Edison; and another director is shared with Crocker Bank and thus also with Pacific Gas and Electric; and a third with Prudential, who sits with the Boards of Bankers Trust, First National City Bank and Exxon.

Additionally, the board of Diamond-Shamrock, a smaller oil venture, presents an interesting combination whose directors also sit on the Boards of Chase Manhattan and Mellon Banks, and thus, in turn, sit with directors of Equitable Life, Metropolitan Life, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Arco (Rockefeller), Exxon and directors of the three Mellon Foundations (Andrew, Richard, and Sarah Scaife).

Also of interest is another smaller Rockefeller oil company, Continental Oil, which unites on its Board directors of Bankers Trust Bank (interlocking with the Rockefeller Foundation and Mobil Oil), Continental Illinois Bank (and thus Texaco and Standard of Indiana), Morgan Guaranty and Trust (and thus with Metropolitan Life, Arco and Exxon); other directors are shared with Equitable Life (whose Board also contains directors of Chase Manhattan and Mellon Banks, the Rockefeller Foundation, Consolidated Edison and two from Chemical Bank).

Clearly, a small number of men, through seats on various interlocked Boards of Directors, concretely unite the Rockefeller dominated oil and energy monopoly with the vast capital of the giant Rockefeller banks and associated insurance companies.

Joint Ventures

A further index of the intertwining and inseparability of the "seven sisters" is the extent of their involvement in joint ventures, where two or more companies join in the formation of a third "joint" company for a specific purpose, such as exploration, production or diversification, and including the building of primary pipelines for the transportation of oil, refineries, and exploratory ventures.

Various ends are achieved by joining ventures—they allow a "common meeting place" where nominally competitive companies join together, leading to a greater concentration of economic power. They also facilitate exchange of information and production planning which unite the various aspects of the mono-

poly. Joint ventures also provide a mechanism for legally independent companies to join together (in a "front" company) to outbid competitors, where they could not openly unite because of anti-trust legislation, although the joint venture objectively restrains competition. Many of the aspects of merger are achieved through joint ventures, without the illegal open anti-competitive merger between the "seven sisters" which is illegal.

Thus, long term joint ventures, through their quantitative development, soon approximate all the benefits of merger, where law prevents open merger as anti-competitive and in restraint of trade. (The original Standard Trust, was, after all, broken down into components—the law could hardly allow formal reunification, although "informal" reunification has occurred in fact.)

The majority of the joint ventures of the "seven sisters" are with each other, and the following chart, although partial, gives some idea of the further interconnections within the oil-energy monopoly.

Nationalization

Since the nationalizations of the extractive apparatus began after the Second World War in the Middle East, the bourgeoisie has attempted to portray this development as detrimental to international imperialism, as blows directed against it, setting up a straw man in the form of the OPEC cartel, formed in 1960, and blaming OPEC for high prices and so-called shortages.

However, only a few points need to be touched upon here.

Nationalization concerns the partial or total take-over of the means of production and the crude product itself, and thus the assumption of the costs of extraction. For decades the "seven sisters" bore the costs of erecting, maintaining and protecting the extractive machinery, of exploring, drilling, and extracting the crude, of training and subduing indigenous proletarians, of bribes and royalties. The motion of nationalization by the various nations has freed the imperialists from these costs, while increasing their profits. For the fact remains that imperialism has created an integral world market among the non-socialist nations of the world. No nation any longer lives exclusively on its own production or sells only to its own market. Capital today is international and knows no national boundaries. Within the capital-

Joint Ventures

	Exxon	Standard of Calif.	Texaco	Mobil	Gulf	Shell	British Petroleum
Exxon		8	15	15	4	17	9
Standard of Calif.	8		12	8	3	6	3
Texaco	15	12		18	7	18	9
Mobil	15	8	18		2	15	2
Gulf	4	2	7	2		5	6
Shell	17	6	18	15	5		23
British Petroleum	9	3	9	12	6	23	

ist world there is only one market, the world market, dominated by USNA imperialism.

Thus, the so-called "Third World" Middle Eastern, South American and African oil extracting nations can pump all the oil they want, but until it is marketed it is worthless to them or anyone else. It can only fill up tanks until it is refined, transported and marketed through an apparatus thoroughly dominated by the international imperialists.

As early as 1950, the "seven sisters" owned 70% of the world's refining capacity, every major pipeline, and two-thirds of the world's tankers outside of the Soviet Union. Clearly, the international monopoly controls the market and access to it. While bearing the expense of maintaining the extractive machinery, of training and subduing an indigenous proletariat, of building and developing the industry, the oil-producing nations are yet subordinated to a market controlled by international finance capital.

One oft-cited example suffices to indicate the extent of this control. Following the recent sharp price increases in oil, the Japanese, dependent on imported oil, proposed to the Middle-Eastern producers to buy oil below the world price, which they could no longer afford. While the Middle-Eastern producers agreed, the US informed Japan that if they bought oil below the world price, the US would take economic reprisals. The Japanese clearly understood the threat; the last time it was made, by Nixon, and executed, the the Japanese had to eat millions of worthless yen following the devaluation of the US dollar. Thus, Japan was forced by the US to buy oil at the world price, even though the Middle-Eastern producers were willing to sell below that price. The question of control of the world market was clearly demonstrated.

As capitalism develops, in response to soaring capital investment and periodic crises, rationalization of production becomes increasingly necessary. Under current world conditions an analogous motion, at a higher level, becomes necessary—the rationalization of finance, which demands, especially in extractive industries, that the compradors take over extraction. This takes the form of nationalization, which far from dealing blows at imperialism, is in fact a form of economizing, of rationalizing, to the end of maximizing the profits of international capital.

On the other hand, nationalization serves to make operation of the energy industry the responsibility of the state. In the overseas, extracting nations, the imperialists no longer openly stand between the indigenous workers and the comprador bourgeoisie—the two classes squarely confront one another; the state becomes directly responsible for the management of the industry, for wages and working conditions as well as prices. Thus, in a temporary and relative identity of interests, the needs of the imperialists advance the class struggle of the various nations.

Here, in the USNA, in the heartland of international finance capital, the demand of the proletariat to

nationalize the energy industry is both necessary and progressive. The nationalization of the energy industry allows the proletariat to lay the economic problems which result from the operations of the oil-energy monopoly squarely at the feet of the state, and thus place the struggle in a political context. We would both demand a voice in the operation of this industry and hold the imperialist state accountable for its operation. Nationalization would be a step forward in the rising political struggle of the working class.

L.M., Chicago

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BUSING: A FIGHT FOR EQUALITY

Few positions of the Communist Labor Party have caused so much discussion within and around the party as has the position on busing. It is unfortunate that the discussion has not been even more widespread as there is a tendency on the part of some to accept the line of the *People's Tribune* and of others to resist it while neither understands it. For this reason and no other the article entitled "The Boston Busing Crisis: Liberalism as the Breeding Ground for Fascism" should be welcomed. It offers the opportunity to openly refute the line of white chauvinism and cultural nationalism that is quite popular among revisionists and Trotskyites and to more fully understand the party line on the national question in general and on busing in particular.

The struggle around busing currently sweeping the country is extremely important for the unity of the working class. The question is whether the Negro national minority will be forced into second class citizenship, further enslavement and extermination by the fascist terror of the imperialist warmongers or whether the working class will unite to break the drive for fascism. The bourgeoisie forces the busing issue now to antagonize the distrust between the Negro national minorities and the Anglo-American workers. They know that the Negro people's struggle for busing and equality is the spearhead of the struggle of all the working and oppressed people of the USNA, and are intent on breaking this struggle. They also know that the working class has nothing but its children and the desire for life to be better for the younger generation. The question of education can arouse the greatest emotions of the working class and the bourgeoisie seeks to use these emotions to set one section of the working class against another.

It is hardly surprising that one set of bourgeois politicians should support busing, supposedly championing the rights of the Negro people while attempting to bring the struggle under bourgeois control. Another set of bourgeois politicians meanwhile oppose busing, direct their white chauvinist appeal to the Anglo-American workers in an attempt to rally them in the defense of their social and economic privileges. It should be emphasized that both camps of the imperialists are pro-fascist. One tries to rally the Negro workers against the Anglo-Americans, the other tries the opposite. There is no such thing as a "liberal, i.e., non-fascist imperialist scheme." (1) Lenin made it very clear that imperialism is reaction down the line. All the imperialist groups within the USNA are driving for fascism and the only disagreements are around how to get there and which imperialists should benefit by it. They seek to use busing to arouse a section of the Anglo-American workers to the lynching frenzy to support and carry out armed terror against the Negro people. This notion of "good imperial-

ists" and "bad imperialists" comes straight from the anti-monopoly program of the CPUSA. However, imperialism is a system of vicious exploitation and oppression, of predatory war and aggression. Only a fool can call some of those who direct this system "good."

The struggle for busing means a struggle for the integration of the Negro national minority. It is only the latest battle in the historic struggle of the Negro people for the freedom of the Negro nation and for equal rights in the Anglo-American nation. This struggle for freedom began while slavery existed and has continued through Reconstruction, the Negro Bourgeois Democratic Movement of the Negro Peoples' National Liberation Movement of the present. (2)

Each of these periods is full of the struggle against the political, economic, social and physical isolation and segregation of the Negro people. Millions of Negroes and Anglo-Americans have fought this oppression for hundreds of years. The strength of this movement can be seen by the fact that in no other area has there been so much reform legislation and court decisions, so many stands taken by so many bourgeois politicians supposedly on the side of the Negro people. Yet some comrades, ignoring the history of the class struggle in this country, say: "The Negro people don't want busing." The Boston Busing Crisis paper, (herein referred to as the LARK position after the initials of its authors), goes so far as to cite a poll purporting to show that the Negro national minority in Boston opposes busing as a justification for their anti-busing position. (3) The poll, of course, appeared in the bourgeois press. This merely justifies segregation. The defeat of busing can only mean the further political isolation of the Negro people and the open declaration of armed terror against them. Such terror is already on the rise not only in Boston but in other areas. In Los Angeles, the reversal of the Gitelson Decision, which called for busing to achieve integration, has led to a torrent of white chauvinist statements by politicians and attacks by the police on the Negro national minority population. (4) The pattern is the same: defeat busing, enslave the Negro people, split the working class.

Although LARK asserts that the Negro national minority in Boston doesn't want busing, they have offered no evidence that the Negroes have resisted busing. It was the Anglo-Americans in the streets rioting against the Negro children not the other way around. The Negro people were marching for busing. And what if the cultural nationalists had been successful in getting part of the Negro people to oppose busing (which is not the case). Is it not the obligation of

Marxist-Leninists to fight for what is in the interests of the working class even though our position encounters hostility among the workers due to bourgeois propaganda? Bolshevik speakers calling for the defeat of Russia during World War I were sometimes beaten up or even killed by the workers and peasants in 1914 and 1915. But the Bolsheviks seized state power in 1917 largely because of their position on the war. Just as we must combat white chauvinism among the Anglo-American workers by winning their support for busing, so must we combat cultural nationalist influence on the Negro workers. Although the former is more difficult than the latter, the working class in the USNA is a democratic, decent class that will support the equality of all nationalities.

Yet the LARK position not only call for an end to busing but proposed "a joint Black and white [sic] boycott of the schools: 1) to end the busing plan." (5) LARK applauds the anti-busing position of CORE, a cultural nationalist organization, but exposes the fascist nature of both its own and the CORE position when it notes the approval of the Kerrigan-Hicks forces for the CORE position. Hicks quite naturally supports CORE for in content it calls for fascism by supporting segregation.

LARK would like us to believe that the content of the struggle in Boston is the opposition of local control democrats to big government fascists trying to impose something on the local people. But this is the line of George Wallace and Ronald Reagan. This fascist ploy tries to divert the struggle of labor against capital into forms useful to fascism by trying to fool the workers and democratic forces.

Fascism has historically sought to pose as a movement of the petty bourgeoisie and workers against capital. The fascist extra-legal terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan can only exist with state support in the form of arms, money and the participants are often police officers, sheriffs, and the like. The fascist movement acts in the interest of monopoly capital regardless of its form. The fascist gangs in Boston have state support, including limited non-interference by the police as well as encouragement by statements by such as President Ford. The anti-big government pose is exactly that and nobody should be taken in by such "democratic" slogans.

Lenin makes it clear that the bourgeois state in the age of imperialism is a centralized body for the suppression of the workers and oppressed people. The LARK position is merely the CPUSA line of ripping off bits of power. What else is the meaning of the LARK program: "(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." (6) But every Marxist-Leninist understands that political power resides in the state machine. It cannot be ripped off piecemeal but can only be seized as a whole and then dismantled. But LARK forgets Lenin easily while having no trouble recalling Gus Hall.

Lastly, some comrades say "we are for quality education, not busing because the Negro students will only be bused to white working class schools that are no better than the ones they are in now."

The predominantly Anglo-American schools are actually better than the predominantly Negro schools. This is part of the bribe to the Anglo-American workers to deepen the division in the working class. This coincides with the fact that Anglo-Americans generally have better jobs than Negroes. Better education is essential for better jobs. Inferior schools for national minorities cannot help but retard the political and cultural development of these people:

At the present time we see that the different nations are unequal in the rights they possess and in their level of development. Under these circumstances segregating the schools according to nationality would *actually and inevitably* worsen the conditions of the more backward nations. In the Southern, former slave states of America, Negro children are still segregated in separate schools, whereas in the North, white and Negro children attend the same schools. (7)

Lenin wrote the above in 1913 and it is clear that since that time the schools in the Anglo-American nation have been largely segregated. The effect can only be the same: segregated schools can only mean inferior schools for the national minorities. The bourgeoisie always tried to retard the political and cultural growth of the oppressed peoples and nations.

But this is only a smokescreen to hide the essential issue of class unity. The working class cannot win any reform, much less defeat fascism, without unity. But unity can only be built on the basis of the struggle for the freedom of the Negro nation and equality for the Negro national minority. But LARK tells us that the way to unity is through segregation. This is not surprising since the LARK position is basically a white chauvinist and cultural nationalist, syndicalist line. The Negro people are to remain in the ghettos, armed and waiting to repel any attack from the Anglo-American workers or the police. They are to have their own schools, and, what is merely an extension of this reasoning, their own factories within the ghetto because "armed self-defense is impossible to maintain outside the Negro community." (8) "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 in the same city, particularly the Puerto Rican and/or Chicano [sic] 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." (9) It is interesting that factory organizations have been left out or have we discarded the slogan: Make Every Factory Our Fortress? But perhaps there are no Negro workers? The factories have been left out because

they are multinational and the Negroes according to LARK must be segregated.

Nothing would please the bourgeoisie more than this state of affairs. With the Negro national minority isolated from the Anglo-Americans, the slaughter of the Negro people becomes inevitable. But such brave revolutionaries LARK is! Let you and him fight! This particularly dispicable form of white chauvinism was strong in the "new left" and the CPUSA when the Black Panthers were big. Clearly it has not gone away.

We should make it clear that we are not repudiating armed self-defense. It is a tactic to be employed as any other tactic in the course of the class struggle. But what LARK advocates is not a tactic but the virtual secession of the Negro areas of Boston. This is a flimsy attempt to concretize the ephemeral nation of the cultural nationalists, to give it some territory known as the Negro community. But more on this below.

But the Negroes are not alone LARK informs us. They can call on the Puerto Ricans and Chicanos [sic] and get them isolated and slaughtered too. In addition, the Negroes can get support "through ties where they exist to the white section of the working class." (They actually mean the "new left") All of this will "be able to win the white workers to unity through their united *strength* in struggle." The Anglo-American workers are portrayed here as vacillating petty bourgeois who move from side to side in the class struggle based on the relative strength of the contending class forces. This is not true about the working class but is for petty bourgeois radicals who we notice are moving to the right drawn by the drive for fascism.

What lies at the basis of this entire analysis is the application of the "Third World" concept to the USNA. The vanguard of the revolution is the national minority workers and the main force is the national minorities as a whole and the oppressed nations of the world. The Anglo-American workers are merely an auxiliary to be won over if possible. This has more in common with Trotskyism than with Marxism-Leninism. The basis for revolution in the USNA is not to be found in the internal contradictions but in external contradictions, the relationship of the USNA to the colonies. This is the same as the position taken by Trotsky regarding the building of socialism in one country. "Trotsky recognizes as basic and decisive in this question, not the internal contradictions of our Soviet economy (which are being resolved within the country), but the external contradictions, the contradictions between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries." (10)

LARK's position springs from its lack of faith in the Anglo-American workers who supposedly cannot be revolutionary due to imperialist bribery. But only a small part of the Anglo-American workers are permanently bribed. This group includes the trade union leaders and some of the most skilled trades. The vast majority have only been temporarily bribed and this bribe is and will further disappear as the

economic conditions degenerate and the fascist drive continues. The Anglo-American workers are decent, democratically minded people who will not accept fascism nor the continued oppression of the Negro people. This is true despite the past history of blocking with the imperialists in the plunder of the colonies.

The political effect of the LARK analysis is the abdication of the responsibility of the Anglo-American revolutionaries. Since the Anglo-American workers cannot be won to the side of the revolution because of bribery, they should be fed a diet of economic struggle and anti-big government politics. The Anglo-American revolutionaries can do no more because the workers won't accept more. Instead we should wait for the rising tide of the revolution in the colonies and among the national minorities to drag the Anglo-American workers into the revolution by the former's "united *strength* in struggle." A very comfortable notion indeed!

The basic fact LARK consistently ignores is that the Negro national minority workers are part of the Anglo-American working class. Everyone knows of the large migration of Negroes from the Negro Nation to the north. This is no different from the migration of peoples from the other colonies and neo-colonies to the imperialist country seeking to escape the poverty of their homelands. The bourgeoisie has allowed these migrations for several reasons. First, they want the cheap labor. Secondly, by making the working class in the Anglo-American nation multinational, the conditions exist to split it along national lines. The bourgeoisie has used segregation, armed terror and political disenfranchisement to put the national minorities in a position isolated from the Anglo-American workers. The plunder of the Negro Nation and later, other colonies provided the basis for the bribery of the Anglo-American working class—this bribery in turn allowed the imperialists to further plunder the colonies and neo-colonies.

Segregation has reinforced this bribe and prevented the unity of the workers. Nevertheless, the Negro national minority as well as the other national minorities have undergone a change during the generations of living in the north. They have become national minorities, i.e., members of the Anglo-American nation. They have adopted the ways of the Anglo-Americans, worked in the same factories, sold their labor to the same capitalists, and so forth. (11) At the same time, their connection to the Negro Nation has dimmed. The importance of segregation is that the Negroes could not be assimilated into the Anglo-American nation and so remained a national minority. Nevertheless, the Negro national minority workers and workers of other national minorities and nationalities form one objectively united multinational working class in the Anglo-American nation. This concept has tremendous significance for the proletarian revolution in the USNA. Small wonder LARK ignores it.

We have said before that LARK's position is cul-

tural nationalist. Their desire to split the schools up according to nationality and to take their operation out of the hands of the state was specifically repudiated by Lenin:

The essence of the plan, or programme, of what is called "cultural national" autonomy (or: 'the establishment of institutions that will guarantee freedom of national development') is *separate schools for each nationality* . . . (12)

It is as clear as daylight that the advocacy of such a plan means, in fact, pursuing or supporting the ideas of bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism and clericalism. The interest of democracy in general, and the interests of the working class in particular, demand the very opposite. We must strive to secure the *mixing* of the children of *all* nationalities in *uniform* schools in each locality; the workers of all nationalities must *jointly* pursue the proletarian educational policy . . . We must most emphatically oppose segregating the schools according to nationality no matter what form it may take. (13)

Historical experience proves that wherever the cultural nationalist program was put into effect, the working class was split along national lines. In Austria Hungary, where the workers were first organized along national lines within the Social Democratic party, the party split into six different national parties. Following this the trade unions were organized along national lines so that six different unions represented each trade. The situation got so bad that the workers of one nationality would break the strikes of workers of another nationality.

The Bund in Russia advocated the same cultural nationalist policy. The result can be seen from the following:

We regard the Polish workers, who are ousting us, as pogromists, as scabs; we do not support their strikes, we break them. Secondly, we reply to being ousted by ousting in our turn: we reply to Jewish workers not being allowed into the factories by not allowing Polish workers near the benches . . . If we do not take this matter into our own hands the workers will follow others. (14)

Clearly, segregation in one area can only lead to segregation in all areas and tremendous national strife. The Bund went so far as to actually advocate segregation. Stalin notes "that speeches were made at the Eighth Conference of the Bund declaring that 'national existence lies in segregation'." (15)

Rather than advocating segregation the class conscious workers must exercise all their influence to achieve the opposite.

It is not our business to segregate the nations in matters of education in any way; on the contrary, we must strive to create the fundamental democratic conditions for the peaceful coexistence of the nations on the basis of equal rights. We must not champion "national culture" but expose the clerical and bourgeois character of this slogan in the name of the international culture of the world working class movement. (16)

The entire basis for the unity of the working class lies in the objective conditions of the class internationally. Namely, all are exploited by capital. The Marxist-Leninist program for resolving the national question is the repudiation of all national privilege and the complete political independence and freedom for all nations. This means winning the workers of the Anglo-American nation to the slogan "Free the Negro Nation." Yet LARK speaks not a word of this, instead we are to rally around the struggle against big government and separate but equal schools. It is all the more fantastic that such a line should arise in New England, an area particularly hurt by the wholesale movement of the shoe and textile industries to the Negro Nation. As a result New England has the lowest wage rates in the Anglo-American nation outside of the Southwest.

One cannot demand the freedom of the Negro Nation if one does not recognize its existence. Cultural nationalists do not limit nations to territory but believe them to be wherever the members of that nation go. Therefore, there is no nation capable of an independent political existence. (17) There is no Negro Nation but a "nation within a nation" to use Foster's revisionist formulation. Once more the line of LARK is that of the CPUSA.

Finally, it would be a mistake not to recognize the threat of the LARK position of the very existence of our party. Stalin documents the dissolution of the Austrian Social Democratic Party because of its adoption of the cultural nationalist line and the consequent degeneration of the workers movement into bickering national groups. The CPUSA has degenerated in no small part due to its liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist line on the Negro Question. Its disbanding of the party in the South in 1949 and the following theoretical repudiation of the Negro Nation has left the CPUSA in the position of supporting the Negro bourgeoisie. Such must not be the fate of our party.

We have something different in quality: a multinational Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. We should of course note in passing that the anarcho-syndicalist new left has been unable to build such a party. Their white chauvinist and cultural nationalist conceptions have locked them into organizations based on nationality and not on the working class. The last year has proved that no amount of paper salvos fired by one group to expose the other can change this quality but only further marks their degeneration. LARK has tried to inject this into our party. Nobody should for-

get that the attack on our party comes first from the "left." Be on guard!

M.M., S.F.

Footnotes

1. "The Boston Busing Crisis: Liberalism As The Breeding Ground For Fascism," *Proletariat*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 48.
2. See generally, *The Negro National Colonial Question*, Workers Press.
3. "Boston Busing Crisis...", p. 49.
4. *Western Worker*, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 4.
5. "Boston Busing Crisis..." p. 51.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
7. Lenin, *Collected Works*, V. 19, p. 504.

8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Leningrad Institute of Philosophy, *Textbook of Marxist Philosophy*, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p. 173.
11. *Negro National Colonial Question.*
12. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, 1968, V. 19, p. 503.
13. Lenin, *On Youth*, Progress Publishers, 1967, p. 46.
14. Stalin, *Marxism and the National Colonial Question*, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p. 74.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
16. Lenin, *On Youth*, p. 46-7.
17. Stalin, *Marxism and the National Colonial Question*, p. 42 et seq.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CUBA

(Editor's note: As we have stated in the past, articles in the PROLETARIAT which are not signed by the Central Committee of the CLP do not represent the official position of our party, but that of the author of the article. We wish to reiterate this in the case of the following article on Cuba in particular. It is our understanding that there are serious errors in this article. The article does not represent the line of our party but in fact is contrary to our line. For example, the articles authors state that the main contradiction in the world today is between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. The CLP does not put forward this view. Another example: the authors put forth the opinion that in Cuba there is socialist distribution but not socialist production. How can such a state of affairs exist in reality?

We are making this "disclaimer" because we feel it would be very harmful to the working class if comrades and friends reading this article associated its political line with the line of our party. However, we do not wish to suppress the article or crush it by refuting it completely before it saw the light of day. The PROLETARIAT is supposed to be a forum for opinions, polemics, etc. We hope that comrades and friends will read this article in particular and write responses to it to be printed in the next issue.)

Comrades, to understand Cuba's motion at this time we must examine the material situation both in Cuba and internationally, as well as the political contradictions which arise from this economic situation.

Economic Situation

The Cuban Revolution which triumphed in 1959 has raised the standard of living of the Cuban people enormously. Let us take an example that is representative of the progress that Cuban society as a whole has made. In a small town in Oriente province there was a community of fishermen who before the revolution lived in a swamp. The huts of these fishermen had no plumbing, no electricity, and no protection against constant flooding. There were no educational or medical facilities available to these people. Economically, they were completely at the mercy of petty capitalists who would buy their fish at prices ranging from 3 to 25 cents per pound. In 1961, 2 years after the revolution, the swamp was

filled in and the entire fishing community was transferred to modern 2 and 3-bedroom houses. A factory for construction of fishing boats (except the engines, which are imported from Sweden), and a boat repair yard were built, and these now employ 200 and 49 workers, respectively. Recently a shrimp processing plant has been completed, employing 500. There are also 485 fulltime fishermen. A large hospital and a big secondary school are nearing completion (all medical care and education is free), and the top floor of the shrimp processing plant is a secondary school attended by 400 of the fishermen. These men fish for one week and attend school for one week. The salary range in this community is \$185 to \$245 per month. The only expenses are for food. Housing, cultural events, and up to this year, clothing are all free. Given this economic and social context, which is repeated all over Cuba, it is easy to see why the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban government have the overwhelming confidence of the Cuban people. The distribution of

goods and services in Cuba is of a socialist character.

But when we turn to the production aspect of the Cuban economy, we see an entirely different picture. Comrade Stalin has written, "In order to pave the way for a real, and not a declaratory transition to communism, at least three main preliminary conditions have to be satisfied. 1) It is necessary, in the first place, to ensure not a mythical 'rational organization' of the productive forces, but a continuous expansion of all social production, with a relatively higher rate of the expansion of the production of the means of production. The relatively higher rate of the expansion of the production of the means of production is necessary not only because it has to provide the equipment both for its own plants and for all the other branches of the national economy, but also because reproduction on an extended scale, becomes altogether impossible without it." (*Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, Selected Works, Cardinal Publishers, p. 356*) From reading the economic reports of the Communist Party of Cuba in their political organ Granma, and from first hand observation of the Cuban cities, town and countryside, we see almost no evidence of the production of the means of production. No evidence of the production of engines and heavy machinery. The largest enterprises in production are two huge nickel mines, but lacking other large scale production, this nickel cannot be integrated into the Cuban economy except indirectly through export.

Such a situation leaves Cuba very dependent on the socialist and capitalist countries: engines from Sweden, heavy machinery from Japan, automobiles from Italy and USNA subsidiaries in Argentina, oil from the Soviet Union, technological aid from Czechoslovakia.

This is not to say that trade with the capitalist camp is incorrect, but without being based on an increasingly self-sufficient means of production, such trade is one factor leading to an increased dependence on imperialism.

Political Line

Not having begun to achieve economic independence in the 16 years since the triumph of the revolution, Cuba's economic dependence has also led to political dependence. The Communist Party of Cuba will summarize its political experience and outline its first Five-Year Plan for its economy, at its First Party Congress to be held this year. The Cuban Party sees its political line as a guide for Latin America and attempts to guide the political direction of the Latin American bourgeoisies irrespective of the imperialist system in which they exist. As we have just seen, the "rational organization" which Comrade Stalin pointed out as useless without the relatively higher rate of expansion of the production of the means of production, is precisely the primary aspect of Cuba's current economic direction. This is exemplified by their presently leading slogans of economic efficiency without any mention of developing heavy industry. But let us look at the Cuban Party's view of

the international situation, which, far from being a creative addition to scientific socialism, is actually a support for the current motion of imperialism.

In the present period of time, when the main contradiction in the world is between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, when there are Marxist-Leninist groups struggling for hegemony in almost every oppressor country and colony in the world, and especially in the Latin American national liberation movements, at this period of time the Communist Party of Cuba emphasizes the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisies as the most important revolutionary forces. Scarcely mentioning the decisive role of the proletariat and peasantry in the colonies, the Communist Party of Cuba now devotes most of its time calling for a regional organization of Latin American bourgeoisies in order to protect the national resources of this part of the world, and thus to isolate imperialism. As a tactic, backed up by the force of Marxist-Leninist led national liberation movements in the colonies, this is quite correct. But this is not what the Cuban Party is suggesting. Rather, it sets the national bourgeoisies up as a force almost independent of imperialism on the one hand, and of the constant revolutionary pressure of their "own" proletariats, on the other. The national bourgeoisies are seen as capable of doing as they please. But even if they were able to invest the profits from their natural resources cartels in the "Third World" countries (as the Cuban Party suggests) rather than in the imperialist countries, the result would be the same: the imperialists would gain a victory through their control of the colonial economies.

We must see that it is the position of economic dependence in which Cuba finds itself, Cuba's great need for the natural resources, particularly oil, of the Latin American bourgeoisies, that is part of the basis of Cuba's political line in this respect. But we must also see that these very national bourgeoisies on which Cuba is depending are themselves to a greater or lesser degree dependent on imperialism. In the stage of imperialism and proletarian revolution, no nation can be led to real independence by its bourgeoisie. The objective conditions of imperialism do not permit it. Only the proletariat, guided by Leninist Parties of a new type, can accomplish this liberation.

Cuba has never had a Party of this type, truly guided in its practice by Marxist-Leninist theory. Thus Cuba has not yet achieved a dictatorship of the proletariat a dictatorship capable of building a real socialist economy. Thus Cuba remains economically dependent on the capitalist countries, and the basically bourgeois ideology of the Communist Party of Cuba leads it to further dependence on the national bourgeoisies of the colonies and therefore, further exploitation by imperialism. The ideology of the Cuban Party is itself a bourgeois ideology.

We can see, that, while in the short run Cuba has maintained the appearance and actual benefits of a truly socialist economy through its distribution of goods and services, in the longer perspective Cuba's

lack of a socialist ideology and productive capacity has made it dependent on imperialism. This is becoming more apparent as Cuba increasingly turns to the national bourgeoisies for economic assistance, bourgeoisies that are themselves increasingly turning to fascism as a way to protect their profits.

A note on education and culture in Cuba: like its economy, Cuba's educational system and its culture have the appearance (and many of the actual benefits) of a socialist superstructure. Children build their own schools, work in fields and factories which are part of these schools, as well as studying dialectics, history, and a large variety of academic subjects practically applied to everyday life. Very young children are taken to factories to see the process of how things are made, and thus to gain an attitude of caring for state property (and respect for the workers who produce it). Children begin, at age 14, to teach younger children, and thus learn through teaching. Art, music, drama and athletics are an integral part of the Cuban education, with the content often being of a "Third World" revolutionary nature.

The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Ho Chi Minh

are to be found everywhere — in libraries and on sale at all bookstores at very low prices. The works of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung are conspicuously absent, however. We must ask ourselves, how can a government with a bourgeois ideology afford to bring the works of Marx and Lenin to the masses? The answer has two aspects: with a revisionist party firmly in power (as is even more evident in the Soviet Union), it is difficult for the working class of the country clearly to see that the Party's revisionism is not really Marxism-Leninism applied to their concrete situation. But the other aspect is that there is always a section of the working class which strives for Marxism-Leninism as the only ideology which is truly in their interests. This section of the class demands that the classics be made available to them, and they will inevitably apply scientific socialism to their own situation in order to achieve a true dictatorship of the proletariat. This is true in Cuba as in all countries.

Some comrades in Albuquerque

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR REFORM

During the last year our Party has begun a study of the *Textbook of Marxist Philosophy*, written in the Soviet Union in 1937 and reprinted by the Communist League in the summer of 1974. This book serves as the last nail in the coffin of those political corpses who tried in the past to divide Mao Tse-Tung from Stalin by finding in the former's *On Contradiction* "new" philosophical formulations and truths. It is apparent that *On Contradiction* was written as a synopsis of the *Textbook*.

But this is just in passing. What I would like to discuss here is the question of the nature of reforms and what our Party means by its formulation in our Program that, "Only through the revolutionary struggle for reforms can the proletariat be organized to establish its dictatorship." (1)

First of all, what is a reform? It is something—a law, a constitutional amendment, a better contract won through a strike, etc.—which changes the form of class relations, but not their content. The winning of the 8-hour day is a good example. While improving the existence of the working class tremendously (to the extent that the 8-hour day became an actuality) it in no sense undermined the economic position of the capitalists or even cut into their profits for any length of time. They simply made up for the lost time by introducing new labor-saving machinery, speed up, and so on, thereby cheapening commodities, including the commodity labor power. This led to a general reduction of wages, although not necessarily a reduction in the standard of living of the workers. Does this mean that the workers were wrong to fight for the 8-hour day? Not at all. But their victory did not fundamentally alter class relations, but only their form.

In a class I attended on Chapter 6 of the *Textbook* entitled "The Transition of Quantity into Quality" the question arose: is the winning of reforms part of the quantitative movement toward the qualitative leap of revolution? (I use revolution in the sense of the abolition of the wages system based on the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.) For example, is the winning of a strike and a better contract a quantitative step toward socialism? The opportunists of all stripes, who at best suffer from the disease of spontaneity, say yes. "The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing," said Bernstein. His modern-day followers amend this slightly to mean that the movement, which is everything, leads inexorably and "dialectically" to the aim. But Marxism, backed up by 150 years of the proletarian movement, answers no. Reforms are not quantitative steps toward revolution in themselves. In the *Manifesto*

Marx and Engels point out that, for example, the winning of strikes is not the main point of the proletariat's trade union movement. "Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers." (2) It is precisely this ever-expanding union of the workers, not the individual victories—the reforms—which represents the quantitative movement which culminates in the "qualitative" leap, the introduction of socialist relations of production, i.e., the socialist revolution.

Hence, the revolutionary struggle for reforms is that struggle which sees as its main goal not the winning of the reform, but the growth of the unity of the working class. It is not so much a question of what the reform is we are fighting for, although of course some are more important than others, but how we fight for it. For example, something so petty—it would appear—as the fight to get paid every other Friday as opposed to the first and fifteenth of every month has, in the past, led to the recruitment of large numbers of proletarians into the communist movement—when the leaders of the fight put their communist tasks to the forefront. On the other hand, something so great and important as the struggle for unemployment insurance and social security which assumed country-wide proportions during the Great Depression led not to the consolidation of the proletariat and its party and the raising of their fighting capacity, but to the consolidation of the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the weakening of the communists—when the leaders forgot or intentionally put aside their tasks as communists of uniting the proletarians for the "final conflict." In a certain sense we may say that "It is the singer, not the song."

Of course this is not to say that all reforms are equally important, or that we will sing every song the bourgeoisie hands us and make it sound like the International. Some reform struggles are wrong from the outset because their realization would contradict the main aim of uniting the working class. The Equal Rights Amendment is one example of a reform which would hurt the working class. Another is the fight for community control of schools, the winning of which would simply continue segregation under a liberal guise and serve to further divisions among "communities" by forcing them to fight, like dogs over a bone, for the limited funds available to their schools. Reforms of this type are invariably introduced into the working class movement directly by the bourgeoisie in order to take attention away from the real demands that originate spontaneously in the course of the movement and which should be fought for—in the one case real equality for women in wages, working conditions, etc., in

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the other, quality education based on real integration.

In general, however, we communists see the reform struggle, i.e., the objective class struggle, the day to day battles the workers and other oppressed people wage to keep from getting crushed, as the only arena in which the struggle to unite the working class for the final insurrectionary battle, in which the struggle for communism, can take place. For if the "real fruit" of our battles lies not in the immediate result (this sort of success is only temporary, for the bourgeoisie takes with one hand what it gives with another) but in the ever-expanding union of the workers, can that unity be won without communism serving as the "glue?"

Absolutely not. Bourgeois ideology is too strong in the working class to die of its own accord; it must be killed. White chauvinism and male supremacy, and other tools of division, will prohibit any "ever-expanding union of the workers" unless they are fought head on with Marxism-Leninism. For example, the fascist imperialists of the USNA are trying to resurrect the Ku Klux Klan to serve as the spearhead of their attack on and attempt to enslave completely the Negro people and along with them the entire working class. It is clear that the Klan is hated by the bulk of the Anglo-American workers, even those who are infected by a lot of the white chauvinist disease that the Klan is spreading. The situation is thus very contradictory and can lead in one of two directions. If the Klan is not exposed and opposed it cannot help but grow in strength by appealing to the already existing bourgeois ideology of the Anglo-American workers. If it is exposed and opposed by the Communist Labor Party and other progressive and democratic forces there is no doubt that its relative lack of support will cause it to be further isolated, and with it, a lot of the content of its white chauvinist fascist ideology. We have the choice: either surrender valuable ground to the Klan without a fight, or attack them while they are weak and expose not only them but the system and class which sponsor them directly, thus winning to our side new allies of all nationalities. We can achieve this only if we behave not simply as militants but as militant communists able to expose the class content of the Klan along with the Klan itself. Otherwise we will simply strengthen the traditional liberal libertarian and pacifist sentiments of the masses, and their reliance on the FBI to "fight" the Klan.

The opportunists of all types, led by the CPUSA and its brother parties around the world, see the relation of reform and revolution in an entirely different way.

The CPUSA speaks of "radical reforms" (as opposed to our formulation, the revolutionary struggle for reforms) in terms of their being aspects of the "growing invasion of 'management prerogatives.'" "Through such reforms," they tell us, "the power of the people is enlarged and that of monopoly is reduced." Then the apparent disclaimer as the snake tries to wriggle from one mutually exclusive point of view to the other: "Of course, this is subject to the limitations imposed by the continued existence of capitalism." (3) By the "power

of the people" they do not mean the "ever-expanding union of the workers," but actual positions of authority or "management prerogatives." These fools are really ministerialists without portfolio. They view reforms as quantitative steps leading toward the qualitative leap. Enough reforms will tip the scale. Once we take over all "management prerogatives", lo and behold, we will find ourselves—the management! Each reform is a droplet of socialism, a little bit of weight on the socialist side of the see-saw of the class struggle. Enough weight on the socialist side and it will become heavier, the "principal aspect" of the contradiction, as the new left offspring of the CPUSA, the eclectics mongers, assure us. Socialist quantity will become socialist quality.

The reader will no doubt recognize these vulgarisms—vulgar both in their reactionary content and their pretentious "philosophical" dress—as the stock in trade of the more learned dealers in opportunism. We would laugh if we did not know that the practice of these theories had led to the slaughter of millions of honest communists and revolutionary workers and peasants, for example in Indonesia, where the "anti-revolutionary 'two-aspect' theory glaringly manifested itself in the statement that 'the struggle of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) with regard to the state power is to promote the pro-people aspect (Note: that is, the national bourgeoisie allied with the communists) so as to make it bigger and dominant, so that the anti-people force can be driven out from state power.'" (4) We are fully justified in using this as an example of modern revisionism, since the PKI in its brilliant example of Marxist-Leninist self-criticism points out the "The PKI leadership (Note: before the counter-revolution of 1965) declared that the 'two-aspect theory' was completely different from the 'theory of structural reform' of the revisionist leadership of the Italian Communist Party. (Note: Shades of "radical reform" and invasion of management prerogatives here?). However, both theoretically and on the basis of practical realities, there is no difference between the two 'theories.' Both have, for their starting point, the peaceful road to socialism. Both dream of a gradual change in the internal balance of forces and in the state structure. Both reject the road of revolution and both are revisionist." (5) Earlier the comrades of the PKI correctly point out, "The 'theory of two aspects in state power' was a mistake of one-sidedness or subjectivism in the application of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, particularly its teaching on contradiction. It was also a deviation from the Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution which among other things said that 'the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which cannot be reconciled with its antipode,' that 'the forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie,' and that 'the supersession of the bourgeois state' . . . is impossible without a violent revolution." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*)

"It was true that in the state power at that time there existed a contradiction between the comprador bourgeoisie and the pro-imperialist landlords on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie which to a certain extent was anti-imperialist and democratic, on the other. But the existence of this contradiction did not alter the nature of the state as an instrument of repression in the hands of the classes dominating the economic field." (6)

The eclectics distort the theory of contradiction to make it serve their own purposes. They take the formulation that "everything divides into two" and apply it here without regard to its real meaning, thus finding contradictions everywhere, i.e., nowhere. What does "everything" mean? It means every entity. An entity is a whole. For example, the capitalist system is an entity. It divides into two, proletariat and bourgeoisie. But can we seriously say that the bourgeoisie in this day and age "divides into two?", i.e., contains both a positive and a negative aspect? The eclectics say that it does, ending up apologizing for imperialism, uniting with the "good" imperialists, etc. According to their logic, Hitler "divides into two" as well. But how can this sort of thing be taken seriously? Contradictions exist only within a certain environment and can only be discussed concretely. Viewed from the standpoint of biology, Hitler indeed does divide into two—inhaling and exhaling, eating and defecating, etc. But viewed from the standpoint of the class struggle? It is lunacy to talk of Hitler's having a positive aspect in contradiction to his fascist aspect, unless we want to stretch things and talk about how fascism is "good" in the sense that it gives rise to proletarian revolution. But who needs this kind of Trotskyite philosophizing?

Therefore, when we use philosophy to try to understand social motion, we should be careful to use it correctly and not to vulgarize it. For that is precisely what the opportunists do on the question of the "dialectics" of reform and revolution which they see as a "unity of opposites." "The revisionist regards as mere phrases all arguments about 'leaps' and about the opposition—on principal—of the workers to the old society as a whole. They accept reform as a partial realization of socialism." (*Textbook*, p. 298)

The *Textbook* goes on to say, "Superficially, inexactly understood, the unity of quality and quantity appears thus: at first there are quantitative changes—then a change of quality; in other words, at first there are uninterrupted changes—then a leap. There you have the unity of opposites, the unity of evolution and the leap, or interruptedness and of uninterruptedness. But Engels' approach is far more concrete and profound. Engels shows the mutual penetration of these opposites—firstly the interruptedness of evolution and then the relative uninterruptedness of the separate links of a leap.

"But does not this view approximate by a roundabout way to this same gradualism? As a matter of fact, the social-reformist will say, the transition from capitalism

to socialism does proceed by way of separate small changes, by way of partial improvements of reforms of different aspects of the capitalist system. So to what end proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship? The gradual growing of capitalism into socialism must proceed by 'slow steps,' diffidently, in a zigzag. Little drops of socialism must, by way of partial changes, trickle into the capitalist system until it is all turned into a socialist system. Capitalism grows into socialism, because socialism grows into capitalism." (p. 301)

It is very important to understand this critique of the conception that first there is quantitative, then qualitative change, i.e. that there is a rigid separation between quantity and quality. This is the opinion of the worshippers of the spontaneous and hence inevitably "bourgeois" movement of the working class for better conditions in the sale of its labor power. First there is the spontaneous mass movement—that is, quantitative growth. Then the "leap" to communism takes place—that is, the new quality. But I think it is obvious that such motion is impossible both philosophically and practically. The *Textbook*, following Engels' observation that "in nature there are no leaps for the very reason that it consists only of leaps," (p. 300, quote from *Anti-Duhring*) makes the point that quantitative changes are also "partial qualitative changes." (p. 302)

How can we understand this? Not in the sense that reforms are partial realizations of a new quality, socialism within the old quality, capitalism; this is the understanding of the gradualists and revisionists. No, we understand it in the sense that the growing organization of the working class represents the development of a new quality, communism, if—the all important communism is injected into the spontaneous movement and the struggle for reforms which the workers wage day to day is transformed by our communist party into the revolutionary struggle for reforms.

The *Textbook* sums this up by saying, "The working class develops its socialist qualities within the frame of capitalism, not by creative 'flowerets' of ready-made socialist culture, as the reformists suppose, but by organizing itself for decisive struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. Only by such struggle can it purify itself from the vices and contradictions of capitalism and only in the epoch of its domination can the socialist traits of the workers become actual elements of socialist culture." (p. 307)

A very vivid example of how not to understand the relation of quantity and quality is given by W.Z. Foster in his dishonest *History of the CPUSA*, in which he states, discussing the fights the Party waged in the early part of the Depression, that the Party separated recruitment and mass activities: "Nevertheless, far greater membership gains could have been registered had it not been for inadequate organizational work, especially due to the effects of a stubborn tendency to

believe that Party recruiting could not be carried on during mass struggles. The Party, in fact, was beginning to fall into the bad habit of doing nearly all of its recruiting during special membership drives, usually held during less tense political periods." (International Publishers, 1952, p. 392). Foster further disgraces himself a few pages on, blaming the workers for the Party's own rotten opportunism. Discussing the mass upsurge of the working class during the Depression, he says, "In checking this fascist danger, the mass resistance of the people—workers, Negroes, poor farmers, and lower petty bourgeoisie—played a decisive role. While not revolutionary [!], they acted in the best traditions of the American people and conducted a whole series of economic and political struggles which largely escaped the controls of the confused employers and their trade union bureaucratic lackeys." Then the capper: "The Communist Party considered its main task to stimulate this resistance and to squeeze all possible concessions from the employers and the government." (p. 296)

If Foster means by "not revolutionary" that the workers (of different nationalities) were not and are not objectively revolutionary, he is negating 150 years of history. If he means that they were not subjectively revolutionary, that is, consciously fighting for socialism, he is certainly right to a great extent. But he has only himself and his Party to blame for this. How can the working class be won over to communism if the "communists" see as their main task the squeezing of all possible concessions from the employers and government, and not the organizing and uniting of the class for the "final battle" on the basis of winning at least the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism?

Finally, I would like to try and elucidate this discussion of the relation of reform and revolution by discussing the United Front Against Fascism.

Dimitrov points out that "The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the starting point and main content of the united front in all capitalist countries." (UFAF, International Publishers, p. 33) The opportunists, taking this concept in isolation, have come up with the distorted idea that the united front is purely a defensive tactic, opposite and in contradiction to what they opportunistically call "communist work" or something similar.

The CPUSA is the best example of the absolute separation of work in the mass movement and "communist work"—in quotes because the CPUSA's communist work is really something quite different. Read any issue of the *Daily World* and you will see that the Party's position on any issue is expressed by quoting this or that liberal congressman or Senator. The Party is literally the tail of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The CP's illegitimate offspring in the New Left are just as vulgar, but in a slightly more subtle way. The RU,

attacking the old Communist League, claims that "CL has no faith in the masses and doesn't really believe that they can be won to a revolutionary line, on the basis of linking communism with the spontaneous mass struggle and practicing the mass line, but that they can be suckered into a rightist line under cover of building a 'united front against fascism,' and then somehow they can be made to make a leap from reformism to communism. This shows that at one and the same CL puts forth 'dogma for a handful, rightism for the masses...'" (*Revolution*, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. CL5)

Similarly, the October League, in its "critique" of "ultra-leftism" makes the same absolute separation. "while some of the ultra-'leftists' oppose the united front [OL confuses the united front against fascism with the united front against imperialism] entirely, others say that united front work cannot go on 'until there is a party.' So while supporting the united front in theory, in practice they ignore the work that must be done on a day to day basis and are concerned only with building their own circles, organizations or 'parties'. Instead of pushing forward the work in the plants or organizing strikes, working in the unions and building up caucuses and other rank and file movements, these 'leftists' can be found only when it comes to selling their own newspapers or giving out their own leaflets." (*The Call*, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 13) Either work in unions, build caucuses, etc.—or sell your own newspapers, etc.

Dimitrov does not mean anything at all like this. Here is what he says on the role of the communist party in the united front: "Comrades, in the struggle for the establishment of the united front the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at bottom the initiator, organizer and the driving force of the united front of the working class."

"The Communist Parties can ensure the mobilization of the broadest masses of the toilers for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital only if they strengthen their own ranks in every respect, if they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy and apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the concrete situation and alignment of class forces." (p. 83, emphasis ours). A paragraph later: "If we communists exert every effort to establish a united front, we do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members to the Communist Parties. But we must strengthen the Communist Parties in every way and increase their membership for the very reason that we seriously want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of the Communist Parties is not a narrow concern but the concern of the entire working class." (pp. 83-4) Clear, one would think. But some people insist on misunderstanding things.

Now, viewing the question from the philosophical standpoint, are we justified in interpreting Dimitrov to mean that there is a contradiction between the united front against fascism and the communist party? That

is, that we participate in one or the other at a given time, that one grows at the expense of the other, that it is an either/or situation? Absolutely not. The united front is not something mutually exclusive from and in conflict with the party. The party initiates, organizes and leads the united front, is a part, the most important part, of it, for without the party the united front cannot come into being. As the *Manifesto* states, the communists do not form a party in opposition to other working class parties. Similarly with the united front. Unlike the eclectics, finally, we do not automatically see "part and "whole" as two aspects of a contradiction.

Does this mean that the united front against fascism does not contain within itself contradictions? Not at all. In almost any united front, for example, there will be a contradiction between two or more parties. In the anti-Japanese united front in China the Communist Party and the Kuomintang were in almost constant, antagonistic contradiction. In the French Popular Front of the latter 1930's there was a contradiction between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. These contradictions are aspects of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat within the working class movement.

Or let us take our own situation. There is and will continue to be a contradiction between the CLP and the CPUSA in the united front of the working class which we are trying to build. We represent Marxism, they revisionism. We represent the interests of the proletariat, they the interests of the bourgeoisie. We see the united front as the only possible approach to the proletarian dictatorship; they as a substitute for it, a roadblock to it. We see building it from below in order to strengthen the position of the vanguard and expel the traitors from the movement; the CPUSA sees building it from above in order to strengthen the hand of these traitors and paralyze the main body of the proletariat. These are all contradictions, not between communism and the united front, but between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, between the proletariat proper and the small upper crust of the working class, the social fascists, FBI agents and others who, like scum, have risen to the top of the movement. Can we avoid fighting these contradictions through to the end? No, to try and do so would be to give up the struggle all together. We cannot enter the arena without confronting our opposite. For example, we cannot ignore Leonard Woodcock's demagogic program for auto workers. We must seize and take advantage of the temporary, relative and changing unity between his demands and ours, not in order to try to absolutize that unity, as the class collaborationists would like, and not in order to turn the reactionary into the progressive, as the eclectic, dialectic-mongers would like, but to expose the contradiction between the proletarian form and bourgeois content of Woodcock's program in the course of the practical movement.

Aside from the struggle between the bourgeois and

proletarian within the united front against fascism, there is another important contradiction, between form and content, between its basic aim and its methods. Its main content, to repeat Dimitrov, is the "defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class." But is its form defensive?

On the contrary. The united front, by building a loose coalition of groupings around concrete issues, takes the offensive against sections of the bourgeoisie and their state. For example, we fight the Ku Klux Klan not by waiting passively until they attack us and then "defending ourselves," but by calling together all progressive persons and groups to form a united front which is stronger than the Klan and which can attack it and defeat it wherever it raises its sheeted head.

Mao Tse-Tung says, "Attack is the chief means of destroying the enemy, but defense cannot be dispensed with. In attack the immediate object is to destroy the enemy, but at the same time it is self-preservation, because if the enemy is not destroyed, you will be destroyed. In defense the immediate object is to preserve yourself, but at the same time defense is a means of supplementing attack or preparing to go over to the attack. Retreat is in the category of defense and is a continuation of defense, while pursuit is a continuation of attack. It should be pointed out that destruction of the enemy is the primary object of war and self-preservation the secondary, because only by destroying the enemy in large numbers can one effectively preserve oneself. Therefore, attack, the chief means of destroying the enemy, is primary, while defense, a supplementary means of destroying the enemy and a means of self-preservation, is secondary. In actual warfare the chief role is played by defense much of the time and by attack for the rest of the time, but if the war is taken as a whole, attack remains primary." (*On Protracted War*, SW, Vol. 2, p. 156)

Using Mao Tse-Tung's analysis of war as a guide, we may say the following: the object of the war we are fighting is to defeat the enemy. Our strategy for doing this is the dictatorship of the proletariat. But we cannot achieve our strategy by making "bare appeals" for it alone—that is, by "taking the offensive" in some abstract way. We must, as Dimitrov points out, "also find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise out of the vital needs of the masses, and are commensurate with their fighting capacity at the given stage of development." In the capitalist countries where the fighting capacity of the working class is at a relatively low level because of rotten leadership, bribery, national and sex antagonisms, etc., these slogans and forms of struggle take a form opposite to the bare appeal for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are essentially defensive and all together comprise the content of the united front against fascism. Therefore our aim, our strategy, is the dictatorship of the proletariat, an offensive mechanism for abolishing the bourgeoisie and capitalism. But we approach this goal by means of

its opposite, a strategic defense of the working class, the united front against fascism.

But this is not enough. Within that strategic defensive we wage tactical offenses in order to preserve it. A boxer fighting a defensive fight against a bigger but older opponent cannot win if he simply blocks his opponent's blows. He can win only if, while in the main backing up and blocking those blows, he also hurts his opponent with quick jabs to the face and stomach, little by little wearing him down, preparing, at the moment when his opponent has worn himself out, to go over to the strategic offensive and "annihilate" him. So it is with the united front against fascism. Its content is strategic defense which takes the form of a series of tactical offensives against the bourgeoisie until they are weak. Right now they are increasingly weak in many areas. They are not in control of the economy; Watergate has exposed them politically, they are being defeated in the colonies, etc. But if we do not turn their weakness into strengths, they will turn their weakness into temporary strength by demagogically attacking themselves in form while preserving themselves in content, through a fascist movement to crush all resistance to slavery and war. We cannot let them get the upper hand in this more than they already have.

The united front against fascism, in short, is a unity of the opposites offense and defense and the opposites of bourgeois and proletarian influence. We know that the socialist movement is the union of the spontaneous labor movement, by nature bourgeois—in the sense that it cannot by itself go beyond bourgeois relations of production—with the theory of communism. Similarly, the united front, to be a united front against fascism, must lead to socialism. At the decisive moment it must turn from strategic defensive into its opposite, a movement of most of the working class for the proletarian dictatorship. The united front is not a thing in itself. To be a united front at all, it must be initiated by the communist party, in the USNA our Communist Labor Party. Hence even within the strategic defensive the seeds of the strategic offensive must be sown and watered—that is, the vanguard of the proletariat must be won to the side of communism. If this is not done there cannot be a real united front. The reader will remember how in the development of an entity quantitative changes are also partial qualitative changes. Within the united front this can only mean that the spreading of communism and the building of our Party must be the same thing as the fight to unite the class. The rotten theory that the united front is purely defensive and in opposition to "communism"—that is, the separation philosophically of the united front and the communist party—must be decisively defeated. It can only lead to the actual liquidation of the Party, which means in essence the strangulation of the united front against fascism and its goal, the proletarian dictatorship.

J. A., Chicago

Footnotes

1. Communist Labor Party, *Congress Documents*, Proletarian Publishers, September 1974, p. 4.
2. Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, Peking Edition, p. 42.
3. Communist Party USA, *New Program 1970*, p. 86.
4. Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), *Build the PKI Along the Marxist Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia*, p. 139.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52.

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FASCISM AND THE UNITED FRONT: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY, 1922-29

If we cannot succeed in awakening confidence among the petty bourgeois masses in the capability of the working class to shake off the national fetters then those masses will become an instrument in the hands of the jackals of the battlefield... for establishing the rule of reaction in Germany.

Karl Radek, 1923

This paper is concerned with the uneven process of development of an analysis of 1) Fascism, 2) the correct tactics to be applied against it and 3) the place of Social Democracy in relation to both as pursued by the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Communist International in the period 1922-1929.

During most of this time the KPD was, after the Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU[B]), the most important section of the International and consequently one of the most influential in determining general communist policies. Thus it was in Germany that the United Front tactic was initiated as was the theory of social fascism.

Since throughout the 1920s the KPD was plagued by factional struggles in which policies were attacked and defended from left and right the documents of these battles often show the entire political spectrum of the Comintern and, given the importance of Germany, frequently herald either the beginning or the end of a particular international policy.

The terms "left" and "right" will be used in this paper without the pejorative sense they took on in later Communist usage, after the defeat of first the Trotskyites and later the "followers" of Bukharin. Rather, they will be used in a Leninist sense, to denote merely the place at any given moment in relation to other Communists, as when Lenin after the Third Comintern Congress described his own position as being on "the extreme right flank." (1)

To discuss the history of fascism in Communist theory one must first begin with a preliminary definition of Fascism.

Fascism is a specific phenomenon which arose in the period of capitalist crisis and proletarian revolution following the first world war. It is a specific social movement which draws its membership principally from the petty-bourgeoisie and declassé elements. At the economic level Fascism realizes (or aims to realize

before the conquest of power) the needs of the most developed sectors of the capitalist class. At the political level it seeks to transform the bureaucracy into an instrument to provide its members jobs, security and power and to secure its economic and ideological control. At the ideological level Fascism unites fragments of other ideologies, from right to left, transforming them in the process into a new totality. Its social practice shows these varied origins. Fascism combines naked violence and terror with radical phrases and appeals to the masses.

At the ideological level alone fascism would disintegrate, combining as it does contradictory and opposing elements. Likewise, at its political level alone Fascism has nothing to give it unity. It is only its service to the capitalist class which gives fascism its power base and its unity, not only at the economic level, but as a whole.

The united front is the principal tactic of the world Communist movement, for struggles in general, for the anti-fascist struggle in particular. Its logic flows from the communist concept of revolution itself. A successful revolution, able to take and hold power, requires, according to Marxist theory, a majority of the proletariat either actively in favor or passively sympathetic to it and the support or neutrality of other non-bourgeois sectors, the peasants and members of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Since the first world war, however, the proletariat has been divided, not just between organized and unorganized workers, but more fundamentally between Social Democratic and Communist workers throughout Europe.

The ultimate purpose of the united front tactic becomes the winning of a majority of the proletariat to revolution but its day to day practice usually concerns a more immediate demand, one of the most important of which was the struggle against fascism. The united front tactic recognizes that the Communist Parties were not, by themselves, strong enough to replace the class itself in such a battle.

It is also the recognition that only a united working class is strong enough to neutralize Fascism, because only the united class can fight the bourgeoisie while still offering a real alternative to the petty-bourgeoisie which the divided fractions of the proletariat can not.

Given this, the place of Social Democracy is pivotal to communist practice since historically the majority of the European and certainly the German proletariat

has belonged to Social Democratic unions and voted for Social Democratic candidates. Communist united front policies must be primarily aimed at Social Democratic workers if they are to have any meaning. How this was, and was not, done in Germany 1922-1929 is the subject of this paper.

The united front was a policy initiated by the KPD before it was conceptualized theoretically by the Communist International as a whole. On January 8, 1921, *Rote Fahne*, the Party newspaper, carried an open letter written by Paul Levi, then leader of the KPD, and Karl Radek, chief representative of the Comintern in Germany, to all German labor organizations calling for unity in proposing a joint program to the government "for specific concessions in the political and economic spheres which would benefit all workers." (2)

The negative response to this appeal by all major labor organizations strengthened the "left" within the KPD which viewed all work with Social Democratic unions as "opportunism" while in the Comintern it engendered stormy debate, a foreshadowing of the stormy life the united front policy was to have in Communist circles throughout the 1920s.

While Grigori Zinoviev, President of the Comintern, called the Open Letter an "artificial devise" and condemned the proposed tactics as "entirely impractical" (3) Lenin demanded that the "tactic of the Open Letter should definitely be applied everywhere," (4) explaining "it is a model because it is the first act of a practical method of winning over a majority of the working class." (5)

The question of the Open Letter and the united front were the principal items on the agenda of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International which met in Moscow, November 7- December 3, 1922.

The Congress took place in the wake of Mussolini's March on Rome and Fascism was a new factor in world politics requiring definition and suitable Communist counter-measures.

Even at this early stage the differences between the Comintern's "right" and "left" reflected themselves in the discussions about the fascist danger and the united front tactic.

The two speakers who addressed specifically the question of Fascism were Karl Radek and Amadeo Bordiga, leader of the Italian "left" and one of the founders of the Communist Party of Italy (PCI).

Radek in this report on the "capitalist offensive" stated, in reference to Italy,

In my opinion, the victory of Fascism is . . . the greatest defeat which Socialism and Communism have sustained since the opening of the epoch of world revolution. (6)

Radek recognized the fascist threat as something new

on the world scene and denounced as "trite" the simple statement that it was a victory for the bourgeoisie. Instead he noted that Fascism arose out of the disintegration of the traditional bourgeois parties and Fascism's presentation of itself as a new uncorrupted force, offering to "mediate between the workers and the capitalists." (7)

After explaining the ideological face of Fascism Radek drew a distinction between its social and power base as a source of conflict:

The Fascists represent the petty-bourgeoisie, which has come to power with the support of the bourgeoisie, and which will be compelled to carry out, not the programme of the petty-bourgeoisie, but the programme of capitalism. (8)

Precisely because of this contradiction, he warned they will have "revolts in their own camp." Against Fascism, Radek said, speeches and resolutions were not enough; the Communists must "voice the cry of the masses for liberation."

Amadeo Bordiga presented a different picture of Fascism to the Congress. Claiming he saw "nothing new" in it, Bordiga said Fascism "only presents the old bourgeois policies through new men and methods." Bordiga did not speak about Fascism in terms of class or levels of support, instead he saw it as, aided by both the bourgeoisie and the right wing of the Italian Social Democrats ("the Turati group"). Bordiga located Fascism's principal contradiction between its "old policies" and the "new men" representing them. Not the united front but the "firmest discipline and forceful tactics" (9) were the best Communist response to Fascism he proposed.

Against the opposition from the "left" the *Theses on Tactics* adopted by the Fourth Congress recognized the growing fascist danger as a new opponent of revolution, requiring the unity of the entire working class to defeat it, stating:

The characteristic feature of Italian fascism . . . consists in this, that the fascists not only form strictly counter-revolutionary fighting organizations . . . but also try social demagoguery to gain a footing among the masses . . . (10)

The resolution also recognized that Fascism was not only anti-Communist but "directed against the very foundations of bourgeois democracy." (11) Finally the Communist International called upon all its sections to "lead the entire working class in the struggle against the fascist gangs, and to make vigorous use . . . of the united front tactics . . ." (12)

What these united front tactics were to be was thoroughly discussed at the Fourth Congress. Zinoviev, in his main report on the work of the Executive (ECCI) defined, "the united front means leading the working masses in the daily class war" and the winning over of

the majority of the workers. (13) He explained the United front could be accomplished by negotiations with the leaders of non-communist workers parties and unions or "from below" over the heads of these leaders.

Within the German delegation the entire united front question was sharply debated. Representatives of the "rightist" party majority, Ernst Meyer and Karl Becker, as well as Radek, attacked the left charging that they betrayed "a desire to put an immediate end to united action and negotiations with the social-democratic leaders." (14) The "left," represented at the Congress by Ruth Fisher and Hugo Urbahns, while not attacking the united front as such instead concentrated on criticising what they saw as errors in its application.

They declared that "the Second International and its affiliated parties are our worst enemies" and that "these parties have joined in the bitterest offensive against us." (15) Urbahns went even further categorically denouncing any agreement with the Social Democratic leaders, stating:

It is impossible for the German Communist Party to fight together with the Independents and the Social Democratic Party, as the Social Democratic Party is not capable of fighting. Comrade Radek has given too much weight to the negotiations with the leaders, but we can only realize the United Front of the working class through the struggle of the masses themselves. (16)

The Theses adopted by the Congress however in the main supported the position presented by Zinoviev, Radek and the German "right." It announced,

The united front tactic means that the communist vanguard must take the lead in the day-to-day struggles of the broad working masses for their most vital interests . . . Its true realization can come only "from below," from the depths of the working masses themselves. Communists however must not refuse in certain circumstances to negotiate with the leaders of hostile workers' parties . . . (17)

The wording reflects the compromise nature of the document, an attempt to placate the powerful left sentiments and avoid the real possibility of a split in the International.

After the World Congress the divided German delegation returned to try and implement the official decisions, each side interpreting them in their own way. The year 1923 saw the maturing post-war crisis in Germany and increased attention by the KPD to the fascist menace.

In May the Central Committee decided upon a campaign to divide the fascist movement through exploiting the contradictions within it. In a resolution written by Radek a distinction was made between those who were "directly sold to capital" and the "misled nationalistic petty-bourgeoisie." The resolution called

on all Communists to win the latter away from the former:

We have to go to the suffering, misled, infuriated masses of the proletarianized petty bourgeoisie to tell them. . . that they can defend themselves and the future of Germany only when they have allied themselves with the proletariat for a struggle with the real bourgeoisie. (18)

A month later, at the Third Plenum of the ECCI, this policy was given fuller theoretical elaboration when the question was taken up again.

Clara Zetkin who had been made Chairman of the Provisional International Committee for Combatting Fascism established jointly by the Comintern, the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU) and the Young Communist International (YCI) delivered the main report on Fascism to the Plenum. She explained that Fascism was drawing its followers from all sections of the population, not excluding the proletariat; indeed, it had become "a sort of refuge for the politically shelterless." (19) This required that Communists should, on the one hand organize proletarian self-defense against fascist terror while at the same time strive to "win over and neutralize" misguided elements of the Fascist rank and file.

It was Radek and not Zetkin however who introduced a new element into the debate, proposing what became known as the "Schlagter campaign," with his speech, "Schlagter: The Wanderer in the Void." Leo Schlagter had been a member of one of the many Freikorps which had fought against bolsheviks in the Baltic and Spartacists in Germany. Finally he had been sent into the French occupied Ruhr where he was caught by the French, tried for sabotage and executed.

"Schlagter, a courageous soldier of the counter-revolution," Radek said, "deserves to be sincerely honored by us, the soldiers of the revolution." (20) On his grave his comrades swore they would carry on the fight. But Radek asked, "Against whom and on whose side?" Delivering his own funeral oration on behalf of the Comintern Radek told the "nationalist petty-bourgeois masses,"

Whoever is working in the service of the profiteers, the speculators and the iron and coal magnates to enslave the German people . . . will meet with the resistance of the German Communist workers.

At the same time he offered,

But we believe that the great majority of the nationalist minded masses belong not to the camp of the capitalists but to the camp of the workers . . . The Communist Party is not a party fighting for a crust of bread on behalf of the industrial workers but a party of the struggling proletariat fighting for its emancipation, an

emancipation that is identical with the emancipation of the whole people, of all who toil and suffer in Germany. (21)

The organizational implications of the Schlagter line were twofold; one the organization of the proletarian self-defense units on a united front basis in the factories, the so-called proletarian factory hundreds. These organizations aimed at being as broad as possible. Party leader Paul Bottcher specifically criticised as sectarian the attempt of the Social Democratic Party to form its own exclusive defense groups. (22)

The factory hundreds were not merely for armed defense; they also served an ideological function, "first by positive propaganda, showing the way out of the national collapse and economic subjugation. Secondly, by the exposure of Fascism as a tool of capital." (23)

The other pole of work was the attempt by Communists to meet with and debate the nationalists whereby KPD leaders would address large meetings of National Socialists and fascists, a policy which continued until August 1923 when the Nazi leadership banned any further cooperation between the two. (24)

The importance of this aspect of the anti-fascist struggle should not be underestimated. The Nazis were winning popular support on the basis of their radical agitation against the Ruhr occupation and reparations payments and the Communists were determined to show first, that the real reason for Nazi opposition was the requirements of German capitalists and secondly, only the proletariat could really lead the struggle against Germany's destruction.

The results of these joint meetings were negligible, however, because the KPD was too weak to represent the entire proletariat and there was no united front strong enough to offer a real alternative to Fascism other than the Social Democrat's alliance with the bourgeois parties. While not winning over or neutralizing sizeable sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, the campaign did alienate sections of the Social Democratic workers while giving ammunition to the "left" who used its failure to oppose any attempt to deal with Fascism by other than military means.

It was the crisis of autumn 1923 which transformed the KPD, radically altered its tactics and gave rise to new theoretical formulations on the nature of fascism and Social Democracy. The events of this period go under the name of the "German October." On its eve, the KPD was bitterly divided between a "rightist" majority whose leading figures, Heinrich Brandler, August Thalheimer, and Paul Bottcher championed and built their leadership on the basis of the united front and the decisions of the Fourth Comintern Congress. The "left" opposition, led by Arkadi Maslow, Ruth Fisher, Hugo Urbahns and Ernst Thalmann, looked on the majority's policies vis-a-vis the Social Democrats as dangerous opportunism and wanted the united front (if at all) only from below; that is, only with social democratic workers willing to break with the SPD leadership. For the majority, the Social

Democrats were the left wing of the bourgeoisie, the struggle being to convert them to the right wing of the proletariat. For the "lefts" this was an impossible task; the only way to win the entire working class to Communism was through the destruction of the Social Democratic Party. In this situation of division and mutual distrust the KPD entered the acute crisis of late 1923.

Germany in the last three months of the year was in a "catastrophic state" characterized by "industrial stagnation and growing unemployment, the disorganized state of the country's finances, the depreciation of the mark." Unemployment reached eight million: more than half the entire working class, resulting in "extreme pauperization of the working class and middle strata." (25)

As early as August the ECCI and the Germans (the "left" more than the "right") were united in the conviction that Germany was on the eve of an acute revolutionary situation. To lead and direct the situation a Revolutionary Command was established and plans drawn up.

The first step, as conceived by the majority leadership, was the entrance of Communists into two left-Social Democratic governments; Brandler, Bottchner and Fritz Heckert in Saxony and Karl Korsch and Albin Tenner in Thuringia. (26). The hope was that they would be able to prepare and arm the masses for the coming battle.

Immediately, however, they suffered two shocks which ended the revolution even before it began. First, the Berlin government dissolved the United Fronts in Saxony and Thuringia and these states were occupied by the Reichswehr without significant resistance. Secondly, the Conference of Factory Councils meeting in Chemnitz soon after the military interventions manifestly refused to endorse a national general strike to bring down the government as proposed by Brandler on behalf of the KPD. Realizing the hopelessness of the situation, the Party called off the insurrection scheduled to follow the call for a general strike, and only in Hamburg, a "left" stronghold, did Communist initiated armed struggle involve several hundred workers under Ernst Thalmann in battles with police for three days before they retreated as ordered by the Party. (27)

To deal with the crisis situation the government granted General Hans von Seeckt full emergency powers on November 8 which he proceeded to use not only against the KPD (which was banned) but also against the Hitler putsch which was crushed on November 9.

The lessons of the German October did not become apparent for some time. In early November the Central Committee, KPD, met and adopted a resolution written by Brandler and entitled "The Victory of Fascism over the November Republic." In it the Brandler group abandoned its previous characterization of Fascism and decided that the military occupations, the emergency powers and the banning of the

party as well as the failure of the social democrats to come to their aid all pointed to widespread fascist developments both within the government and among the social democrats. The Resolution read in part:

The November Republic has been delivered into the hands of Fascism over the whole area of unoccupied Germany . . . power has been seized by the fascisti, General Seeckt merely prefers to keep up the appearance of parliamentary democracy . . . the fascist dictatorship has been established by the employment of methods not understood by the Social Democrats; by means of quiet undermining work the fascisti have seized the powers of the democratic state and transformed the democratic state into a Fascist one. . . (28)

The resolution ended with a denunciation of the treachery of the SDP and a promise that the Communists would no longer negotiate with them, but would build the united front only from below.

Although this would appear to have placated the "left", in fact, they regarded it as merely a maneuver and coupled with the shock with which the KPD rank and file received the defeat the majority leadership quickly began to lose support. Not only in Germany but in Moscow as well where Zinoviev, who had always been uncomfortable with the broad united front tactics, saw the defeat as a chance to move the Comintern decisively to the left.

These efforts came to a head in January 1924 when a joint meeting was called between the ECCI and the KPD Central Committee on the question of the German revolution. Already Zinoviev had made his position clear when in December he convinced the Politburo of the Soviet Party to censure Radek for entirely supporting the right wing of the KPD and for his "incorrect assessment of the class forces in Germany: an opportunist overestimation of the differences within Fascism and an attempt to base the policy of the working class in Germany on these differences." (29)

Brandler, with the support of Thalheimer and Zetkin, presented to the conference a *Thesis on the October Defeat and on the Present Situation*. It defended the October retreat as necessary and correct, while conceding to the "left" that errors had been made and now "all efforts must be concentrated on the political and organizational liquidation of the SPD." (30)

Ruth Fisher for the "left" attacked the Brandler leadership betrayal of the revolution, for its entry into the Saxon and Thuringian governments but most of all for its united fronts by means of negotiations with Social Democratic leaders. A genuine communist united front she stated "assumes the conviction and the awareness that the SPD is incapable of 'waging working class politics' and would concentrate on 'destroying the social democrats' through the united front with them. "We will best transcend this epi-

sode," she promised, "by clear-cut, unambiguous, ruthless revolutionary politics." (31)

It was Zinoviev who, summing up the theoretical and tactical implications of the recent events for the KPD as well as the entire International, expressed himself in a more radical manner than even the German "left" had dared.

Remarking that the question of the united front was at the heart of the German defeat he admitted that there had been disagreements about this tactic all along within the Comintern and now was the time to fight them out to "complete clarity." While he did not oppose the Resolution of the Fourth Congress, Zinoviev declared the necessity of clarifying it to prevent opportunist formulations like the "victory of Fascism over the November Republic." This implied that the social democrats had been defeated by the fascists while in fact "social democracy is not defeated but has become a part of fascism, just as international social democracy is developing in this direction."

Not negotiations, Zinoviev warned, but a more "pronounced tactic" was required in Germany "because social democracy has become—and this is crystal clear to us today—a fascist wing of the workers' movement. German social democracy is a fascist social democracy."

This had not always been so, he declared; previously they had only been potential fascists. What made them so now was "the revolutionary epoch which makes fascists of them." (32) The majority leadership had failed the Party and Zinoviev demanded their replacement with a new "center-left" Central Committee.

The resolution adopted by the Conference shows Zinoviev's authorship,

The leading strata of German social-democracy are at the present moment nothing but a fraction of German fascism wearing a socialist mask . . . This circumstance induces us to modify the united front tactics in Germany. There can be no dealings with the mercenaries of the white dictatorship... The KPD rejects not only any dealings with the SPD center but also with the "left" leaders... The slogan of the united front tactic in Germany is now: Unity from below! (33)

This resolution was overwhelmingly endorsed by the Ninth Congress of the KPD meeting in Frankfurt in April 1924. Also endorsed was the call for a change in leadership with the result that "the left majority got control of the entire party and its apparatus at Frankfurt—the most complete shift of staff, from the Central Committee to local organizer, since the founding of the Spartakusbund." (34)

The virulent methods by which this was accomplished came under attack from both the Comintern repre-

sentatives and the defeated German "right." The ECCI in several letters to the Congress called on the KPD to end the "civil war within" and criticized the "left" policy of splitting the Social Democratic German Federation of Labor (ADGB) in order to build independent communist unions. Not only would this isolate communists from the rest of the working class, it would leave those who remained in the ADGB at the mercy of the Social Democrats and open to the spread of Fascism. (35)

Clara Zetkin who could not attend the Congress sent a letter sharply criticizing the "left." These leaders, she wrote, "demand on principle" that there should "be an end to the united front tactics . . . They go to the masses with the war cry, 'Down with the United Front tactics, partial demands . . . Get out of the Trade Unions!'" (36) Such attitudes and policies, she emphasized, would do great damage to the KPD.

The left chose to ignore these warnings adopting theses which as even Ruth Fischer admitted "concerned methods of organizing for power, of seizing power" rather than for building the United Front. (37)

The Zinoviev leadership which had wanted a "center-left" leadership was unhappy with the new radical line but could do little about it as Zinoviev later lamented,

First of all I must sincerely admit that the German Left Communists have conquered the party against the will of the Executive Committee...There was no other way out. Brandler or the left: that was the choice at the time...our attempt to form a center group had no success...(38)

The fundamental changes made at Frankfurt were not to go unchallenged either in the KPD or the Communist International as a whole. The opposition expressed itself at the Fifth Comintern Congress held in Moscow June 17-July 8, 1924.

Zinoviev as president delivered the main report and repeated his thesis that "the Social Democratic Party has been converted into a wing of fascism." What this meant is unclear because only four paragraphs earlier he had stated that "the fascists are the right hand, and the Social-Democrats the left hand of the bourgeoisie." Nonetheless, what was clear was the conclusion that the SDP was now one of Communism's main enemies. "Not rapprochement with the Social-Democrats" but the "intensification of the struggle against them" was the lesson of Germany. (39)

The "intensification of struggle" did not mean a renunciation of the united front, merely its correction, revising "the clumsy, careless and wrong clauses which Radek smuggled into the resolution of the Fourth Congress." (40) Zinoviev asked the Congress to second the "united front from below only" line of the German Conference and the Frankfurt Congress.

Radek counterattacked declaring, "Comrade Zinoviev's speech in my opinion represents the annulment of the resolution of the Fourth Congress on the United Front." Instead of seeing the united front as a maneuver to unmask and destroy social democracy, Radek insisted "the whole point of our tactics in the United Front consists in our being genuinely and honestly ready to go a bit of the way with every working class party which is ready for a fight." (41)

Clara Zetkin supported Radek declaring that the reasons for the German defeat were not the united front tactics but the failure to implement them broadly enough, the failure to "infuse the breath of life into the militant organs of the united front, and the refusal of the "left" to fight for partial demands as a means of "educating the proletariat for the mass fight for power." (42)

The Communist "left" rose to Zinoviev's defense. Schueller, on behalf of the Young Communist International, declared that Radek's "revisionism" consisted in his belief that the Social Democratic Party was a "workers' party with whom coalition for a revolutionary workers' government" was possible. (43)

Bordiga also addressed this question stating,

if we do not wish to compromise all our work of preparing the proletariat politically for revolution, we must not allow it to be supposed that there is any other revolutionary party outside the Communist Party or that the Social Democratic parties and the Communist parties are parallel fractions of the working class which are separated by chance, but which might proceed and struggle side by side. (44)

The "left" played a leading role in the discussions of Fascism as well, the two reports being delivered by Bordiga and a German by the name of Friemuth.

Bordiga repeated his position that Fascism was a movement "for the preservation of what exists already" and that it had no "new program." Making no mention of its ideological impact Bordiga declared its novelty consisted in its "formidable fighting organization." (45)

Friemuth also singled out for emphasis the military aspect calling Fascism "the fighting organization which the bourgeoisie has created for the purpose of crushing the revolution." He went even further than Bordiga in declaring that while fascism was forged out of the petty-bourgeoisie, "it is not important out of which material an instrument is made, but rather the purpose which the instrument is to serve . . ." (46)

Both the "right" and "left" attempted an assessment of the Hitler putsch. Emil Hollein, a leader in the Brandler Central Committee, saw the putsch as the "last spasm of a dying movement" and promised, "Hitler will never be a German Mussolini and the National Socialist 'Labor' Party will never be a fascist party capable of government." (47) The "left drew

little distinction between the fascism of Hitler and that of the Weimar regime. Freimuth called the Hitler affair "a great and extensive insurrectionary movement" and warned against the assertion that the death of fascism was not far off. (48)

The *Resolution on Fascism* adopted at the Fifth Congress was essentially a compromise between the decisions of the Fourth Congress and the new "left" line. "Fascism is," it defined, "the bourgeoisie's instrument for fighting the proletariat . . . but in its social structure fascism is a petty-bourgeois movement . . .

As bourgeois society continues to decay, all bourgeois parties, particularly social-democracy, take on a more or less fascist character . . . Fascism and social-democracy are two sides of the same instrument of capitalist dictatorship. In the fight against fascism, therefore, social-democracy can never be a reliable ally of the fighting proletariat. (49)

The resolution also called on communists to fight fascism by educating the working class and petty bourgeois masses to the "function of fascism in the service of capitalism," and by organizing "armed defense detachments" and "working class mass terror" against "fascist terror." (50)

Although not recognized until later, the Congress met on the eve of a new stage in world capitalism first characterized politically as the era of "bourgeois democratic pacifism." Zinoviev had noted in opening the Congress that while economically capitalism was still in crisis, already at the Fourth Congress the period of "fascism, martial law and the growing wave of white terror" (1917-1923) was giving way to one of bourgeois democratic pacifism. Zinoviev continued,

Hence, when martial law prevailed, we foretold the coming of the 'Democratic-pacifist era'. I believe we must now do exactly the reverse: during the 'Democratic-pacifist' era we must foresee the return of the period of martial law and fascism. . . (51)

Zinoviev's statements here followed logically from his position that a revolutionary situation not only gave rise to fascism but to "fascist social democracy" as well.

Without referring to him by name, another Soviet Communist leader, J.V. Stalin, entered into the debate with an article in the *Communist International* journal, with his reply to the Zinoviev thesis. In reference to this thesis that somehow, "while the decisive battles were in progress, the bourgeoisie needed a fighting organization, needed fascism; but now that the proletariat is defeated, the bourgeoisie no longer needs fascism and can afford to use 'democracy' instead," Stalin stated flatly, "This assumption is wrong."

Because, Stalin said, fascism is not just a military force, but one that "relies on the active support of

Social Democracy." Thus "Social Democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism;" they "do not negate but supplement each other. They are not antipodes, they are twins."

More interesting, however, are the conclusions Stalin drew from this: namely, a new definition of fascism. "Fascism is an informal political bloc of these two chief organizations . . ."

Stalin concluded,

It would therefore be a mistake to think that 'pacifism' signifies the liquidation of fascism. In the present situation, 'pacifism' is the strengthening of fascism with its moderate, Social Democratic wing pushed into the forefront. (52)

While Zinoviev had seen fascism as a characteristic of all counterrevolutionary organizations but restricted to times of acute crisis, Stalin chose to see it neither restricted by organization or time but as a stage through which capitalism was passing.

Although Stalin did not play a leading rôle in the Communist International in 1924, his position was taken up by one of the younger KPD leaders, Heinz Neumann, who wrote an article which introduced the term "social-fascism" to the world communist movement.

The article concerned the formation of the Reichsbanner, a fighting force established by the SPD, which Neumann called "the classic form of Social Fascism, the new fighting method of the bourgeoisie in the era of 'pacifism'." (53) In view of the fact that there was no followup on this theme or the theoretical concepts behind it, it appears that Stalin and Neumann's viewpoints were still rather isolated.

The German "right" in particular seems to have been unimpressed with even Zinoviev's formulations. Karl Radek, in his article in early 1925 on "The Degeneration of the SPD" still preferred to speak of its transition from a party of workers to a party of the bourgeoisie. (54)

The new period of "pacifism" was, by the Fifth Enlarged Plenum of the Comintern held in Moscow in March 1925, recognized as also one of "partial economic stabilization."

As Stalin told the Plenum, "Capital has succeeded in extricating itself from the quagmire of the post-war crisis," with the result that, "in Germany, in the center of Europe, the period of revolutionary upsurge has come to an end." (55)

Such a change called for the reinforcement of the united front tactic and it "foreshadowed a rejection of the left leaders endorsed by the Fifth Congress." (56) What was correct in a revolutionary situation would not do in the new period and the Plenum resolutions outlined the mistakes being made by the "left"; most importantly, the opposition to the united front in

practice and refusal to work in social democratic and reactionary unions.

How far this turn against the "left" was to go can be seen in its effect on the KPD. Already late in 1924 it had expelled the Schumacher faction which had supported the establishment of separate communist unions and it also passed a resolution that "only members of recognized trade unions could be members of the KPD." (57) Against these measures by the leadership, the rank and file "left" replied by, in one case that Zinoviev reported, adopting a proposal that forbade Communists from entering into discussions with Social Democratic workers." (58)

The renewed flexibility of the united front tactic was demonstrated in March 1925 in the German presidential election. Already in the preliminary vote the KPD had run Ernst Thalmann on a platform "explicitly formulated so that it could be realized within the framework of the Weimar Constitution . . . not a socialist program." (59) When the "ultra-left" labeled this as "Brandlerite," the "left" leaders, Ruth Fischer and Maslow, replied that Brandler's program in itself was not wrong; the error lay in proposing it in a revolutionary situation.

When the German rightists decided to run Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg in the Presidential runoffs both the Comintern and the KPD became alarmed at what they considered a serious monarchist danger; serious enough that it was proposed both by Zinoviev and Fischer and Maslow that the KPD withdraw the candidacy of Thalmann on behalf of the candidate of the Social Democrats.

Zinoviev, showing how far he had come from his "fascist social democracy" speeches of the year before, declared,

The moment the revolutionary wave declines, the difference between bourgeois democracy and monarchy is of great importance . . . As a workers' party, we cannot say that Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie, in every matter on which we have to take our political stand, are enemies on the same level. (60)

The "ultra-left" was unconvinced by these arguments. Arthur Rosenberg spoke for them when he saw in Hindenburg, "a certain restoration of fascism" and opposed support for the Social Democratic candidate warning "Communists cannot defend one big-business group against the other without definitely losing their revolutionary morale." (61)

Before the KPD offer could be officially tendered, however, the Social Democrats themselves withdrew their candidate to throw their support behind the bourgeois Center Party.

This setback rendered the Fischer-Maslow leadership particularly vulnerable.

From the point of view of the Right they

had mismanaged a heaven-sent opportunity to form a united front with other Left parties in order to defeat Hindenburg. From the point of view of the Left, they had compromised on sound left principles by their offer to collaborate with the SPD and to no purpose. (62)

The factional fighting within the KPD was complicated by the violent internal struggles going on within the Soviet Party itself. Antonio Gramsci, the head of Communist Party of Italy, was only one of the leaders who saw the danger which these struggles and their effects might have on the International. On behalf of the Political Office of the PCI he wrote to the Soviet leadership,

Comrades, in these nine years of revolution you have been the organizing and motivating element for the revolutionary forces in all countries . . . But today you are destroying your work . . . To us, it seems that the violent passion of the Russian questions is making you lose sight of the international aspects of the Russian questions . . . making you forget the interests of the proletarian international. (63)

Nonetheless, the infighting continued unabated and the combined result of the tensions within both the Soviet and German Parties appeared at the Tenth KPD Congress in June 1925 which resulted in the removal of the Fischer-Maslow group from the Central Committee and its replacement by a more "centrist" group around Ernst Thalmann, Heinz Neumann, Hermann Remmele and Philip Dengel. Also the Congress passed a resolution sharply condemning the "ultra-left" of Rosenberg and others while allowing involvement in party work again for a section of the old Brandler-Thalheimer leadership led by Ernst Meyer, Karl Becker and Paul Frolich. The Congress approved the ECCI's thesis that the "united front from below" slogan was not appropriate for the new period; the slogans instead being, "Nearer to the social-democratic workers! Real application of the united front tactics, not in words but in deeds! Energetic strengthening of trade union unity!" (64)

Taking these slogans seriously the more consolidated KPD in December 1925 proposed, in an open letter to the SPD and the ADGB, that a joint campaign be initiated to collect the necessary signatures for a plebiscite to oppose government compensation to former ruling families of the German states for property confiscated during the republic. Although the SPD and ADGB denounced the idea, by March 1926 the KPD had collected over 12½ million signatures, more than the combined SPD-KPD vote in the presidential election of 1925; proof that the tactic of the united front when handled correctly would find Social democratic workers willing to repudiate their leader. (65)

1926 and 1927 were years of fuller elaboration of the line of the Tenth Congress and efforts to organize united fronts within factory councils and trade unions as well as in other workers organizations, particularly in regard to the fascist danger.

In 1927 the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU) issued a manifesto to the Congress of the Lucerne Sport International, a Social Democratic workers' sports organization, being held in Finland in August. Entitled "A United Front in the Fight Against Fascism," the manifesto hailed the inclusion of the question of anti-fascist unity on the agenda of the congress and called on delegates to urge the Lucerne International to join Communist Sports organizations in this fight and to expose the opportunist leaders "who prefer to form an alliance with the bourgeoisie rather than with all the workers' organizations regardless of their political views." (66)

The great majority of these appeals were rejected by the Social Democratic leadership, the KPD complaining that they were always "unwilling to organize the fight against the fascist auxiliary troops of the bourgeoisie." (67)

The Eleventh Congress of the KPD held in Essen in March 1927 concentrated on strengthening the united front policy and overcoming the consequences of hostility and indifference to it. The main speeches were delivered by Ernst Thalmann and Philip Dengel. Declaring that the struggle between the SPD and the KPD would be decided within the AGBD, Thalmann admitted that during the Fischer-Maslow period the relationship between workers in both parties was based on a "certain fisticuffs policy." We need, he stated, "in our own ranks a conviction of the importance of trade union work. The greatest weakness of our policy is still in this sphere." He called on Communists to recognize that Social Democratic workers:

are indeed our class brothers, but they are in error, they have a false ideology . . . we will however teach them not with clubs, but by friendly persuasion. (68)

Dengel also admitted "in the party, and even in such circles thereof as are at present supporting the standpoint of the Party majority, there are still grave obstacles to a united front policy." The basis of this policy he insisted "must continue to consist in brotherly and comrade-like relations between Social Democratic and Communist workers, in spite of all existing differences . . ." (69)

The KPD was even willing to undertake electoral agreements and to join in Social Democratic administrations, an event which had been anathema since the ill-fated Saxony-Thuringia events. In October, 1927, the SPD and KPD won a majority in the Hamburg town council elections. Thereupon the KPD proposed the SPD break its alliance with the bourgeois parties and with it form a proletarian coalition. After a short period of negotiations the SPD decided against the proposal. Even afterwards, however, the Communists stated their willingness to "vote on the town council for a purely social democratic senate" while at the same time invoking the absolute necessity of a real united front and castigating the "unheard-of treachery" of the SPD. (70)

Already by the end of 1927 the Communist International (or at least elements within the ECCI) was looking to the fulfillment of Zinoviev's prediction that "during the 'Democratic Pacifist' era we must foresee the return of the period of martial and fascism." The sharpening of class struggles on a world scale, the growing strength of the USSR, the increased inter-imperialist rivalries all pointed to the end of "capitalist stabilization" and the beginning of a new revolutionary period.

The official formulation of the beginning of a new period, one requiring correspondingly new tactics, first emerged in the deliberations of the Fourth Congress of the RILU and the Ninth Plenum of the ECCI both held early in 1928. Even before this Solomon Lozovsky, RILU General Secretary, had revived the demand for separate communist unions proposing, "work within the reformist unions, given the existence in the country of a revolutionary center, [Communist Party] should have as its logical aim the affiliation to the revolutionary center of the organizations that have been won over." (71)

The resurrection of this thesis brought with it one about the "fascist" aspects of the Social Democrats. At the RILU Congress the French Communist leader, G. Monmousseau, delivered a report "on the fight against fascism" in which he declared that the "reformist trade union bureaucracy" had "become the chief agent of fascism." (72) In the discussion that followed no one objected to this characterization.

Such a sharp reversal of policy after years of fighting for the united front with the people now labeled as "fascist" was not going to be so easily achieved elsewhere, especially in parties like the KPD where the new line had only been recently defeated as "ultra-left sectarianism" and was still being fought against by the organized left opposition groups in which Maslow and Ruth Fischer, among others, were active.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow July 11-September 1, 1928 to finalize the new line and secure its acceptance by all parties. Bukharin, who had replaced Zinoviev as the ECCI leader in 1926, opened the Congress declaring that the "second period" of capitalist stabilization was coming to an end and a new "third period" of increased class contradictions and the possibility of war was coming into being. What this would mean for the united front tactics, the nature of Fascism and Social Democracy, and communist trade union work would all be discussed.

Bukharin himself was very careful about the importance of the new period for tactical considerations. He sharply attacked the social democrats as the principal prop of the capitalist system but made no mention of their "fascist" tendencies. Likewise in the preliminary draft of the Main Resolution social democracy was attacked for its reformism not its fascism.

Nonetheless by the end of the Congress Bukharin was

able to note an "extreme tendency" on the part of some delegates to

hold that fascism exists in all highly developed capitalist societies. All reactionary tendencies, the tendency of transition from the parliamentary system to the open violent dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, all the tendencies toward applying terror in the struggle against the proletariat . . . all this is interpreted as fascism. (73)

He cautioned against such a formulation declaring that he believed fascism to be a "specific form" of reaction which sought the support of the broad masses and that the various forms of reaction were reflections of different social economic conditions and not to be all confused with fascism.

While also agreeing that there was "not the slightest doubt that Social Democracy reveals a social-fascist tendency" Bukharin immediately warned that this was merely a tendency and not a completed process, for it would be a mistake to lump Social Democracy and fascism together." Finally he affirmed that this should not interfere with the united front policy of "appealing to the Social Democratic workers." (74)

Most of the German delegation to the Congress displayed none of Bukharin's caution. From Schneller who saw fascism and reformism as "marching toward the same goals," (75) to Fritz Heckert who claimed it was only a small step "from reformism to fascism" (76) their speeches even went as far as to argue that, in the words of Philip Dengel, "ideologically the rapprochement of reformism to fascism" had "long since taken place." (77)

It was Ernst Thalmann who clearly showed how far the KPD has traveled since the Eleventh Congress. Discussing the "development of Reformism into Social fascism" he placed it in a context that bore striking resemblance to Stalin's formulation of 1924, declaring that the "bourgeoisie" was "shifting from one method to another," (78) and "when bourgeois democracy will prove inadequate as a means for the subjugation of the working class then stronger fascist methods will be resorted to." (79)

In spite of this "left" offensive, a number of delegates expressed alarm at the vagueness of this theory and its implications. Bodemann of Switzerland warned, "If we now take a sharper position towards Social Democracy . . . our previous work, inadequate as it was, on the field of the united front, will be further weakened." (80)

At a theoretical level the concepts behind the "Social-Fascist" line was challenged by the Communist Party of Italy leader Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli), who harked back to "1921, 1922 and even 1923" when he said "fascism was always spoken of as a specific form of the development of capitalism against the working class in a definite period and under definite circumstances." It was erroneous to classify fascism either as

a "general tendency" or as "reaction as a whole" as some comrades had done.

Secondly, while agreeing that there was an "ideological connection" between Fascism and Social Democracy, Togliatti warned against "excessive generalization" pointing out that:

fascism as a mass movement, is a movement of the petty and middle bourgeoisie dominated by the big bourgeoisie . . . On the other hand social democracy is a movement of labor and petty bourgeois basis: it derives its force mainly from an organization which is recognized by enormous sections of the workers . . . (81)

Togliatti's remarks were welcomed by another delegate, Pierre Semard of France who stated flatly:

We have observed the tendency in the parties and in the sections to neglect the correct analysis of the actual political situation and to be satisfied with mechanical classification, social-fascist, fascist left bloc, fascist government, etc. Everything was put down as fascist.

Semard said such practices were disastrous and that "we must beware of putting the label of 'fascist' upon any situation and any reactionary manifestation of the bourgeois governments as well as on the Social Democrats because "it cannot yet be demonstrated to the masses who are still behind social democracy." (82)

Within the German delegation itself there was resistance to the new tactics and the universal definition of fascism. The resistance in Germany stemmed from the remnants of the Brandler-Thalheimer group. Although these two leaders had been expelled from the KPD, their followers remained and since 1926, as members of the Soviet Party, Brandler and Thalheimer were allowed to do work in the Communist International. Moreover, after the Essen Congress many more of the more open "Brandlerites" such as Paul Bottcher, H. Tittel and Jacob Walcher were returned to leadership positions. During the period of united front work they had gained steadily in influence, and saw the new turn as a threat to their work. Even before the Sixth Comintern Congress they had come under attack from the KPD leadership. Walcher, for example, was accused by Walter Ulbricht of the erroneous view that the left reformist leaders "were only objectively and not subjectively committing treachery." (83)

At the Sixth Congress the "right" was represented by Tittel who manifestly refused to label the Social Democrats as social fascists and pointed out that the new line in the Trade Unions was "leading to the isolation of the party" and a widening gulf between us and the industrial proletariat." (84) He was alone however and his words carried little influence.

On the contrary, the main resolution of the Congress demonstrated the strength and importance of the "lefts." Thalmann, reporting on the changes in the draft resolution, noted the special addition of a special section on the fascist tendencies of Social Democracy. Nonetheless the "left" had to compromise on the wording (probably due to the presence of Bukharin), it merely stated

The ideology of class cooperation—the official ideology of Social Democracy—has many points of contact with Fascism. The employment of fascist methods . . . is observed in a rudimentary form in the practice of numerous Social Democratic Parties as well as in that of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. (85)

The "left" was able to include the charge that the "most dangerous enemies of Communism" were the "Left wing Social Democratic leaders," while the "rightist deviations" were the principal dangers within the parties.

The Resolution gave the following definition of Fascism.

The characteristic feature of Fascism is that as a consequence of the shock suffered by the capitalist economic system . . . the bourgeoisie . . . utilizes the discontent of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. . . and even of certain strata of the declassed proletariat, for the purpose of creating a reactionary mass movement. (86)

The Sixth Congress also adopted a *Program of the Communist International* which had been in preparation since the early 1920s. It juxtaposed the two positions stating on the one hand "under certain special historical conditions, the progress of the bourgeois, imperialist, reactionary offensive assumes the form of Fascism," while on the other it could declare,

The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with social democracy according to the changes in the political situation; while social democracy itself often plays a fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism. (87)

The German delegation returned from the Congress, a majority convinced that they had a mandate to carry out not only a struggle against the Social Democrats but against the "right" within the KPD as well. To accomplish the former the leadership proposed new tactics. Beginning with running separate Communist lists in factory council elections, this would be followed by organization of units of the Red Trade Union Opposition (RTUO) in all unions with the eventual formation of Separate Red Trade Unions. The resistance to these proposals was nearly universal in the KPD. Thalmann admitted that it took the "best comrades to convince our delegates and

officials of the correctness of the Comintern line," and that "this was not an easy thing to do . . . the change in the party . . . took several months." (88)

The change in the KPD went ahead nonetheless with slogans like "On the one side the proletarian masses under the leadership of the Communist Party, on the other the adherents of German imperialism, from the fascists to the social fascists and the social-imperialism of the "left' social Democrats . . ." (89)

The elimination of the "right" danger within the KPD was another task which required help from the ECCI, and in December 1928 it addressed an open letter to the KPD calling for determined struggle against not only the "right" but the Conciliators (who sought to mediate between the factions) as well.

In the discussion within the ECCI before the adoption of the open letter Stalin declared that the presence of Brandler and Thalheimer in the Comintern could not be "tolerated any longer." (90) A month later they were expelled. Their leading followers, Paul Bottcher, H. Tittel, Paul Frolich, Jacob Walcher and August Enderle has been expelled from the KPD immediately after the arrival of the open letter.

Within the Soviet Party disagreements were also ending in organizational measures and Nikolai Bukharin was removed from his positions in government and the ECCI, accused of "trying to discredit in every possible way the healthy process of purging the communist parties of social-democratic elements." (91)

With Bukharin removed the ECCI moved further "left." It reprinted a leading article from the Soviet *Pravda* concerning the KPD's Twelfth Congress held in late June 1929. Making no mention of the Nazis it hailed the Congress' attack on the "fascist trinity of the employers, the state apparatus and the reformists." Using the term Social Fascist no less than eighteen times it attacked the SPD Congress held at the same time as a "Congress of Social Fascists" while labeling the expelled Brandler opposition as "an agency of social fascism outside the party." Finally it denounced the Conciliators for denying the "social fascist degeneration of reformism" and placing "fascism and democracy in mechanical opposition to each other," declaring "whoever denies the social fascist development of reformism disarms the party." (92)

Within the Comintern the culmination of this campaign was undoubtedly the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI in July of 1929. It pointed to a growing "general crisis of world capitalism" and the opening of revolutionary possibilities for the proletariat. Otto Kuusinen, a leading functionary, delivered one of the main reports in which he noted the parallel development of "the fascisation of the bourgeois class rule" with "the process of fascisation of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and the parties of the II International." While noting a distinction between "pure" fascism and social fascism, he declared "It is

clear that the further advanced the progress of social fascism, the closer it gets to 'pure' fascism." (93)

Dimitri Manuilsky, another functionary, who had been a Comintern representative in Germany for some time, delivered the other main report in which he reproached those who advocated a return to the broad united front saying, "We never thought of the united front as a formula valid for all times and all countries. There was a time when we negotiated . . . Now we are stronger and therefore use more aggressive methods . . ." (94)

Manuilsky made perhaps the most categorical statement of the Plenum when he proclaimed, "fascism is going to be the last stage of capitalism before the social revolution." (95)

It was therefore left to Bela Kun, the Hungarian Communist leader and head of the Hungarian Soviet government in 1919, to deliver the official address on social fascism. He merely updated Stalin's remarks of 1924 to fit the "third period,"

the bourgeoisie used to invoke the service, now of social democracy, now of fascism . . . Today this development has reached a new stage; the 'pure democracy' is becoming more and more impregnated with fascist elements, the boundary line between fascism and social democracy . . . is becoming gradually obliterated . . . (96)

The German delegates had little to add to what they had been saying since even before the Sixth Congress. Heinrich Remmele only reminded the Plenum that the left Social Democrats were no less fascist than the bureaucracy itself, while Heinz Neumann added that while the Sixth Congress had called Italy the classic country of Fascism it was equally true that "Germany was the classic country of social fascism." (97)

The resolutions of the Plenum were in perfect harmony with the speeches which had prefaced them. The *Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International* read in part,

In the situation of growing imperialist contradictions and sharpening of the class struggle, fascism becomes more and more the dominant method of bourgeois rule. In countries where there are strong social democratic parties, fascism assumes the form of social-fascism . . . the 'left' wing of social democracy . . . whole-heartedly supports the policy of social fascism. (98)

The only note of discord at the Plenum was the speech of the Italian delegate, R. Grieco (Garlandi), who criticised Kun's formulations and through him much of the new line. Grieco refused to accept Kun's criticism of the Italian delegation for their allegedly erroneous distinction between democracy and

fascism. Grieco said there indeed was a distinction and said Kun's methods of thought were similar to the "vulgar simplifications" of the, by now completely discredited Italian "ultra-leftist" Bordiga. Grieco found no support for his position and his remarks were ignored. (99)

Meanwhile in Germany the KPD was going ahead with its new trade union policies. In March 1929 it had run separate candidates in the factory council elections and in November 30-December 1, 1929 it held a National Congress of the Red Trade Union Opposition which warned against "the social-fascist strike breaking tactics of the trade union bureaucracy and the rapid growth of fascism in Germany." (100)

In this period however the KPD spent proportionately much more time and energy fighting the social fascists, the "right opportunists" and the Conciliators than against the Nazis. In 1929 the first article on the National Socialists in the Comintern's *International Press Correspondence* since 1924 appeared. The article is entirely descriptive in nature, ending with the warning that the Nazis are exploiting the suffering of the masses and their disillusionment with the Social Democratic government for their own ends.

Outside the KPD the expelled members of the Brandler-Thalheimer group and others formed a section of the International Communist Opposition. Its strongholds were in Thuringia where Tittel was still influential and West Saxony under the leadership of Bottcher. (101)

In November 1929 they held their Second National Conference. (102) Admitting a membership of 6,000 and a number of publications with a circulation of 25,000 including a daily paper, *Workers' Politics*, the "right" opposition attempted to influence the Conciliators who had remained in the KPD while criticising the leadership. The Communist Opposition applauded the Conciliators statement that, "it is un-Marxian to call every oppressive measure of the bourgeois state against the proletariat fascism and every participation of the Social Democrats in the oppressive measures social fascism." (103)

The general line of the International Right Opposition was faithful adherence to the decisions of the Comintern up to and including the Sixth Congress but refusal to abandon the united front tactics and the charge that the Tenth Plenum was a violation of the Comintern heritage and the Program of the International.

Throughout the world the International Communist Opposition made a detailed criticism of the Tenth Plenum and its decisions. In the USA, the Communist Party (Majority group), which had been expelled in 1929, ran a series on the Plenum. Declaring the new policy on fascism to be "one of the most dangerous phases of the revision of the line of the Communist International" it stated that "instead of a phenomenon conditioned by and arising in certain historical

conditions, fascism is made into an unrecognizable, all-pervading generality" in the Plenum resolutions.

But the theory of social fascism, the critique declared, was the "most dangerous form of the false line." The Plenum's statement that Social Democracy was fascist "from top to bottom" it charged was anti-Leninist, because it assumed a homogeneity that in fact did not exist.

More importantly the Opposition charged that by emphasizing the "fascist" aspects of Social Democracy the "left" was ignoring the main weapon of the SPD among the masses—namely reformism. (104)

In Germany the Opposition, while making some headway among intellectuals, failed to develop into a mass movement because "from the beginning its appeal was not to the rank-and-file but rather to those who understood and showed concern for inner-party tactical questions." (105) The coming of the great depression also appeared to vindicate the predictions of the Tenth Plenum and strengthened the KPD militants in their conviction that the "third period" would indeed be one of proletarian revolution and not the most terrible dictatorship the world had yet known.

P.S., Tucson

(To be continued)

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WHY THE CURRENT "CRISIS" IN MALPRACTICE INSURANCE?

As the capitalist crisis of overproduction intensifies, its rippling effects are being felt throughout all sectors of the economy. The health care industry—a multi-billion dollar system incorporating the massive insurance companies, drug companies, hospital supply companies, and endless hospital-medical center complexes—is straining to hold together the elaborate inter-relationships which have served to generate such generous profits for the capitalists by exploiting not only the labor but the sicknesses and injuries of the working class. The crisis manifests itself in a number of concrete ways: wage losses and worsening working conditions for hospital workers, layoffs of workers and threatened hospital closures, loss of medical insurance for the unemployed, dangerous speedups for the employed, malpractice cutbacks for doctors with subsequent loss of medical care for "high risk" patients. It is no coincidence that city and county hospitals are closing all over the country at a time when vast numbers of unemployed workers are losing their insurance coverage and can only turn to these "public hospitals" for care. We are witnessing one of the most direct forms of attack on the working class, an attack on workers' safety and workers' health.

Underlying this direct fascist attack is the general crisis which has made it impossible for the capitalists to operate in their accustomed fashion. The alliances within the health care system which used to work so well for the capitalists (and the petty bourgeoisie) are rapidly breaking down. Sections of the bourgeoisie are in open conflict: insurance companies are maneuvering to grab the central role in the potentially lucrative national health insurance scheme, insurance companies are confronting the state over the question of malpractice, all levels of government are struggling to avoid providing medical care for the growing ranks of the unemployed. The bourgeoisie has broken ranks with the petty bourgeoisie: the insurance companies' attack on the doctors over malpractice is just a small part of the movement which is forcing doctors on the one hand to withdraw care from poor and working people and on the other to give up their own position as small, independent businessmen in favor of salaried (or even wage labor) positions with giant medical-industrial conglomerates. Finally, segments of the petty bourgeoisie are becoming openly antagonistic; goaded on by the actions of the insurance companies and the state, doctors and lawyers blame each other for having exploited and endangered the neat malpractice collaboration which had been so nice to everyone (except the poor and working patients and the health care workers). The overall motion is clear; the bourgeoisie in an attempt to mask its direct attack on the workers is acting on many fronts to disrupt the position of the petty bourgeoisie and to inflame the clashes of the petty bour-

geoisie with the proletariat (e.g., the insurance companies telling doctors that their malpractice coverage will be cancelled because they have been providing medical care to "high risk" patients, mainly national minorities and the unemployed).

To understand the specific events as they unfold, it is necessary to look at the historical roots of the social forces as they relate to the medical system. The health insurance business grew out of the depression of the 1930's when people couldn't afford to pay their hospital bills (and hospitals and doctors were financially threatened). Hospitals joined together to organize prepayment plans, called Blue Cross and publicized as "non-profit" insurance. Patients would pay a certain amount of money each month to Blue Cross which in turn would guarantee payment of hospital bills, keeping the hospitals financially viable but opening them to outside control. Similar "third party" payment schemes known as Blue Shield guaranteed payment to private individual doctors, the first in many steps tying the previously independent physicians to corporate interests.

Although commercial insurance companies (which were overtly profit-seeking organizations in contrast to the Blues) began insuring people against sickness in the 19th century, they did not become important until after World War II when labor unions began demanding and winning health benefits in contracts. These commercial companies were able to undercut Blue Cross because they would just insure workers (through group plans) rather than the general community which included sick, old and poor people. Companies like Aetna and Metropolitan Life and Casualty (which take in over \$530,000,000 a year from General Motors in premiums for sickness and accident coverage alone, workmen's compensation and malpractice premiums providing additional millions) grew to monstrous proportions and remain in position as powerful institutions of finance capital. The "non-profit" Blues regained some losses by establishing themselves as financial intermediaries in Medicare and Medicaid, the government supported insurance programs set up in 1965 for the elderly and the poor. By 1967 the health insurance pie was nicely divided: 175 million people (83% of the population) were covered by some type of private health insurance policy with 100 million accounted for by profit makers and the rest covered by the Blues.

The insurance companies enjoyed a boom in the late 60's, stimulated in large part by the completely uncontrolled manner in which the federal government threw money into the Medicaid and Medicare programs. The hospitals, doctors, drug companies, nursing homes, supply companies all sensed the opportunity to

cash in and the striking inflationary spiral in health care costs has continued to this date. This situation which initially paid the insurance industry so well is rapidly turning into its opposite as the overall crisis of overproduction is leading to depression. It is becoming harder and harder for individuals or companies to afford health insurance, and in the same way that the hospitals looked to the insurance companies for financial survival in the last depression, the insurance companies are now looking to the federal government for survival.

Some form of National Health Insurance, a system in which the government obligates people to support the insurance companies through taxes or social security type employer-employee payments, is almost virtually certain to be passed by Congress in the next two years. The competition and maneuvering among the capitalists to secure a central economic and political position in this program is becoming intense.

Paralleling this increasing centralization of health care financing has been the gradual move to transform the entire health care system from one dominated by individual physician entrepreneurs to one dominated by conglomerate corporate medical centers. Hospitals which once were subordinate to the needs of the doctor-businessmen as extensions of their private offices have now become subordinate to the research and development and marketing needs of the industries producing an escalating variety of medical commodities. At one end of this giant productive machine are the hospitals in which the patients provide the raw materials and the workers provide the labor for researching and testing new drugs, sophisticated electronic monitoring equipment, medical computer systems, plastic disposable medical instruments. In the middle are the companies which produce and sell the goods: \$6 billion worth of medical drugs were sold in 1969, a good number of which were researched and then sold in the colonies by such medical imperialists as Pfizer, which does 47% of its business abroad; multi-industry conglomerates like the 3M Company (maker of Scotch tape) have a foothold in health products manufacture (surgical tapes, masks, gowns); firms like Varian Associates and Litton Industries which originally made it big by producing electronic warfare apparatus as part of the Stanford aerospace industrial complex in Santa Clara County, California, have now moved into the lucrative medical electronics field in collaboration with the Stanford Medical Center. At the other end of the system are the hospitals again, which, together with the patients, are transformed from research material and laboratories to captive consumers. The insurance companies hover over the entire system, providing much of the capital to keep things moving and skimming off as profit large sums to be reinvested elsewhere.

Malpractice insurance, which has been receiving great amounts of publicity recently and is being depicted as the central issue in the crisis around health care, must

be placed in the context of these historical developments if we are to correctly gauge its political significance. Malpractice insurance in the past has functioned as a form of class collaboration in which, for a price, the bourgeois insurance companies have been willing to protect the petty bourgeois doctors and their free enterprise, entrepreneurial private practice of medicine. Malpractice insurance has never either prevented nor cured malpractice; the emphasis has always been on the insurance aspect, protecting doctors from patients while enriching insurance companies. From the early 1900's, when the insurance companies began to deal with the professional medical associations as well as the individual physicians, this alliance functioned quite well until its foundations began to weaken during the 1950's and 1960's.

As late as 1949, the AMA found groups like the Health Insurance Council and the Health and Accident Underwriters Council to be its greatest allies in struggling against and defeating Truman's proposals for a national health insurance plan. Yet 15 years later when Johnson pushed through Medicare and Medicaid, the first prototype forms of national health insurance, the AMA stood virtually alone in opposition, deserted by the hospital associations and insurance associations which had learned (as we saw above) that their interest lay with corporate medicine and its advantages for monopoly capital. What we are seeing today is the further erosion of the alliance. The doctors and lawyers are scrambling for survival as the economic crisis hits harder and are lashing out at the proletariat on one hand (increased medical bills) and the bourgeoisie on the other (increasing demands on the insurance companies to settle malpractice claims). The insurance companies seeking to maximize their profits in the face of depression (especially with the incentive of imminent national health insurance), are now acting more and more consistently in the interests of highly centralized corporate medicine and against the interests of the individual professionals.

The current "crisis" in malpractice is being billed as a financial issue; that because of the greed of patients, the opportunism of lawyers and the incompetence of doctors, the poor insurance companies are losing money and are being forced to drop out. Yet, only three tenths of one percent (0.3%) of the money which flows through the insurance industries (including auto, property, life, and health) is related to medical malpractice. According to figures compiled in 1973 for the federal government, about \$80 million a year is paid as malpractice compensation to patients. These figures are dwarfed by the magnitude of the entire health insurance industry: in 1969 the private insurance companies alone (excluding the Blues) paid out \$4.84 billion in benefits. Although some of the malpractice carriers handle no other insurance, most of the big malpractice companies also handle other type types of policies. Few of the companies either gain or lose a great deal of money on malpractice, relative to their overall business. The insurance companies are not pulling out of malpractice for simple, immediate finan-

cial reasons. Rather it is a political maneuver which uses the key role of the doctors to force further consolidation of the entire health care industry.

The maneuvering of all these different forces can be seen in the situation surrounding Detroit General Hospital, a city hospital which is responsible for providing health care for those who can get it nowhere else. Although it seems confusing at first, the general motion of the insurance companies, Wayne State University, and the Detroit Medical Center Complex Corporation (which has large corporation heads on its board) is to force the administrative control of DGH out of the hands of the city and into the hands of a "public corporation" controlled by Wayne State and the Detroit Medical Center Complex Corporation, while the bills for DGH is paid for by the city. As unemployment rises and insurance benefits for laid off workers dry up, DGH is faced with an ever increasing patient load in the face of cutbacks and layoffs at the hospital itself. The very existence of the hospital is under question at this time. Wayne State supplies the house staff and teaching apparatus for the hospital, while the city picks up the bills. Physicians, especially in the orthopedics department, have had their malpractice insurance cut off because they take care of poor patients which the insurance companies claim are one of the chief sources of malpractice suits, thus driving a wedge between the petty bourgeois doctors and the poor patients. At the same time, Wayne State threatens to pull out of the hospital unless administrative control is taken away from the city and turned over to a "public corporation", with the bills still being picked up by the city.

This struggle for control can be seen concretely around the building of the new Detroit General Hospital in the Detroit Medical Center Complex as part of the plan to centralize health care in the city. The building of the hospital is at a standstill supposedly because the city cannot sell the bonds to raise the money to complete the hospital. In actuality it is because of the political battle for control of the hospital. The city does not want to give up administrative control without giving up the financial burden, because as we have seen when administrative control is separate from paying the bills, the costs skyrocket. The insurance companies and Wayne State are forcing the city's hand by threatening pullouts. The insurance companies are doing this by pulling out malpractice, thus requiring the city to pay for covering the doctors, or close the hospital. Thus once again we see the health of the working class being tossed around and attacked as the corporations try to consolidate their power, in this case, in the Detroit Medical Center Complex. Regardless of who wins control of Detroit General Hospital, the motion is toward these giant medical center complexes.

This attack of the health of the class is not going by without resistance from the working class. At DGH the Detroit General Hospital Health Care Coalition made up of hospital workers is organizing in the hospital and with other city workers to fight cutbacks,

speedups, and layoffs. At Metropolitan Hospital, controlled by the UAW, local 42, council 79 of OPEIU is going out on strike over working conditions, freedom of speech, press and assembly, and demanding health care for laid off workers. The struggles at these hospitals have to be supported and linked up with the overall struggle of the class for jobs, not war, and free universal health care for the working class.

The objective historical movement in health care toward centralized corporate networks brings with it a movement toward nationalization. As with the oil companies, these centers "can no longer be run effectively by individual capitalists or even the big banks, but necessarily must in some form come under the control of the state." (*People's Tribune*, Vol. 2, No 5). The form being proposed by the bourgeoisie is national health insurance which is a facade to subsidize and guarantee profits to the insurance companies under the guise of nationalization. The threatened closure of hospitals, the worsening conditions for hospital workers, the increasing lack of health care for the working class, the losing of malpractice insurance for doctors are all designed to divide the class (getting everyone to blame each other rather than the real enemy—finance capital) and pave the way for national health insurance as the way out.

Let us be clear, the answer is not national health insurance (which does nothing about the quality of health care, prevention of disease, or the real availability of health care but only the viability of the insurance companies) but *national health care*. Although high quality, readily available, preventive as well as curative health care can only be truly achieved under socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must raise the demand for nationalization of health care today in the context of revolutionary struggles for reform. "The struggle for nationalization will allow the CLP to raise in a concrete manner the question of state power. It will allow us to lay bare the contradictions of the capitalist state" (*People's Tribune*, Vol 2, No 5). Demands for nationalization of health care must be linked to demands to liquidate the insurance companies and to the demand for free universal health care for the working class.

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ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE NEGRO NATION

The present movement of the Negro people in the Negro Nation must be seen in light of many of the developments of the 1960's. While the 1960's were years of dramatic movement and struggle by Negro people, the dominant politics were revisionist, economist and nationalistic. All three of these trends were present throughout the 60's and at various times one trend or another was dominant. The reformism of Martin Luther King, revisionist in nature, gave way to the "Black Power" bourgeois nationalism of the latter years of the Civil Rights Movement. Clearly, CPUSA politics played a key role in the Negro Nation during this period. While King himself may not have been a revisionist, simply because he did not define himself as a communist, certainly his reformism was supported, encouraged and aided by the CPUSA. Although it may seem contradictory, later the nationalism of some one like Stokely Carmichael was also supported, encouraged and aided by the CPUSA. As long as the dominant politics moved in a direction away from the class struggle, away from proletarian revolution, the CPUSA was there to help.

Also, the present movement of the Negro people in the Negro Nation must be seen in light of what the so-called "Civil Rights Movement" meant and has continued to mean to the bourgeoisie. The key to understanding this is imperialism. Imperialism needed a "Civil Rights Movement" to get the Negro Nation ready for industrialization. Segregation is really incompatible with a heavy degree of industrialization. It is too cumbersome. It interferes with the high degree of socialized labor which is required under imperialism. In this regard, it is significant that prior to the Civil Rights Movement, less than ten years ago, Negroes in south Mississippi could not get a job in a factory. They could work as domestic helpers, farmers, garbage men, even have their own businesses, but they could not work in a factory. The leaders of segregation well knew that the socialized labor of a factory would in and of itself erode segregation. Certainly, the owner of a factory, who is first and foremost concerned with profits (and who usually does not live in the South), will be unlikely to build additional bathrooms, eating areas and drinking fountains, to accomodate segregation. In some instances, these things were done, but, in the majority of cases, such additional expenditures cut too deeply into the profit margin. The basic movement of imperialism is toward socialized labor and capitalist appropriation. Thus, it can be seen that on at least one level, the so-called Civil Rights Movement served the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Clearly, on another level, the Civil Rights movement, which was the embryo of the struggle of the Negro

people for liberation, was very threatening to the bourgeoisie. They understood the potential for revolution and national liberation in the Civil Rights Movement. Thus, while wanting a certain level of the Movement, they needed to thwart its revolutionary potential. While revisionism served to confuse and retard the movement of the Negro people, key assassinations served to remove pivotal leaders whom the bourgeoisie saw as revolutionary threats. These assassinations, e.g., Medgar Evers, King, Vernon Dahmer in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, removed the most vibrant and responsible leadership from the Civil Rights Movement. This does not mean that any of these individuals were at the time of their assassinations communists or even leading what they defined as a national liberation struggle. But, these were the leaders who could effectively move and organize the people. They were, in short, the spontaneous leaders whom the bourgeoisie saw as having revolutionary potential.

Where does that leave us today?

First, the superficial environment in the Deep South has changed. The Ku Klux Klan as well as segregation itself does not have the popular support as before. Many schools are desegregated. Busing has probably been, on the whole, more successful in the south than in the north. Plants and factories have been integrated. There is much motion among Negro workers and many Anglo-American workers. For example, during the past few years, there have developed multi-national, independent labor organizations in the Negro Nation: the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, the Mississippi Poultry Workers Union. While these organizations have met with serious setbacks, they have been committed to the concept that 1) workers are the only people who can change the fundamental living conditions in the south; and 2) Negro and Anglo-American workers must struggle together if these changes are to occur. This motion has remained spontaneous, but it clearly contains the embryo of a move toward revolution and the liberation of the Negro Nation.

On the other hand, fascism lurks immediately below the surface like a shark ready to pounce on its prey. Jail sentences throughout the Negro Nation are outrageous. Hungry and poverty extend throughout the Negro Nation. Bourgeois democratic rights are winked at at every level. Given the revisionist politics that have dominated and given the assassinations of important nationalist leaders, the comprador bourgeoisie remains firmly entrenched. The comprador bourgeoisie stifles and erodes the movement of the Negro people. In strike and labor organizing situations, the compra-

dor bourgeoisie sets up papier mache leadership which is designed to fold with the least amount of pressure. This form of misleadership is really dramatic today in the Negro Nation and is in dramatic contrast to the real motion that exists. The comprador bourgeoisie also uses the change in the superficial environment to argue against the people who want to struggle. The comprador thus turns the struggle in against the people themselves.

But, the real motion of the working class in the Negro Nation, among both Negro workers and Anglo-American workers, will inevitably produce new leaders to

challenge the present compradors. In fact, this is happening, e.g. the re-emergence of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association under Fred Walters and Herbert Jones. Once again the job the of CLP will be to bring communist consciousness to these struggles.

M.A., A.A.

**FREE THE NEGRO NATION!
END IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM IN THE
NEGRO NATION
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE
WORLD—UNITE!**



DIALECTICS IN THE EVOLUTION OF CONSCIOUSNESS

One of the most dynamic expressions of dialectical process is the evolution of human consciousness, from the emergence of the first single-celled life forms to the domination of the plant and animal kingdoms by human society. As science slowly unravels this history, and as partial as our knowledge is, we begin to see that nowhere are the laws of development and change so completely unfolded.

Take as our starting point the infant planet, upon whose cooling surface great oceans have condensed, covering the greater part. These vast primordial seas are the seedbed of life. In this warm solution the primary minerals and gases are dissolved; in the infinity of random possibilities, under the inner necessity of electrochemical life—the negative and positive charge that unites all matter as we know it—complex molecules are formed, the more viable of these growing and developing. Internally, this scenario is riven by the antagonism of positive and negative charge. The unity struggles within itself; polarizing; clashing. Clouds of lightning strike the sea; the water is charged; the molecules transform. Yet, upon the face of it, for some two billion years, a tremendous unity prevailed. Fossils give up evidence of only the most homogeneous life forms; at best a few simple algae. Then, in evolutionary time “suddenly”, about 600 million years ago, “most of the major phyla of invertebrate animals made their appearance within the short span of a few million years.” (1) This sudden burst of fantastic diversity of life forms is known as the “Cambrian explosion” of life.

To the Western scientific mind, for whom “nature does not make leaps,” the Cambrian explosion is a paradox. But where more clearly and simply can we see the dynamics of evolution as dialectical process?

The pre-Cambrian algae communities persisted for 2.5 billion years, consisting exclusively of simple “primary producers.” (A primary producer “manufactures its own nutrients by photosynthesis and [does] not feed upon other creatures); such communities are usually impoverished in species diversity. . . It was uncropped and, for that reason, biologically monotonous. It evolved with exceeding slowness and never attained greater diversity because its physical space was so strongly monopolized by a few abundant life forms.” (2)

On the face of it, great unity prevailed; but we know that in all processes, unity is but the relative and temporary face of an internal struggle of opposites. The fundamental dynamic of evolution, its internal source of self-movement, is the contradiction within it. Let us describe this contradiction and study its development in the “Cambrian explosion.”

“The contradictory unity of variability and heredity displayed by the organism in the struggle for existence is the mainspring of organic evolution.” (3) The most obvious formulation of this contradiction can be phrased thusly: within the unity of simple, single-celled organic life, an internal struggle was waged between the dominance of primary producers, hostile to change and the need to change arising out of the environment itself; thus, heredity, the tendency to remain the same, struggled with variability, the dynamic of change. In terms of the Cambrian explosion, the apparent unity represented by a few primary producers in vast quantities dominated the seas and choked out all change. But within that unity, the struggle of opposites raged in the form of a constant tendency of individuals to change. The primary aspect was heredity, the dominance of primary producers; its opposite locked in struggle, was variability, the tendency of individuals to change within the vital nutrient bath of the primal sea. The struggle raged beneath the calm of temporary and relative identity until the point, 600 million years ago, when quantity was transformed into quality. Individual variations, although subordinate and dominated, succeeded in producing viable and revolutionary organisms, the first metazoans, living “animal” cells, which survived by eating the primary producers which previously dominated. Thus, “the key to the Cambrian explosion is the evolution of cropping herbivores that ate other cells. This speeded the evolutionary clock to an unprecedented and still unmatched degree. Croppers (the metazoans) made space for a greater diversity of producers, and this increased diversity permitted the evolution of more specialized (metazoans). The ecological pyramid burst forth in both directions, adding many species at lower levels of production and adding new levels of carnivorousness at the top.” (4)

In short, the apparent unity resolved into its antagonistic components: polarization occurred; and the previously subordinated force burst forth in one of nature’s most spectacular leaps. The subordinate became dominant and the dominant subordinate. Each was transformed into its opposite. The reign of the primary producer reached its limit, and was negated by the cropping metazoan; this negation producing, in sharp contrast to the previous homogeneity, spectacular diversity.

With the Cambrian explosion, the development of the process of evolution reached a qualitatively new stage, characterized by a new contradiction. What was the form of the new contradiction?

Where for billions of years unity prevailed in the kingdom of organic life, in a mere fraction of that time fantastic diversity became characteristic of the process. Heredity was subordinated to variability, yet both con-

tinued their antagonistic and mutually exclusive, interdependent struggle. The seas teemed with life; free oxygen accumulated in the atmosphere; the oceans evaporated; new weather systems developed. In the shallower areas air-bladders were transformed into lungs and amphibians made the transition from sea to land. The period is characterized by incredible quantitative diversity as the seas receded and the earth was covered with vast jungles. Primitive amphibians grew into the giant dinosaurs of the Mesozoic age.

The primary characteristic was diversity; pervasive diversity was the identity in this period. Beneath this diversity, within the reign of variability, however, heredity, though secondary, exerted itself.

Despite the variety of outward forms, the process was more and more characterized by internal continuity. Thus, the Mesozoic was dominated by great reptiles; through the hereditary dynamic of reproduction these giants of the primeval jungle preserved and extended their domination.

But once again the apparent unity of the age of reptiles in all their diversity reveals, upon examination, a struggle within itself, the developing internal contradiction—the struggle between forms for dominance. Within the jungle world dominated by dinosaurs, their opposite struggled with them for survival. One had divided into two—the reptilian unity split into the cold-blooded vertebrates and warm-blooded vertebrates (birds and mammals). The two, born in conflict, battled upon the stage of the world for domination. In fact, it is believed that “mammals evolved their large brains to meet specific functional demands during their original existence as small creatures competing on the periphery of a world dominated by dinosaurs.” (5) The two opposed camps of reptiles locked in irreconcilable struggle. Once again, a sudden transformation occurred. The dinosaurs, for what exact reason is not known, quickly disappeared while mammals evolved with amazing rapidity.

Then followed the “age of mammals,” which is most characterized by the continuous development of the mammalian brain which reaches its highest expression in human consciousness. Brain capacity developed, for “brain size is a function adaptation to the ways an animal makes a living, not a quantity with an inherent tendency to increase...and brain size reflects a mode of life, not evolutionary time of origin.” (6) Within the mammalian unity the struggle for survival produced an important split between the herbivores and carnivores. During the Tertiary period, “both herbivores and carnivores displayed continual increase in brain size during their evolution, but at each state, the carnivores were always ahead. Animals that make a living by catching rapidly moving prey seem to need bigger brains than plant eaters. And as under the herbivores increased their brain size (presumably under the intense selective pressure of their carnivorous predators) the carnivores also evolved larger brains to maintain the differential.” (7)

Within the vast diversity of this evolutionary stage, its opposite develops apace — the domination of mammals and with that development, the selection more and more in favor of the mammalian brain.

This struggle produced an ever-increasing brain capacity among carnivorous animals. “Primates have been ahead right from the start — our large brain is only an exaggeration of a pattern set at the beginning of the age of mammals.” (8)

It was the pressure of the contradiction between carnivores and herbivores which drove evolution more and more in the direction of consciousness, which determined the superiority of the primates and which leads to the dawn of human consciousness.

But in its broadest outlines we see two primary features. The original contradiction was expressed in the primal seas by the domination of simple algae in monotonous homogeneity. The struggle within this unity burst forth in a fantastic variety of species; the old homogeneity was negated by diversification of species. With the dawn of man, this negation is in turn negated by a development we are still experiencing — the negation of the diversification of species with a new sublated, higher unity, the domination of nature by human consciousness.

The brain is the highest product of the evolution of matter. It evolved under conditions which no longer exist, but in which the size and function of the frontal lobes represent selection for the frontal lobes, or selection in favor of conscious activity through which man attains mastery over nature.

The relatively rapid transition from ape to man marks a turning point in the nodal line of evolution; quantity transforms once again into quality. The diversity of mammalian life at last produced a brain capable of self-reflective consciousness in numbers capable of remolding the earth — a monumental leap which began with the emergence of human consciousness and is yet progressing. The negation of the previous age of diversification of species by the subordination of nature to human consciousness is rapidly being concluded.

But within that perspective we must first examine the process which we are characterizing as a “leap”. This leap resolves itself into the four million year period from the first horde of man-apes to the highest development of class society, and is a process bearing within itself many smaller leaps and negations. From animal horde to human clan is the first of these leaps; from gentile society to slave society, another; from slave to feudal society another and from feudal capitalist society another. What characterizes this sequence of negations as a whole? It is the startling fact that evolution is no longer what it was in the Pre-Cambrian, nor in its negation from Cambrian

through the Tertiary Age, the age of diversification. The characteristic of the modern stage is that evolution has taken a new form — no longer the evolution of species, but the social evolution of the highest species, human society.

It was this premise that underlies the epoch-making elaboration of dialectical-historical materialism by Marx and Engels. In 1869, Marx wrote to Engels about Darwin's Origin of Species, "although it is developed in the crude English style, this is the book which contains the basis in natural history for our view."

Consciousness carries with it the potential for the conscious direction of evolution, the harnessing of the blind forces of nature. Through capitalism, evolution, although social, remained blind. But the development of productive forces, science and philosophy, culminating in the industrial revolution, Hegel and Darwin, were synthesized by Marx and Engels. Consciousness began to bear its most precious fruit in the form of dialectical-historical materialism. Marx and Engels saw that the next social revolution would not only be conscious, unlike all preceding revolutions, but truly, in the broadest sense, epoch-making. For, in freeing mankind from classes, the modern proletariat would consciously direct the course of social evolution. The socialist revolution, the first to begin in the superstructure, is a labor of consciousness. Unlike all preceding social systems, and particularly capitalism where anarchy of production reigns, socialist begins the conscious construction of society. No longer victim of blind necessity, man at last creates the conditions for true mastery over society and nature.

In this sense, the development of society up to Marx and the era of socialist revolutions is but the prelude to human history. The leap from ape to man is at last completed when men gain mastery over society, when classes are abolished, and life becomes the conscious collective activity of humankind. In the nodal line of development of the evolutionary process, the transition from ape to man is a turning point marking the birth of consciousness; but the process is still in the making. Along this line are the nodal points of all previous social revolutions, leading with relentless necessity to the great socialist revolutions. Each socialist revolution is a further quantitative aspect of the great leap to consciousness, which will be completed when the original unity is once again achieved in the immeasurably higher form of world communism. It is then, in the broadest evolutionary sense, we can say that the negation has been negated; diversity, from the struggle of species to the struggle of classes, shall have been sublated in the higher unity of the global commune representing the final triumph of collective human consciousness over blind nature. It is then that Engels' great prophesy will be realized and man shall have made the ascent from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

L.M., Chicago

Footnotes

1. Stephen Jay Gould, "An Unsung Single-celled Hero", *Natural History*, November, 1974, p. 33
2. Ibid., p. 41
3. *Textbook of Marxist Philosophy*, Leningrad Institute of Philosophy under the direction of M. Shirokov, Leningrad, 1937, publ. in English in May, 1937, reprinted by Communist League, 1974, p. 147
4. Gould, op. cit., p. 41
5. Stephen Jay Gould, "Evolution and the Brain," *Natural History*, January, 1975, p. 25
6. Ibid. p. 26
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

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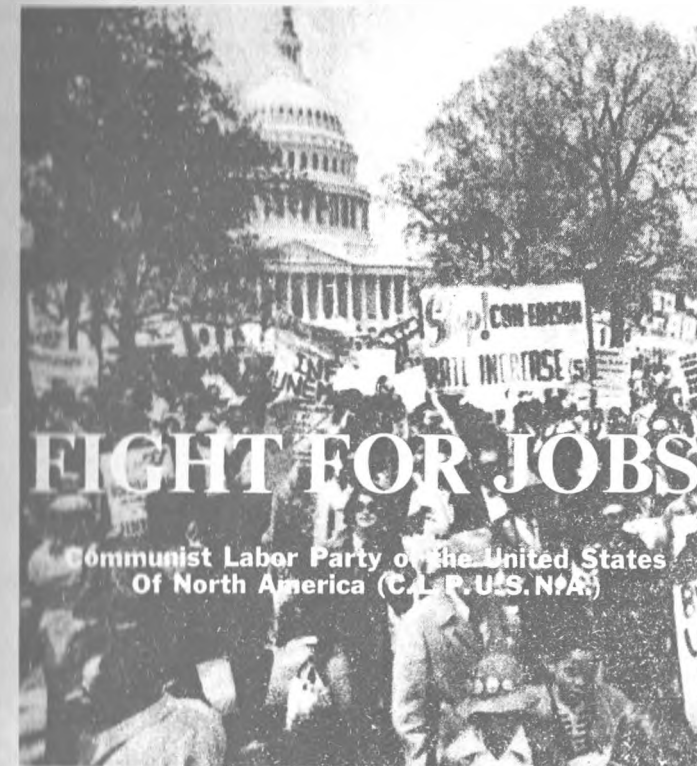
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