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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Vol. 9, No. 1

April, 1973

## REVOLUTION WILL WIN!

-Workers Will Dump Imperialists' Vietnam Deal-

### Miners' Union Election

- Alliance With Liberals Can Only Hurt UMW Rank & File-

### Racism: No. 1 Enemy of U.S. Workers

1. Communist Doctor Debates 'Racist Beast of Willowbrook'
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3. Eugenics: The Anatomy of U.S. Racism

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# Chinese Workers and Students

## Hit Vietnam Sell-Out

**Editor's note:** The following statement, reprinted here in its entirety, was received by PL Magazine from the North America Section of the Hong Kong Workers-Students United Front in early February.

The recent waves of B-52s and fighter bombers pounding Vietnam, North and South, have once again exposed the barbarous nature of the Nixon administration and the genocidal policies undertaken by the U.S. imperialists, who not only had to face a new upsurge of worldwide protests but also criticisms by capitalist governments. The world outcry against the U.S. policies and imperialism and the isolation of the U.S. imperialists have been unprecedented.

The Chinese people in Hong Kong will not just sit and watch this suffering from the cruelty and barbarity of the most intensive aerial bombardment in history. They will not be left out from the revolutionary and humanitarian movement which is of a global nature.

The following is a statement of the Workers-Students United Front on the present situation of the Vietnam war:

1) We demand that the U.S. imperialists cease their genocidal policies in Vietnam immediately. They have no right to demand any compromise from the Vietnamese people. The deceitful maneuvers of the imperialists demonstrates clearly to the world their barbarism in Vietnam. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. imperialists from Vietnam, from Indochina and from all other territories they occupy;

2) At the same time, we must point out that there has been a lack of meaningful response by the Russian and Chinese communists who have merely escalated in their rhetorics. The role they have played has been the betrayal of the Vietnamese people who have suffered from terror, from blind murders and from atrocious, physical and psychological mutilations. While the Vietnamese people fought heroically, Nixon became the guest of honor of both the Chinese and Russian Communists. While Washington escalated the war to an unprecedented level, both Peking and Moscow talked of peaceful co-existence.

Vocally, they support the Vietnamese people while in actuality they treacherously enter a honeymooning relationship with the U.S. imperialists. They stake the Vietnamese revolution for the continued rule and interests of the bureaucrats in their own countries. The unprecedented madness of the U.S. imperialists has been the direct outcome of the continued refusal to provide a meaningful defense of the Vietnamese Revolution. The people of Vietnam has thus been forced painfully and reluctantly into "peace talks" and "negotiations." We believe that in order to oppose the war of aggression by the U.S. imperialists, to support the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people, we must oppose the treacherous behavior of the Russian and Chinese bureaucrats and support unremittingly the anti-bureaucratic struggles carried out by socialists all over the world.

3) The nature of imperialists is the same all over. The British colonialists in Hong Kong have provided concrete form of assistance to the U.S. imperialists in the perpetuation of the genocidal war in Vietnam, in that the latter have been allowed to use Hong Kong as a military base for war supplies and rest and recreation. This is the most blatant insult to the Chinese people in Hong Kong. We condemn this action of the British colonialists most vehemently and will continue to wage the struggle against the British colonialists with the utmost effort and determination.

4) Finally, we call upon the people of Hong Kong to demonstrate their opposition of the Vietnam war through concrete actions and in participation in the world-wide revolutionary socialist movement.

**DEFEAT THE US. IMPERIALISTS AND ALL REACTIONARIES.**

**SUPPORT RESOLUTELY THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES OF ALL PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.**

**LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM. UNITED, ALL THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.**

Signed, The Workers-Students, United Front, Hong Kong, Jan., 1973.

This statement is reprinted and issued out by the Workers-Students United Front, North America Section.

I am an investment banker by trade, and I speak as an investment banker when I say that today's less developed nations are tomorrow's richest economic and political asset. (Former Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon, Department of State Bulletin, May 6, 1958, p. 881)

Our influence is used wherever it can be and persistently, through our Embassies on a day-to-day basis, in our aid discussion and in direct aid negotiations, to underline the importance of (U.S.) private investment. (Secretary of State Dean Rusk, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Expropriation of American-Owned Property, p. 24)

With so much excess capacity already existing in the U.S., and demand growing so slowly, there is little or no reason to believe that if the \$1 billion (yearly industrial outlay) were prevented from leaving the U.S., it would be invested in more domestic capacity. (Business Week, Dec. 3, 1960)

Late in the 1940's—and with increasing speed all through the 1950's and up to the present— . . . in industry after industry, U.S. companies found that their return on investment abroad was frequently much higher than in the U.S. As earnings began to rise, profit margins from domestic operations started to shrink; costs in the U.S. climbed faster than prices, competition stiffened as markets neared their saturation points. (Business Week, Apr. 20, 1963, p. 70)

Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined. (Henry Cabot Lodge, Boston Globe, Feb. 28, 1965)

Let me use your pages [Wall Street Journal] to make this proposal: A massive invasion of South Vietnam by American industry. . . . In the modest development effort that presently exists, a number of American-sponsored enterprises have been eminently successful. (Guy Francis Stark, chief industrial development adviser for U.S. Foreign Service in Taiwan and Saigon. Wall Street Journal, Nov. 11, 1967)

# REVOLUTION WILL WIN!

*International Working Class Will Defeat*

*Washington-Moscow-Peking-Hanoi Axis*

Two important trends emerged from the U.S. bosses' war of aggression in Vietnam during the last decade. One is the power of the people in Vietnam and around the world, a power that was on the verge of reducing U.S. imperialism to a "pitiful, helpless giant." The other trend is the breakup of the international communist movement and its reduction to a pack of scurvy but powerful nationalists.

The demise of internationalism (international workers' solidarity against imperialism and for socialism) was openly manifested by the each-man-for-himself deal-making and trysting between Chinese leaders and U.S. bosses, between the Soviets and their friends and U.S. bosses, and, finally, between north Vietnamese chiefs and U.S. bosses. The U.S. moguls' bagman Kissinger is scheduled to deliver the north Vietnamese their payoff in Hanoi in February.

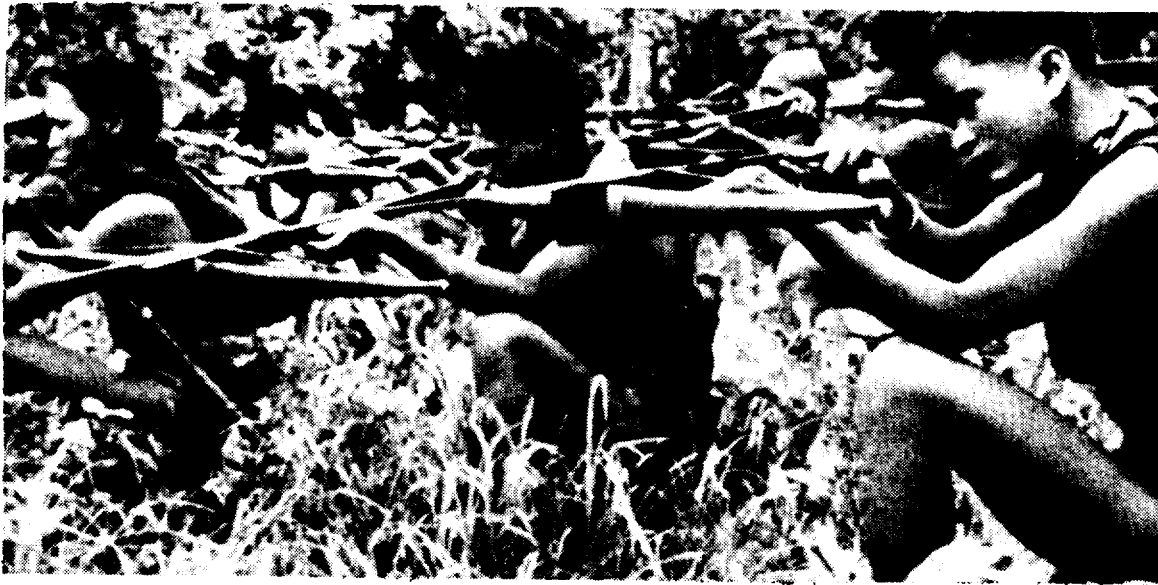
## CUTTING THROUGH THE FOG

The ink had hardly dried on the 1954 Geneva

agreements when the modern war in Vietnam broke out. The same cast of characters who wrapped the 1954 package were responsible for the 1973 deal. The only difference in the actors is that the 1954 betrayal could perhaps be attributed to naivete in the international communist movement.

In essence, that deal recognized the partition of Vietnam. Half of Vietnam was to be controlled by the U.S., half by the Soviets. In other words, the deal ratified private ownership and recognized the interests of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. It gave the bosses a springboard to launch the recent war and openly expand their aggression to the rest of southeast Asia.

Vietnamese workers and peasants quickly sniffed out the consequences of more imperialism on their soil. They had had this experience for hundreds of years. They had fought Japanese, French, and other bosses for their freedom. No other people in the world had as much experience in fighting imperialism. The Vietnamese people launched People's War to rout imperialism and destroy local traitors to the workers and peasants. As in the



People's War  
in Vietnam

past, communists led this effort. However, acting on the incorrect line that had prevailed in the communist movement for years, they believed the masses could best be mobilized around every slogan except socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Nonetheless, at least at that time, a great deal of militancy characterized both the Vietnamese and Chinese communist movements. So this struggle quickly brought large numbers of Vietnamese from all classes into the war against U.S. imperialism and its local puppets.

### U.S. BOSSES GO APE

As this movement bowled over U.S. bosses' puppets and took over larger and larger chunks of real estate, the U.S. leaders panicked. They saw their Pacific empire crumbling. This empire had mushroomed in the wars against Japan and the Korean people. By the time the Vietnam war had become deadly serious in the mid-1960s, U.S. bosses had already spent and invested billions in Asia. They knew a successful revolution in Vietnam would undermine their profits. As Diem, et al. collapsed politically and militarily, U.S. leaders plunged deeper into Vietnam. Kennedy and then Johnson committed over 500,000 ground troops. The imperialists marshalled a tremendous air and naval armada to stem the tide of revolution.

### NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE FAILURE

But all U.S. efforts were doomed to fail. Within a couple of years, people's war had crushed the U.S. elite troops. The rout of the entire Marine Corps put to rest the racist idea that "one Marine is worth a thousand of 'them.'" Volunteer troops soon joined their Marine comrades in the place of no return. Draftees began taking their place. While these troops did no better militarily, they fared much better politically. By the thousands, they started to question their role in Vietnam. Within

That empire in Southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any one of the major powers on the globe . . . I believe that the condition of the Vietnamese people, and the direction in which their future may be going, are at this stage secondary, not primary. (Sen. McGee, D-Wyo., in the U.S. Senate, Feb. 17, 1965)

He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the South. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from it large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined. (Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, Boston Globe, Feb. 28, 1965)

Some of the salient points of the Look article are:  
"... The Far East is now our Far West... There we have more than a half-million men, thousands of warplanes and a great naval armada. We are a Pacific power—the only Pacific power. We are there to stay...

"... We have involved ourselves deeply in the politics and economies of Asia. We have sunk more than \$28 billion into these countries. Last year our trade with East Asia, imports plus exports, was more than \$8.5 billion, including government aid. American business firms have also invested nearly \$2 billion there...

"... We spent \$18 billion on the Korean war. And we spent nearly \$4 billion to make it possible for the Nationalist Chinese holed up on Formosa to escape a communist takeover.... Says one top American in Saigon: 'If you don't believe it's in OUR interest to be here, I'd say get the hell out. We're not losing thousands of American lives a year to be nice to the Vietnamese'...."

a short time, many of them quit fighting or openly rebelled. By the late 1960s, imperialism did not have a reliable ground force to field in Vietnam or any place else. The brass had to resort to the widespread use of drugs amongst the troops to keep soldiers close to the line. Surely this was the first time in history a ruling class had to drug thousands of troops to make them look like soldiers and prevent them from joining the other side or turning their guns on their officers—although there is much evidence this happened often enough despite the drugs.

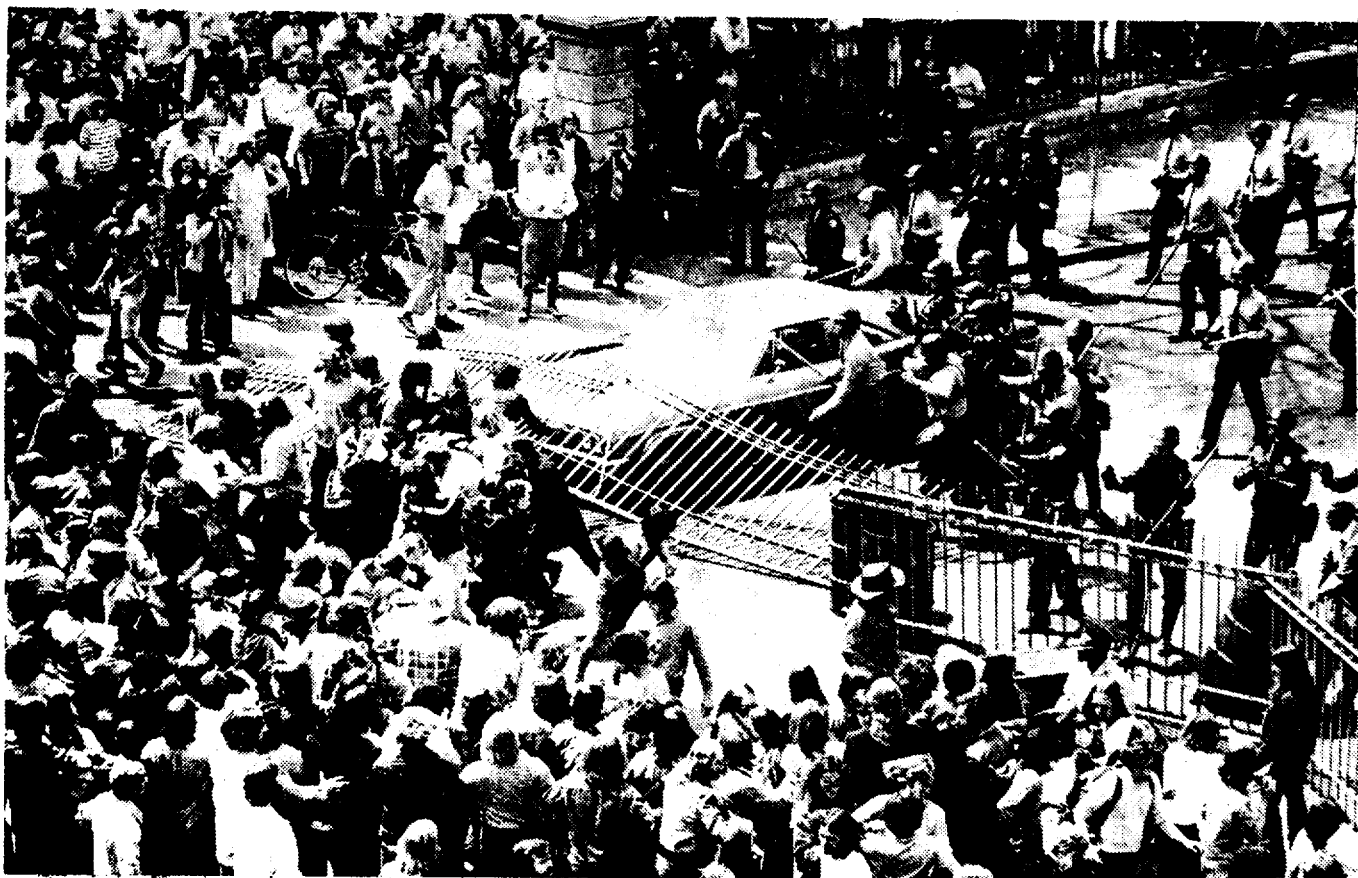
Equally important, the home front erupted! Millions in the U.S. were swept up in the anti-war movement. One demonstration saw about 1,000,000 people in Washington, D.C. The Vietnamese revolution inspired black workers at home. Encouraged by the Vietnamese struggle and enraged by the bosses' intensified racism in and out of the army, they took to the streets. Rebellion after rebellion rocked U.S. cities. These spreading rebellions and the ineffectiveness of the imperialist army shocked the ruling class. U.S. leaders saw their lies about workers' interest being the same as the "national interest" fall flat. Workers and others understood that the war in Vietnam for bosses' profits was not in their interests. For the first time in his-

tory, the majority of people in this country began to question and, in millions of cases, to reject the foreign policy of the bourgeoisie.

**AT HOME AND ABROAD, TENS OF MILLIONS** acted against U.S. imperialism as they witnessed the bosses' crass barbarism. People rejected U.S. genocide as a way of life. They understood that the "American dream" in reality meant the rulers' dream to plunder for profits. Wave after wave of actions hit U.S. policy. Each U.S. leader tripped up over his own and his predecessors' lies. U.S. bosses' lies outdid even those of Goebbels, the official chief liar of the Nazi Reich. U.S. imperialists were exposed as never before. Millions all over the world were in motion against them. They were isolated and in deep trouble.

### 'LET'S GET OUT OF THIS'

U.S. rulers cast around for help to wiggle out of their dilemma. They counted in large measure upon the fake socialist leaders of the Soviet Union to bail them out. They reasoned that if the Soviets could get the Vietnamese revolutionaries to start negotiations, this would give them the maneuverability they needed to buttress their tottering position. The



Univ. of Minnesota students face cops' mace attack in protest against U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

Soviet opportunists complied, because their interests of the moment coincided with U.S. bosses' interests. The Soviets desperately needed U.S. trade to help build their economic empire. They didn't want to encourage revolution because it would upset their appercart as much as it was upsetting U.S. bosses. They were afraid that war—any war—could spread to their country. War with the U.S. imperialists was unthinkable to them as it would set back or destroy their economic development. Hence, they complied with U.S. rulers' demands for help in forcing the Vietnamese to negotiate.

U.S. bosses also saw that negotiations could defuse the anti-war movement at home and abroad. They knew that a deal would demobilize the fighters for revolution in Vietnam. Over and over again, the Soviets urged the Vietnamese to negotiate. Meanwhile, U.S. bosses combined escalated war and sweet-talk to compel the Vietnamese to bargain. For their part, the Soviets used "aid" (weaponry, etc.)

N.Y. Post, Jan. 30, 1973 James A. Wechsler

The likelihood is that Kissinger had private Muscovite reassurances before the May 8 Haiphong move. In the subsequent months both the Soviets and Chinese took pains, through a variety of public amenities, to emphasize that the intensified American pressure on Hanoi had in no way jeopardized the new era of "normalization" in their relations with Mr. Nixon. Meanwhile there were growing indications that both Soviet and Chinese emissaries were putting heat on Hanoi to reach a "compromise" settlement.

\* \* \*

Clearly, the U.S. and the Soviet Union are trying to entrap the entire revolutionary movement into uniting with imperialism in opposition to the revolution in Vietnam. By a combination of expanded terror by the United States and "aid" with political pressure from the U.S.S.R., the Vietnamese are being pushed to make a deal, a deal they have rejected over and over again. What sort of friends of the Vietnamese would enter into this collusion? What kind of friendship is that?

Commenting on the quality of this "friendship," I.F. Stone wrote:

"Let us try to see what is happening in a fresh perspective. What if Japan were again a great military power, and it was bombing a small country in Latin America allied with the United States? What would we think if our Secretary of State paid a friendly visit to the Prime Minister of Japan under such circumstances and began to negotiate favors from him, like landing rights for a New York to Tokyo airline? Imagine how Latin allies under Japanese bombardment would feel if they saw pictures of their supposed American protector in a friendly confabulation with Tokyo? This may help us to see what Johnson has already achieved in his talks with Gromyko. Whatever else comes from them, the moral effect is debasing. Johnson debases the Russians and he debases the American people. (I.F. Stone's Weekly, October 17, 1966)."

to get the Vietnamese to the table. They saw this "aid" could help them build up credit (and therefore leverage) among the Vietnamese.

**FINALLY, THE VIETNAMESE LEADERS ENTERED** into negotiations. They had always given uncritical support to all of the Soviet bosses' nationalist acts. Their own opportunist line of fighting for "national liberation" rather than socialism proved their undoing. The Vietnamese had nothing to say about the Soviet betrayal of Indonesian communists. Soviet bosses were helping arm the Suharto fascists even as the bodies of Indonesian communists and other progressives filled the graves by the hundreds of thousands. Vietnamese leaders led the cheers as Soviet tanks rumbled into Prague. During a period of serious ideological struggle and even open warfare between the Chinese and Soviets, the Vietnamese always tilted to the right.

Yes, U.S. bosses knew who to count on in time of need.

## PACIFISM vs. REVOLUTION

In the U.S. and around the world, the pro-Soviet clique took up the cry, "Stop the bombing and negotiate" to oppose the slogan "U.S. out of Vietnam now!" In the anti-war movement, the misleaders put forth the pacifist line of negotiations to stifle growing mass sentiment to force the U.S. out of Vietnam. This sentiment had grown so strong that it ran LBJ out of office. The Soviets' friends encouraged all sorts of far-out tactics and mannerisms to help isolate the anti-war movement from workers. They didn't try to relate the war to racism and mounting attacks on all workers. They hung on every word of the Vietnamese leaders, who aped the Soviet line of conciliation and capitulation. They supported liberals (Kennedy, et al) who had intensified the war and attacked workers at home—the same liberal killers who were shooting black workers in the streets and widening counter-revolution abroad.

## EVERYONE WANTS INTO THE ACT

In the initial phase of the war, the Chinese Communist Party criticized the concept of taking "aid" from the enemy, in this case, the Soviets. They attacked the idea of negotiations with imperialism. They did many things that led in the right direction. But they too failed to criticize the Vietnamese leaders openly because "you can't criticize people who are fighting." The real reason, however, was that their line didn't differ in essence from the Soviets'. They supported national liberation rather than socialism as a mass slogan. They supported the so-called more "militant" nationalists Sukarno and Sihanouk. The Chinese Communist Party leaders felt that nationalism—as long as it had a cutting edge against U.S. imperialism—could be a progressive force on the world scene.

HOWEVER, THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CUL-



tural Revolution broke out in China. One of its main aspects was opposition to the line of the old communist movement. In the end, the left forces in the Cultural Revolution were set back. Right-wingers took power and followed their reactionary line to its logical conclusion. They chose to deal for their "national interests" rather than the interest of world revolution. Like their Soviet enemies, they were concerned that China might become involved in the war. They viewed nationalist leaders—rather than oppressed people and revolutionary forces in every country—as their allies. Instead of uniting with workers in struggle, they sought alliances with ruling cliques. They were worried about Soviet troops on their border. They counted on alliances with U.S. bosses and nationalist leaders to ease their situation. So they, too, played the game of coaxing the Vietnamese leaders into a more "reasonable" attitude. They invited Kissinger and then the big cheese, Nixon, to Peking. All this love-making took place while imperialist bombs poured down on the Vietnamese people. The negotiators yapped on in Paris. The major news of the day concerned the measurement of the width of Kissinger's and Le Duc Tho's smiles to each other.

### BATTLE BETWEEN RIGHT-WINGERS

Prior to Soviet aggression against the Czechs, the U.S. and other imperialists were hailing all new developments in Czechoslovakia. Dubcek had become as famous as Mickey Mouse. The U.S. loved him! Obviously, the U.S. didn't hail him because he was strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. Front-page stories in the Times and other papers were reporting that behind the scenes the new Czech leadership was dickering with the U.S. for many millions in credits. This, they claimed, was necessary to ensure their economic and political independence from the Soviets. Czechoslovakia was to become another Yugoslavia—a colony of the U.S.

What the world was faced with was a power struggle between two major imperialist powers (with the West German nazis in the wings) over the control of another capitalist country. The Soviet claim that they entered Czechoslovakia to protect socialism—and because the Czechs were working with the U.S.—is a farce. In the first place, the Soviets have abandoned socialism themselves. And second, the Soviets collude with the U.S. The Novotny clique had already destroyed socialism in Czechoslovakia.

PL Editorial, Oct. 1968

### CLASS COLLABORATION: DEATH

#### —FIGHTING: LIFE

The sum of all this class collaboration wiped out the heroic efforts of the fighters in Vietnam. It so badly disarmed the anti-war movement that when the imperialists mined Haiphong harbor, the movement was virtually mute. It barely roused itself when they carpet-bombed Hanoi to get better terms at the bargaining table.

More significantly, this political debacle revealed itself during the Tet offensive and the latest offensive in south Vietnam. In both cases, important military gains seemed to have been won by the people—but in neither case were there any signs of political demonstrations by the masses in support of these actions. By then, People's War had in the main transformed itself into classical positional warfare. Vietnamese leaders' opportunism had diluted political warfare to the point where the people could not see the need to support the north Vietnamese. The civilian population fled south in the face of both offensives. The nationalists had lost the political war in the south. They had not tried to win the people to socialism. They had virtually abandoned People's War, which could have succeeded only with socialism as its goal. Without the perspective of socialism (i.e., the elimination of all aspects of imperialist exploitation, not just the military aspect), things become unclear. Since the U.S. appeared ready to withdraw troops, what was the point of fighting?

#### WHEW!

#### A LITTLE HELP GOES A LONG WAY

U.S. bosses have been able to wiggle out of their serious predicament. They could never have made it without help from their Soviet, Chinese, and Vietnamese counterparts. Around the world and at home, much of the anti-war movement's potential for growth has been stunted by these bosses' various mouthpieces.

LIBERAL POLITICIANS WERE ABLE TO emerge as the movement's leaders.

The latest agreement opens the door wide to ex-

#### "DOVE" POLITICIANS ARE BIRDS OF PREY

There are only two forces in this country—in-  
deed in the world—with real power. One is the  
working class. The other is the big business class.

Any movement, including the anti-war move-  
ment, has to rely on one of these forces.

The right-wing "official peace movement" lead-  
ers urge us to back "dove" politicians. Does that  
mean allying with workers or imperialists?

Vietnam, Defeat U.S. Imperialism- PLP pamphlet

panded U.S. investment in Vietnam and the rest of southeast Asia.

By now, we should understand that postwar U.S. "aid" to north and south Vietnam really means investment for profits. Everyone is getting in on the act. Japan plans to outdo U.S. bosses' offer of \$2.5 billion in "aid" by "giving" \$5 billion. Even the Israeli bosses are hopping on the bandwagon.

This "aid" will lead straight to more sweatshops and all the other "peacetime" death-dealing enterprises of imperialism. Obviously, Chinese and Soviet penetration will follow along. The rape will be complete. Vietnam will become a microcosm of the current imperialist redivision of world markets. In 1967, LBJ met with Kosygin at Glassboro, N.J. at the height of the war to iron out the U.S.-Soviet "spheres of interest" strategy.

### WHAT PEACE? THERE AIN'T NO PEACE

**PEACE IN VIETNAM REALLY MEANS A PIECE** of this and that for the imperialists and some payola for the two-bit nationalists in Hanoi.

Over the years, U.S. bosses have been forced to relinquish their goal of world domination. The development of other imperialist powers (the Soviet Union, China, Japan, as well as West Germany and the rest of western Europe) has forced sharp competition on U.S. imperialism. If the revolutionary movements had persisted, the U.S. bosses would certainly have found themselves in worse trouble.

In any event, their power and flexibility are diminishing. They will have to squeeze workers at home harder than ever for profits. This squeeze will extend to all areas where they have a toe-hold for exploitation.

**THE FACTS OF LIFE ARE BECOMING CLEAR.**  
The opportunists prattled about how the end of the

war would bring a better life for workers at home. Nixon's current budget dashes this illusion: more money for armaments, less for reforms, frozen wages, tight controls, stepped-up racism on the campuses, racism in job hiring and in the welfare halls all show the road U.S. bosses are on.

All the imperialists must follow suit to stay afloat. Their actions will force people to learn the lessons of war and of history, the greatest of which is to **fight back and sharpen the class struggle.**

At the moment, the U.S. army is a shambles. The imperialist navy is a floating rebellion. Even the elite pilots are in disarray. Workers are going to break away from cold war union leaders and take the offensive against racism and for 30 for 40. Workers and oppressed people around the world will discard nationalism when they see it has brought them back into the clutches of the imperialists. Pacifism and opportunism perpetuate imperialism. Imperialism is deadly. The only real humanism is the fight to crush it.

**REVOLUTIONS CANNOT SUCCEED WITH** bosses' ideas. The full development of the revolutionary process may take time. But time and events favor the workers. The Vietnam war exposed the bosses' soft underbelly. Time is running out on **them!**

However, only socialism can put them in their coffins. History proves that half-way houses are built on sand. Workers' movements must be built on rock.

The people's rock is the fight for workers' power. **International workers' unity for revolution points the sure way, the only way, to victory.**

### PROFITS, INFLUENCE AND DEATH = BOSSES' 'AID'

With any aid there comes political influence. This is a very important fact of political life. Some think you can fool the Soviet leaders, or the U.S. government. "You can slyly take their goodies—and use this money to support the very things these oppressors hate." Those who try this can only trick themselves. First, aid makes it very hard to attack those who do the giving. Among other things, the aid might be withdrawn. And also, getting aid softens your attitude towards those who give it. In Vietnam, Russian aid considerably warmed the hearts of militants who started out hostile toward Soviet leaders while unclear about what was wrong with them politically. Second, aid increases the political strength of those within the given movement who agree with the giver. Third, aid, especially military aid, creates dependence on the giver for more aid.

Vietnam, Defeat U.S. Imperialism- PLP pamphlet

*THE NEW YORK TIMES,*

*MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1973*

**W. Averell Harriman**

As a result of President Nixon's and Mr. Kissinger's skillful diplomacy, China as well as the Soviet Union are both strongly against the continuation of the war. Furthermore, the North Vietnamese are characteristically patient in achieving their objectives. Also, they have indicated that they want normal trade and other relations with us to offset too great dependence on China or Russia.

A long-term reconstruction program

## Letters...

# Crime: A Daily Problem That Must Be Fought

Dear Editor,

It was satisfying to see an article dealing with the subject of crime in the previous PL magazine ("Crime Under Capitalism: One Reader's View," PL 8:6, Jan. 1973). Such an article has been needed for a long time. However, I would like to express my disagreement with several of the points raised.

True, the ruling class is infinitely more violent and oppressive than petty thieves or junkies. Crime is publicized so to build a tremendous amount of racism and cynicism. But I cannot agree with the trend of the article, which leads one to believe that although crime exists, it is not an important issue to deal with at the present time.

The article maintains:

—Violent crime has been recorded in Ancient Egypt and China;

—Today in this numbers-crazed world, everyone wants to be counted as a statistic, if only as a victim. Consequently, whether for restitution or simply to be recognized by officials, people complain to the police about the most trivial of intimidating incidents;

—Crime reports seem to satisfy some inner compulsive need of drama for most of us;

—A gullible public... allows itself to be dominated by the emphasis on violent crime;

—We talk about fighting crime but little is spent on eradicating property;

—We are in a country of trendy, single causes.

In other words, crime has always been here, people complain too much, the gullible public enjoys reading about crime, other things are more important, and besides,

tomorrow something else will be in the headlines.

**THE RULING CLASS** obviously uses the existence of crime to its advantage, especially to build racism. But if people did not see crime as a problem they face every day, this publicity could not hold much water. Glancing through any capitalist newspaper in the country, one sees article after article about crimes of one sort or another, and most of these build racism.

At Newark State College, the administration has attempted to arm the campus police. How do they justify this? "We must protect ourselves from outsiders, criminals, junkies." Who are they really referring to? Black people. Where are the campus police trained? In the Newark Police Academy, which is the training ground for some of the most vicious murderers in the country. So in response to the existence of crime on the campus (and that crime does exist), the administration builds racism. Well, the "gullible" students at Newark State are rallying behind SDS in its demand, "Smash racism, no guns on campus!"

Living in Newark, with close to the highest crime rate in the nation, this issue may seem over-important. But in Newark, crime is not a "trendy, single cause." This city has the worst slum housing, the worst medical care, and is close to the top in drugs and unemployment. So we can see that all these things are inter-related, they are all violent crimes against the working class. This does not mean that we should ignore crime and fight the "real enemy," the ruling class, any more than that we should not

fight unemployment, drugs, etc.

The Progressive Labor Party has been weak in the past in dealing with crime (as a member I say this very self-critically), as attested to by the lack of written material on the subject. The communist movement, however, has many times been in sharp conflicts against crime. The Fur and Leather Workers Union in New York, led by the CPUSA, defeated the mobsters in their union in the 1930's, for one example.

**CAMPUS COPS ARE BEING** armed across the country, and this development should be defeated by the growing anti-racist movement. Working people in their communities should expose the role of cops and minimize crime by collectively protecting themselves, and by meeting to discuss the crimes that do occur and how to deal with them. We should get rid of the leeches in our community, who steal our property, endanger the lives of ourselves and our children, and who are created and perpetuated by the cops who are the biggest dope dealers around. When a well-off Columbia University professor is mugged, headlines are made. But muggings hit working people every day, and barely anything is said. The fight against crime, as touched on in the article must be integrated with a movement against the ruling class on all fronts, particularly against racism, their most useful and murderous tool.

After working people destroy these masters of war, crime, and racism, the basis for crime will be eliminated. But to ignore crime until then would be a fatal mistake, for the ruling class is making great headway in building racism out of their "anti-crime" measures, and we must expose and attack these murderers now.

—Danny Neuspziel

# '30 for 40': The Best Reform— But Not Revolution

To the Editor,

In the last PL Magazine the editorial introduction on page 37, at the top, suggests that the article will deal with Marx's "thesis that the fight for the shorter work-day is revolutionary." First, this is misleading and secondly, it is not true.

It is misleading, because the questionnaire written by Marx does not develop this thesis, although it asks certain questions about work time.

Secondly, it is false that 30 for 40 is revolutionary, "because the shorter work-day is a direct assault on surplus value." Assault on surplus value it is; revolutionary it is not.

In the same PL issue, it says: "Naturally, we understand that winning 30 hours work is not the end to capitalism. But we can link the fight for 30/40 to the goal of socialism." That is correct. We can link the fight against the war, racism, male chauvinism, poor working conditions and lousy pay and many other things capitalism dumps on us to the need for socialism. And in a very, very broad sense, fighting all these things, to improve the lot of masses of people and to make the connection between these struggles and the need to destroy capitalism, could be considered revolutionary, in the sense that it all leads to revolution. But to argue that because 30 for 40 limits capitalists' ability to extract surplus value, therefore, it is revolutionary, is to equate reform with revolution.

It is important to understand the inter-connection of the two as a process of building a revolutionary workers' movement and a revolutionary communist party, but it is also important to make a sharp distinction between

the two, so that we do not slide into revisionism, where reform of capitalism becomes a rationale for negating the need for a socialist revolution.

Thirty for forty is the best reform struggle at the present time. Not only does it directly touch all the problems of the working class, like racism, discrimination against women, unemployment, bad working conditions etc., but it **unites the whole working class** in the struggle to win shorter hours of work. In this alone, the working class becomes stronger organizationally, while identifying its interest in opposition to the interest of the ruling class. We as revolutionary

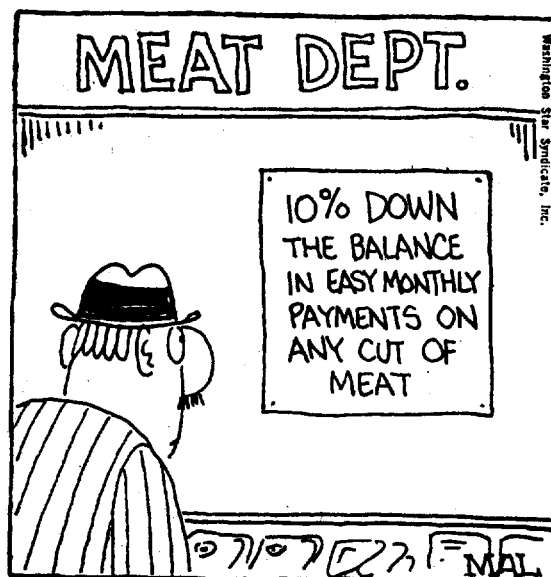
communists add another measure of strength to the working class by providing leadership in this struggle in a correct political manner and always pointing out the absolute need for the working class to create socialism by revolutionary means.

We should not rush to declare 30 for 40 as revolutionary, just because some fakes call it "economist." They throw the word "economist" around because they have not yet understood in what way Lenin applied it to the segments of the Social Democratic movement at the beginning of this century, and also because they apparently know nothing of our party's political line and practice. They go to the extreme of elevating politics above class struggle like so many pedants who wallow in the purity of their "revolutionary theory," contributing nothing of practical value to the building of a real revolutionary workers' movement and a revolutionary communist party.

Fight for 30 for 40! Fight for Socialism!

—A member of Atlanta PLP

## Fenwick



# Liberals Win in UMW— Will Miners Lose?

**IN DECEMBER, THE RESULTS OF A GOVERNMENT-supervised election in the United Mine Workers union were announced—a smashing victory for the “Miners for Democracy” slate, turning out the old Boyle machine and making Arnold Miller, a retired miner, the new president of the UMW. The defeat of any entrenched union bureaucracy is an event, especially if that defeat is proclaimed as a triumph for a rank-and-file slate in a major national union. Exactly what did happen in the UMW? What can be learned by rank and filers in other unions seeking to establish membership control over their union and their lives?**

The UMW is a union of 200,000 members, less than half—95,000—of whom are actually working; 20,000 are unemployed and 85,000 are retired. In 1948 the UMW had over 400,000 members. But John L. Lewis, UMW head at that time, agreed to a contract which set up a pension and welfare fund that was tied to royalties being paid by the coal barons based on **tonnage of coal mined**, not on the number of miners working. This gave the owners a free hand in automating the mines, reducing the work-force by 75% while building the UMW Fund into the hundreds of millions.

This was a perfect set-up for corruption. And Lewis' eventual successor, Tony Boyle, milked it dry. (Lewis had actually used union funds or its investment in the union-owned National Bank of Washington to make loans to scab coal operators who then drove union mines out of business!)

**BOYLE HIMSELF HAD BEEN A FOREMAN** in a Montana mine years ago, but jumped to the union side when he saw more chance for advancement in the Lewis machine. He eventually maneuvered into a position as Lewis' right-hand man and a UMW vice-presidency, becoming head man in 1963 when Lewis' immediate successor died. Then Boyle probably outdid Lewis in making corruption his life-style.

Boyle ran the miners' union like a private fiefdom, holding 19 of the union's 23 districts under trusteeship (directly controlled by Boyle from Washington headquarters). All district officials were appointed by Boyle, not elected by the miners. Boyle put his family on the UMW payroll; stole union funds—he's already been convicted of using union funds for various Democratic politicians without consulting the membership—signed sweetheart contracts with the mine



Miners' direct action:

Blockading a scab store

in the 1930's.

owners; depleted the pension and welfare funds; ignored safety violations that have killed hundreds of miners; threw miners out with a month to go to become eligible for a pension; and did nothing about the spread of Black Lung disease among working miners.

Boyle ran the union with an iron hand. The only time the rank and file was able to break through was during sharp crises—contract time, mine disasters, etc.

**WITH RANK-AND-FILE RESENTMENT BUILDING** to a fever pitch, enter Joseph Yablonski. Yablonski worked for John L. Lewis and Boyle for 27 years. On the international executive board he was given top assignments by Boyle, the last one being chief UMW lobbyist in Congress. During all those years, Yablonski sat in on every single sellout negotiated by Lewis and Boyle, with nary a peep of protest.

Two months after that lobbyist appointment, Yablonski—having made friends with various liberals in Washington—saw the chance to oust the Boyle machine, using liberal backing and overwhelming rank-and-file anger at the leadership. The leading liberal involved was lawyer Joseph Rauh, who worked for the then UAW president Walter Reuther and headed the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

Yablonski's campaign concentrated on Boyle corruption and used the courts to try to defeat it. Boyle received the tacit approval of AFL-CIO president George Meany who realized what the Reuther-Rauh-Yablonski alliance was up to.

In the 1969 election, controlled by the Boyle machine, the "count" showed 86,000 for Boyle, 45,000 for Yablonski. Three weeks later Yablonski, his wife and daughter were murdered. The hired gunmen were traced to the highest echelons of UMW leadership.

**WITH THIS ISSUE, PLUS MOUNTING DEATHS** from mine disasters and Black Lung disease, the Rauh forces figured the time was ripe to jump in. Rauh was connected to a certain "Washington Research Project" (WRP), to which a "Miners Project Section" was added. The WRP got its funds from foundations like the Carnegie Corporation, the Field Foundation (Marshall Field of Chicago) and five others, to the tune of more than \$500,000. Yablonski's son "Chip" was a staff attorney for the Miners Project.

Other contributors included Rauh's son, B. Michael Rauh, and two of the latter's law partners, Cohen and Singman (of the law firm of Landis, Cohen, Singman and Rauh). This same firm had represented a scab mining outfit, the Dixie Mining Co., in a court battle against the UMW. An \$1800 donation came from liberal Congressman Ken Hechler, part of the Jay Rockefeller machine attempting to take over West Virginia politics. (The Rockefeller Foundation—which owns a lot of stock in Continental Oil-Consolidation Coal—provides Jay Rockefeller with the dough to run his pet projects in that state.)

Rauh and his cohorts in the WRP helped set up the Miners for Democracy (MFD) and organized a nominating convention attended by hundreds of

**UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS**

FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 23,947

**DIXIE MINING COMPANY, Petitioner,**

v.

**NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD, Respondent,**

and

**W. A. BOYLE, ET AL., Intervenor.**

**ON PETITION TO REVIEW AN ORDER OF THE  
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD**

**REPLY BRIEF FOR PETITIONER**

Julian H. Singman  
Orlin L. Livdahl, Jr.  
LANDIS, COHEN, SINGMAN  
AND RAUH  
1910 Sunderland Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

September 18, 1970

*Attorneys for Petitioner*

**Liberal Rauh "fights" Boyle by backing scab.**

rank-and-file miners who saw an opportunity to throw out the Boyle machine. They set Arnold Miller as candidate for president in a new election to be run by the Labor Department under provisions of the anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law.

The MFD campaigned on many issues affecting the miners: mine safety, pensions, union democracy, organizing scab mines, etc. And it ran a well-heeled campaign, one obviously financed more by the liberals working through the Miners Project Section of WRP and the rich foundations funding it than by rank-and-file miners. The MFD itself announced that "over 2,000" miners had contributed "ones, fives and tens" to the campaign. This might have brought in \$10,000 to \$20,000—hardly enough to finance the kind of high-powered campaign that was run up and down the coal fields, in and out of court, traveling and organizing meetings in half a dozen states.

**THE MFD ADMITTED THAT "SOME OF THE** public interest law firms that have handled cases for UMW miners...have received foundation money." (UMW Journal, Sept. 15, 1972, p. 24) When the MFD was attacked by the Boyle forces as "communist-backed," they "answered" not by explaining red-baiting as a bosses' tool to bust unions and divide workers, but by citing their "patriotic war records" in the Korean War and in World War II.

The MFD-Rauh liberals used the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law for all it was worth. The Labor Department supervised the election from start to finish. It insured the MFD slate had "equal space" in the UMW Journal during the campaign. And it counted every vote at the end, announcing a victory of about 60-40 for the MFD slate. The Miller forces have moved out of the WRP offices and into the UMW national headquarters, thrown

out the old executive board and taken power.

On the face of it, the MFD appeared to represent the rank-and-file, organizing a campaign that finally threw out the corrupt machine, and ran on a platform in the best interests of the rank and file. Yet a deeper look at how this happened reveals that the MFD may not be all that it's cracked up to be:

- It used the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law and moved through the Labor Dept. This is the same law that was drafted by the viciously anti-labor Senator McClellan, along with the Kennedys, to bust the Teamsters' opposition to government arbitration. It is the same Labor Dept. that—throughout the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon Administrations—allowed the trusteeships in the UMW (control by the machine) to go on for ten years and more in 19 of 23 of the districts (although the "law" says a trusteeship lasting more than 18 months is invalid). And it is the same Labor Dept. that dismissed over 330 cases of election fraud which it admitted "violated" the law. So much for union democracy.

**TO TAKE POWER BASED ON A GOVERNMENT** apparatus and legislation that has spelled union-busting from the word go can only mean dependence on, and unwillingness to oppose, that government when representing miners who inevitably will collide with it on mine safety, the wage freeze and the organization of scab mines. (You can bet your bottom dollar that if the miners' movement was led by communists, the Labor Dept. would have come up with a different count—but, then again, a communist-led movement wouldn't work through the bosses' gov't.)

- Being funded by a liberal bankroll—running through Rauh and the UAW, Jay Rockefeller and Hechler in West Virginia, foundations like the Carnegie Corp. (with \$350 million in assets) and by lawyers who represent scab mines "on the side"—certainly just operating with this gang will tie you to liberal bosses and politicians once in office, if not representing them directly.

What happens when the rank and file wants to oppose the government, as it did in busting Nixon's wage freeze? (The miners wildcatted to start the last strike while Boyle was "negotiating," and then stayed out until the Wage Board knuckled under to a 15% increase, not the 5.5% limit, rather than go back to await a decision.) Surely this conflict will arise again. What will the liberals tell Miller then? Fight their government or divert the rank and file?

Certainly the MFD did not run a campaign to prepare anyone for opposing the owners AND their government. On the contrary, they used the union-busting Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law and the Labor Dept., who now come out as champions of union democracy! (and this set the stage for prior government intervention in future union elections).

**THE MFD VICTORY REVEALS THE LIBERALS'** recognition that the unions are potentially the most powerful mass organization fighting for the workers' class interests. All of a sudden there's a lot of "worry" about workers' "discontent," "\$20 million Kennedy "studies" about job "boredom" and "alienation," etc. The liberal bosses and their henchmen in the labor movement are in a battle

with the conservatives for control over the organized workers. Having taken over the anti-Vietnam War movement and the Black Liberation Movement, the liberals are aiming for the big prize.

The Meany forces, now in shaky control and buddy-buddy with Nixon, mainly use the stick to maintain their grip. The liberals see this provoking mass rebellion and a movement to the left, to revolution, in the working class (which is why the government had to step in directly with a wage freeze to keep the workers in check—the Meany method couldn't do it by itself any more). So the liberals favor using the "carrot" as well as the stick. Give the illusion of democracy—correct "minor injustices" by electing "better Congressmen"—but keep things safely in the hands of the bosses' government, the liberal bosses. The liberals hope to ride into power everywhere on the backs of the workers, resurrecting the old "workers' party" image of the Democratic Party under Roosevelt, the better to exploit us at home and abroad, in a way—they feel—will better preserve the capitalist system.

This is what the fight is all about, one between different sections of the ruling class, with their respective agents in the labor movement, over the best tactics to maintain bosses' profits and profit system. They all agree on the strategic goal of keeping that system.

The one fly in the ointment is the miners themselves. Having thrown out Boyle, they will find—as they fight against the wage freeze and Black Lung disease, and for mine safety and better pensions—that liberal "allies" (bosses) are just as bad as reactionary ones. A boss is a boss.

**THEY WILL EITHER FORCE THEIR UNION TO** fight the government or will throw out anyone who refuses to do it. And they will take this power in their union not bankrolled by liberal bosses and their labor agents but in the only way it can be taken: by controlling power over production, by the rank and file organizing itself in a way that can declare, "If we don't control our own union, no coal will get produced," instead of using a bosses' law and a bosses' anti-Labor Dept.

In conducting that kind of a class struggle, which, judging by their militant past, the miners are fully capable of, they will find also that communist ideas, and communists in PLP who advocate them, will be of decisive importance in gaining their goals. Some will become communists because of that. They will learn that one cannot "use" the bosses and their laws to gain even fundamental reform as long as the bosses themselves hold state power; that liberal bosses and "reactionary" bosses are all just that—bosses.

This conclusion, growing out of the necessary cauldron of class struggle and fused with communist ideas and a communist party, will lead to a mass realization among miners that the only way to free themselves of Black Lung, of mine cave-ins, of being robbed of their hard-earned pensions and of a decent life while working, is to free themselves of the profit system that produces that robbery. They will help establish a system of workers' power which will guarantee that workers come first, because there will be no bosses.

# Caucuses and Communists

## *A Dialouge Among Rank-&-File Teamsters*

"I CAN SEE THE NEED FOR OUR CAUCUS, but I don't see what's so important about having a Party." Louis, a leader of a newly-formed San Francisco Teamsters Union caucus was speaking at a PLP discussion group on trade-union organizing.

"The caucus," he explained, "is necessary if we want to organize a strong rank-and-file movement in the union to dump the leadership and make the Teamsters an organization that will really fight the pay board, and get a shorter work week with no compulsory overtime.

"Without a caucus, it's each guy for himself and we know from years of sellouts and screw-jobs by the present leadership, that won't work. But a Party? You guys are all right," (he was speaking to John, a PL member in the group), "But I don't see why you're all that important."

For a minute or two everyone was silent, including John. Louis had spoken honestly, and as a friend. Finally, someone else in the group offered:

"A caucus can never lead a revolution. Only a Party is disciplined enough to do that...and committed enough. No revolution has ever succeeded without a Party."

"Okay," Louis was not so easily satisfied, "But no revolution has ever succeeded with a Party, either. Look how Russia and China have become just like this country."

It was a point. History alone wasn't going to prove the need for a Party.

John started to speak slowly: "But without a Party, without the organization to lead the way, to show the need for all workers to unite, to show the need to overthrow the state apparatus, there never would have been any revolution in Russia or China. The whole reason those revolutions were turned around was because the Communist Parties there became corrupt." After a minute, he added, "A real communist Party, and I think PL is just that, fights corruption, nationalism, racism and selfishness in its own ranks and in the working class, as well as in the bosses' system."

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YOU COULD TELL BY LOOKING AT LOUIS' face—and a few other faces, too—that this answer didn't answer, or at least not completely. It sounded right, and certainly the PL members Louis knew in the caucus were hard-working, honest and even criticized themselves when they

thought they'd been wrong (like the time John said he thought he talked too much and didn't listen to others enough; and he has done better...). But still...

"Why do we need a Party? Here, now, in this country, in this union, in this caucus?" Louis' tone said he wasn't trying to be stubborn—he really wanted to know.

After a few minutes of general discussion, the group decided to try to project how they hoped their caucus would develop in the coming months and years and see whether a Party would make any difference.

"Okay, we win the local elections next year," Louis had it pretty well worked out in his mind. "Then we begin to operate on several fronts. We start fighting every grievance through local committees, and at the same time building up a list of contract demands based on what the guys want and need. This would include 30 for 40. At the same time, we approach other unions and caucuses in the Bay Area to try to set up an inter-union rank-and-file council for common demands—especially 30 for 40.

**"THEY CAN'T STOP US FROM WALKING OUT..."**

"At the same time, we start a campaign to run a slate at the international convention, we write letters and articles in the Teamster magazine, we contact other locals, we make visits, phone calls, write letters, etc. I know the Party has some good contacts which can help us here, but the rest of us have some contacts, too."

"And what happens when the International puts the local in trusteeship like the CWA did to the rebel installers last year?"

"That's why we need to keep our caucus—and build it," Louis explained. They can take away our offices, but they can't stop us from walking out if we have enough guys with us. When we start to hurt them in the pocket, the companies will have to deal with us no matter what Fitzimmons says."

The group was impressed. This guy knew his stuff. "Then what?"

"That's it." Louis was finished with his scenario. Or almost. "Of course, other caucuses will do the same thing in their unions and..."

"But they probably won't unless there's a PL to guarantee it," John interrupted. "The govern-



ment will come in and threaten arrests and injunctions, and phony 'radical' politicians will come in and tell everyone to cool the strikes, obey the pay board and vote for them next election. Without a Party, the threats or the buy-offs or both will stop the rank-and-file caucus movement."

Louis thought awhile. "Maybe," he conceded, "but maybe not. Maybe the example of one militant, fighting rank-and-file caucus would show the way for others. Maybe if we stand and fight, others will join us. One nation-wide Teamster wildcat could bring lots of other guys out in support—a kind of rank-and-file general strike."

The idea was catching. Someone joined in, "We could bring the whole country to a stop!"

\* \* \* \* \*

**JOHN ASKED IF HE COULD READ AN ARTICLE** from the English "Daily Mail." "It points out that in England conditions for workers are getting worse, and the union leaders can't control their membership—sound familiar?—and some politicians are afraid the rank-and-file workers will rebel, and possibly call a general strike, and even move towards revolution. The article tries to figure out if this is really possible.

"First it points out that as long as trade unionists are demanding better pay and conditions only for themselves, for their own industries, the demands could conceivably be met. All the bosses would have to do is raise prices and lower wages in some other industries or their overseas companies:

*"This would produce continuously rising prices, but many sections of our society including the most powerful, do better with rising than with stable or falling prices... Life would go on. After all, it goes on in Latin American republics which have lived with inflation for years."*

"Then the article deals with the spectre of a general strike... just what you were talking about, Lou. It considers the possibility that 'the miners, say, allied with the electricity workers... could bring industry to a standstill until the Industrial Relations Act'—that's like England's Taft-Hartley—is repealed, a punitive wealth tax introduced, the banks or the land nationalized or some other revolutionary objective."

"But then it goes on to tell the British bosses not to worry their rich little heads about this prospect, because the workers just couldn't do it. Listen:

*"A general strike... hits the strikers as hard as anyone else. There would be no more light or food or heat for strikers than for anyone else... social security payments... would no longer be forthcoming, even if there were anything to spend them on..."*

"Can you imagine such a general strike lasting for a while in this country. Sure, the country would be at a standstill. But what do we say to people who have to go without food for the kids, medicine, heat, etc. Do you think people are going to put up with that kind of suffering just because one or two caucuses demand better conditions or shorter

hours? This next paragraph from the article spells it out:

*"People who indulge in these fantasies of an omnipotent trade unionism are thinking in terms not of a strike but of a revolution; but they do not realize that any form of revolution... requires a disciplined and effective body of men (including an armed forces) to carry it through."*

"The article then looks around England and sees that at this point there is no such organization, no Progressive Labor Party, and concludes therefore that, while workers will complain and strike and cause trouble, the bosses have nothing serious to worry about—they can squeeze wages, freeze wages or do whatever they damn well please.

"The article could have pointed to France three years ago when there was just such a strike and no communist organization to lead the revolution (the old Communist Party is so established by now that they flush the toilet every time a boss takes a shit) and so the strike failed and the French bosses went back to the Riviera."

**JOHN STOPPED. NOBODY ELSE SAID ANYTHING.** People were thinking.

"And that doesn't even take into account the problems of building a new society once the old one is overthrown," John added, "and the problems of crushing the bosses so they'll stay crushed! Building a society with no new privileged class, no extra pay for officials, a society where racism is totally outlawed.

"A caucus," declared John, "the best of all possible caucuses—and I'm going to work to help make this one just that—could not handle that alone."

"That all sounds very far off," Louis seemed a little impatient, "What about our caucus in the Teamsters right now?"

"Okay," John came right back, "Take the problem of non-union truckers getting the construction jobs."

"You take it," one of the other Teamsters in the group broke in, "and you know what you can do with it."

John joined in the general laughter but then continued, "There's a lot of black drivers working for those non-union outfits—some are even owned by black businessmen, right?"

Heads nodded. "These drivers undercut our pay by sometimes as much as two bucks an hour, so naturally the companies will hire them if they can get away with it. That means less jobs for us.

"Now there's some guys in our union—especially the officers—who right away start getting on the black guys for being 'scabs' and they start whipping up a lot of racism," John Looked around as he spoke.

"Well, they are taking our jobs," Teddy spoke for the first time. "What would you call it?"

This time Louis answered before John "Wait a minute, Teddy. You know Rourke and the rest of the local officials have a policy of keeping black drivers out of the union. They got it all worked out

with the companies—it's the same crowd hollering the loudest about the black 'scabs' who won't let those guys get any union work."

**JOHN SAID HE THOUGHT THE CAUCUS HAD** a choice. "Some caucus members think we should ignore the issue of racism in the union and the industry, and just fight around 'bread and butter issues.' Others think we have to fight to open up union jobs for black drivers if we ever want to stop the scab truckers from getting the work."

Louis said he agreed with the second choice. Teddy said he wasn't sure—he thought it might keep some good guys away from the caucus.

Eddie, who is black, and not in the union, said he didn't have any choice, and added, "How come, Teddy, you never worry about keeping me away from the caucus?"

### RACISM IS SCREWING US ALL

"I agree," John said, "But whatever the caucus decides right now, our Party, PLP, will continue to attack the racism coming from Rourke and his crew and trying to convince everyone that we can't win until we defeat that poison.

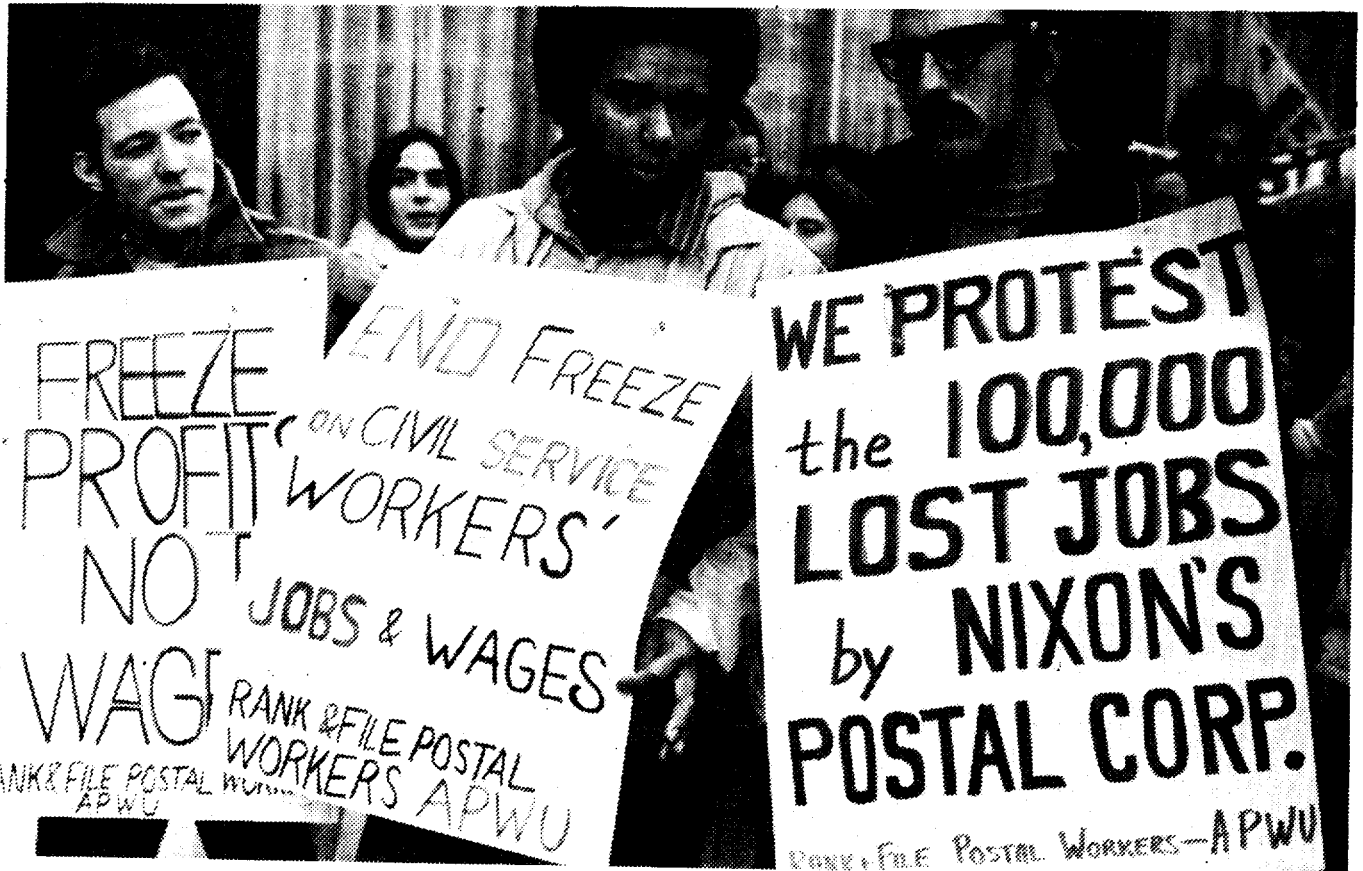
"We'll explain—at union meetings, in leaflets, in our paper, and in caucus meetings—that it's not just this union that's involved, and it's not just a

few jobs. The first thing that racism is doing is screwing the black drivers (and other black workers) who are getting two bucks an hour less (if that much) than white drivers. Second, it's making decent-paying jobs harder to get for everybody. Third, it's splitting us up—and keeping the angriest and best leadership, and I'm talking about the black workers, away from the rest of the workers.

"And if they can do that in the Teamsters, and in the UAW and Steelworkers, and in the country as a whole—and if they can take other jobs and send them out to even lower-paid workers in Mexico, Japan or wherever and convince people here that it's all because those 'foreigners' are willing to work for 'coolie wages'; when really those workers are fighting as hard as we are to raise their own pay—then we're screwed plain and simple. Caucus or no caucus. It won't be worth a dime if we don't get together with those other workers."

"That sounds good, but what're we going to do—go out and organize the Japanese workers when we can't even organize all of Los Angeles?" It was a half-joke. Teddy was serious, though: "How can we have one union in different countries, speaking different languages, with different costs of living?"

"Maybe that's one of the things our caucus can help work out," John answered seriously. "A few months ago the Italian and British rubber work-



Postal workers: The new militancy leads to rank-and-file caucuses.

ers had a joint strike to stop the runaway shops from England that were moving to Italy and paying non-union wages there. The Japanese workers have a lot of union consciousness, too, you know. Maybe we could begin to have talks with them—or a caucus over there—about some joint action, say, against the big auto companies in both countries.’

**JOHN STOPPED A MINUTE. THEN HE WENT** on: “Anyway, that’s the type of thing that our Party brings to a caucus movement. Even if you don’t agree with all of it now, think about it. The strategy we work out has to help bring working people together or we’ll lose.

“We can start right now. The contract’s up in a few months. If we go out this year, will we go out all together—nation-wide—and stay out all together, or will it be another Fitzsimmons maneuver, like you go back this week, we’ll strike next week. You do your thing, we’ll do ours? And will we go out and get support—job actions, or food and money from other rank and filers, from students, or will it be the same ole ‘Teamsters-vs.-the world bullshit? John paused. “We just could make a difference.

#### “INJUNCTIONS CAN’T DRIVE TRUCKS”

“In the long run, people can be won to support a general strike, even if it means hardship, if they’ve had the experience of supporting each other’s strikes for a number of years, of fighting for a shorter work week together and more jobs for everyone, of fighting racism together—instead of like now, being turned against each other. People can not only be won to support a general strike, they can organize to distribute food and supplies and services during such a strike to make it more effective.”

“Look,” Teddy broke in, “You know as well as I do that as soon as any strike gets really effective the companies get a court injunction and we either go back to work or . . .”

“Fuck ‘em!” Louis ended the sentence—his way. “Injunctions can’t drive trucks.”

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“**THAT,**” JOHN GRINNED AT LOUIS, “IS the PL line. It’s one of the reasons a Party is necessary—to constantly point out that the government is on the side of the companies, and . . .”

“Hell,” Louis interrupted, “That’s hardly news to anyone. Even Meany quit the Pay Board. Or is he a communist too?” This time it was Louis’ turn to grin. “Okay,” John came back, “but they’ll come up with something new before long, something more liberal, something Meany won’t quit—or Woodcock or Hoffa will be on it. The thing is, the government is on the side of the companies no matter whether the guys in there now stay in, or the liberals get in; they’re just more dangerous because they fool more people. Remember, the Landrum-Griffith Act is officially called the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffith, Act, because that’s who first started it.

“The only way to deal with a government injunction” John continued, “is to treat it like any

other company maneuver, and keep on striking. And like the man says, let the injunctions drive the trucks.

“And eventually, the only way to guarantee what we win is to dump the government and put in our own—and you know they’ll never let any election come off where that might happen. Remember how they called out the Ohio National Guard against Teamster strikers a couple of years ago.

“Only by revolution—and for that, too, we’ve got to have a Party.” John looked over at Louis, as if to ask if he was convinced.

It seemed to make sense. A number of people in the group agreed. But most were still waiting for Louis to speak. John felt he had talked too long—again—and was going to apologize, but Louis spoke first:

“I want to think about what you said some more. Maybe you’re right.” He stopped. It seemed a long time. Nobody spoke. Then Louis again:

“Even if you’re right, how can we be sure PL won’t become corrupt and sell out like the Russian and Chinese Parties did?”

**JOHN THOUGHT A MINUTE. IT WASN’T JUST** that individual Party leaders became corrupt. The sellouts in those Parties came at least partly from the political line of those Parties. Especially from their nationalism.

“See, as long as they argued that the most important thing was to ‘Defend the Glorious Soviet Union’ or ‘Support the Chinese Fatherland’ then the most important thing couldn’t be to help the struggles of workers around the world.

“Well, if you can give up the class struggle for the sake of one nation (just like the ‘national interest’ bullshit here) then why not give it up for the sake of a county or a city, or factory—to hell with the Teamsters’ strike in LA, we’ve got to build up San Francisco first—and eventually, a family, like me for mine, you for yours, and so on. That’s how corruption is not just like some disease you catch, but comes from a wrong line.

“That’s really another whole discussion . . . a long one . . . it involves Marxism-Leninism vs. Nationalism . . . maybe next meeting . . . but look Lou, there is one thing you can do to help make sure our Party doesn’t become corrupted . . .”

Louis looked up—

“**JOIN US!**” JOHN INCLUDED THE WHOLE group with his words. “Because for every time in history you can point to a sellout, that many times there have been people fighting against that sellout, exposing it, protesting it, planning to throw out the sellouts. (That’s what almost happened in the Chinese Cultural Revolution.)

“People always fight back. That’s the thing that should inspire us from history. That’s why our Party has to be a part of the people. We can’t build a strong Party without people like you in it—just like we can’t make a revolution without a strong Party . . .” (To be continued)

(The members of this group would like to know what readers think about this subject. Please write to PL magazine.)

# 'Marxism-Leninism: The Key to Black Liberation'

*(Note: The following article is re-printed from The Black Scholar, Sept. 1972, written by Earl Ofari under the title, "Marxism-Leninism—The Key to Black Liberation." Although we do not agree with everything the author says, we felt his ideas would provoke much thought among our readers.)*

**MANY ACTIVISTS ASK THE QUESTION TODAY:** "Has the black movement reached a plateau? In the face of mounting repression we see that many of yesterday's radical leaders are gone. Either they are jailed, exiled, dead, or have quietly made their peace with the "system."

It is no mere accident that blacks are now floundering somewhere between reformism and inaction. To date there hasn't been a serious and systematic analysis of American capitalism, imperialism, the class struggle, and importantly, the relation of Marxism-Leninism to the black liberation struggle. The anti-communist thinking in American society has affected blacks and largely obscured these questions.

Many muddled ideas abound. Some call Marxism-Leninism a "white ideology" with no meaning to blacks. Others say some parts of it may apply, but we've still got to get our own thing together. Still others see the best ideology as being no ideology except black survival.

But Marxism-Leninism cannot be approached in any of these ways. It is a science of struggle with universal principles which can apply to every movement. What many fail to understand is that the theory and practice, not the distortions, flexibly conform to the **separate character of each national struggle**. But while the form may change the content and objective of socialist revolution and construction remains the same.

**TO SEE THIS WE MUST COMBAT BUILT-IN** bias and closely examine its historic significance to colonial oppressed Third World people.

Marx and Engels never fully developed their analysis of national movements due to three reasons: (1) imperialism in the mid-1800's hadn't gained dominance over world markets; (2) the Third World was composed of many fragmented peasant-based, rural-agrarian societies which were only beginning to feel the effects of Western capitalist production; and (3) the lack of crystallization of nationalist movements because of imperialism's weakness.

With the conditions for nationalist struggle

not yet ripened, both concluded that non-white movements had no independent character of their own apart from the European workers' movement. At first, they enthusiastically supported British and French expansion into Asia and Africa. Capitalism, they thought, would re-organize and uplift the "backward" colonial societies.

The brutal nature of imperialism gradually forced them to rethink their positions on colonial oppression. By the 1870's both became strong backers of the rebellions of the Turks, Arabs, Indians and Egyptians. The socialist potential in the fights of each of these groups became more than apparent.

## **NATIONALISM, BARRIER TO CLASS UNITY**

In Europe they saw the similarities between the Irish struggle and those of Third World peoples. In demanding independence for Ireland, they were careful to note that the Irish worker and peasant and the English worker were both oppressed by the British capitalists. The success of one struggle depended directly on the other. Marx also observed how the English bourgeoisie attempted to use religion (Catholic vs. Protestant) to divide the workers. He also saw that nationalism could be another barrier to prevent class unity.

After examining the other national movements of the Poles and Slavs, he concluded that workers should support those struggles which lead to independence, while opposing those which further the reactionary designs of imperialism. Marx pointed to the tendency of the native bourgeoisie to lead national movements. He felt that if the working class or progressive sector didn't advance to the leadership then the movement would inevitably wind up back in the arms of imperialism.

**WITH THE DEATHS OF MARX AND ENGELS,** European socialists found themselves in an ideological vacuum. The question of colonial struggle having been only partially resolved in the framework of Marxian theory, European socialists em-

braced the dominant attitudes of chauvinism and imperialism. The congresses of the Second International in 1904 and 1907 barely approved a few weak resolutions condemning imperialism.

This situation was completely reversed by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Under Lenin, the Bolshevik Party made self-determination and national struggle a central feature of its program. This wasn't done out of any abstract idealism but rather out of practical necessity.

Russia wasn't a monolithic "white" nation but a "prison of many nations." There were over 100 separate nationalities at the time of the Russian revolution, some non-white, and all oppressed by Czarist colonial rule. The Bolsheviks had the task of welding these multi-national groupings, particularly the Muslims and Orientals of South and Eastern Russia, where the level of repression equalled or surpassed that of Afro-Americans, into a unified nation that guaranteed equality and self-determination.

The Bolsheviks wanted to reverse the Czarist policy of pitting one national group against the other thereby making imperial domination easier. All the material and technical resources once hoarded by the Czarists now went directly from the rich cities to the outlying areas.

The next step was to build up local communist leadership. In the case of the Muslims, the emphasis was on suppressing the bourgeois-feudalist Mullahs who steered the Muslim movement toward narrow nationalism and accommodation with reactionary pro-imperialist forces.

Under Muslim communist leadership separate Muslim councils, congresses, commissions, and federated organizations were allowed to flourish. They soon formed the base for a Muslim Com-

munist Party with its own central committee, but in close working alliance with the Bolshevik Party.

In Asia, autonomous republics were created where the indigenous culture, law, and social systems were recognized as sovereign. In every republic, the workers, under their own communist direction, held power and were striving to end feudalism, eliminate petty-bourgeois domination, and build socialism.

Lenin's famed "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" provided the framework for the new Bolshevik approach:

*It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and in the backward countries, for the exclusive purpose of uniting the various units of the future proletarian parties—such as are Communist not only in name—in all backward countries and educate them to the consciousness of their specific tasks, i.e., to the tasks of the struggle against the bourgeois democratic tendencies within their respective nationalities.1*

Lenin noted the collaborationist role bourgeois nationalists played in aiding imperialism, and the danger this posed to an oppressed people:

*As a striking example of the deception practiced upon the working class of a subject country through the combined efforts of allied imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists where, under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews were only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arabian working population to the exploitation of England.2*



**Class unity in action:**

**Black and white auto workers**

**wildcat against Chrysler**

**bosses, Belvedere, Illinois.**

The obvious antidote was proletarian internationalism. Social change no matter whether cultural, economic, or political, couldn't have been realized by the Russian oppressed nationalities without the prior seizure and control of the state by the communists.

**NATIONALISM, LIKE THE CAPITALIST BOURGEOISIE**, was viewed as a hindrance to the organization of the working class for the seizure. Marxists were opposed to any division along racial, cultural or religious lines which did not lead to workers' solidarity.

Marxist support for a national movement was conditioned solely to the degree that it promoted this unity and was objectively anti-imperialist. This meant a rigid class analysis of the movement to determine its progressive content.

Following this principle, Lenin regarded Afro-America as an oppressed nation struggling against imperialism. The slave revolts, the 19th century national black conventions, the Southern "Back to Africa" movements of the 1890's, Garveyism, and today's Black Power struggles, show the unbroken imprint of this oppressed national spirit.

The super-exploitation of black share-croppers, farmers and urban black workers has evolved into a form of semi-colonialism akin to other Third World models. Since all capitalist societies are class societies with a ruling class controlling the means of production like the factories, banks, mines, farms, etc., semi-colonial dominance is maintained partly through the cultivation of a national bourgeoisie.

### **BLACK MOVEMENT LED BY THE ELITE**

Lacking a sound industrial base of development, the Afro-American bourgeoisie's growth has been stunted. But this hasn't prevented it from acquiring the ruler's class tendencies and aspirations. This is what ties the small core of black merchants, shopkeepers, professionals and skilled craftsmen to imperialism.

**MANY ANALYSTS, LIKE E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER**, examining the black bourgeoisie have superficially focused on the group's style of dress, occupations, social habits, places of residence, and manners to show that its outlook and tastes parallel those of the ruling class. But little attention has ever been given to the black elite as apologists for imperialism in the black community. This goes beyond mere sentiments. It aims at the conscious pacification and subversion of class organizing and socialist ideas among colonized black workers.

It's no accident that the black movement, no matter whether it's been for civil rights or black power, has been led by this elite; and for petty-bourgeois demands such as more black administrators, foremen and black "capitalists." The Black Power conferences in Newark, Philadelphia, Atlanta and the Black Expo in Chicago were backed to the hilt by some of the largest American corporations. Many of the "militant"

Black Power leaders form groups like CORE, SNCC, Operation Breadbasket, are now tailing behind both the Democrats and the Republicans. This is a phenomenon seen in all oppressed nations.

Mao Tse Tung in his essay on "New Democracy" calls attention to this in the Chinese struggle:

*Being a bourgeois class in a colonial and semi-colonial country and so being extremely flabby economically and politically, the Chinese national bourgeoisie also has another quality, namely, a proneness to conciliation with the enemies of the revolution. Even when it takes part in the revolution, it is unwilling to break with imperialism completely.*<sup>3</sup>

### **"REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM"**

A few sincere black radicals, recognizing this opportunism, have mistakenly put forth the concept of "revolutionary nationalism" as an alternative. But the fact remains that no ideology stands above class. It either works to enrich the class struggle or works against it—toward capitalism or away from it.

**NOWHERE IN THE WORLD HAS "REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM"** solidified working class power, overthrown imperialism, or begun the process of building socialism. Without a struggle to transform nationalist consciousness into class consciousness, "revolutionary nationalism" is just one more illusion to blind blacks to the necessity of socialist internationalism.

Similarly, those who loosely style themselves as Pan-Africanists make identical errors in their failure to grasp the class essence of the African revolution. The African bourgeoisie, not the masses, have led all the independence struggles on the continent.

The native bourgeoisie represented by Kenyatta in Kenya, Nasser in Egypt, Nkrumah in Ghana sought to wrest a larger share of their country's wealth and resources away from imperialism thereby strengthening its own class position. The independence struggles came directly on the heels of the near collapse of British and French imperialism in the immediate post-World War II period.

Forced to abandon their colonial presence, both nations opted for a neo-colonial relation which required the propping up and manipulation of a local ruling elite while giving the appearance of independence to the masses.

Algeria is an excellent example. Here the national bourgeoisie joined with the workers and peasants to drive out the French exploiters. When this was done the revolution was quickly halted before the masses took real power. With the national bourgeoisie in control, the way was paved for the entrance of French neo-colonialism.

Today the Algerian economy is more tightly controlled by the French than before the "revolution." The 10,000 French technicians exercise a virtual monopoly over the country's administra-

tive apparatus. Banking is controlled from Paris by Credit Lyonnais and Societe Generale. Forty-five percent of oil production is in the hands of ELF-ERAP and Eurafrep, two French holding companies. The rest is divided among CFP (25%; another French company), Shell (10%), and Mobil Oil, Getty Oil and Atlantic-Richfield with smaller shares.

The French own Renault assembly plants, data processing factories, fish canneries, textile mills, brick making plants, tourist settlements, the TV station, and the wine making industry. Fully 80% of Algeria's oil exports go to France.

This has meant greater misery for the Algerian masses while the "revolutionary" nationalist leadership grows richer off its deals with imperialism.

The same picture is repeated in the Congo (Brazzaville). Much touted recently by the Algiers Panthers as a "revolutionary People's government," the country's leadership in 1969 announced an anti-imperialist, Marxist-Leninist policy. But since the bourgeoisie remained in control, imperialism never was truly broken.

#### **'BLACK SELF-DETERMINATION'**

The country's four banks are completely owned by Societe Generale of Paris, Bankers Trust of New York, Banque Nationale de Paris, Deutsche Bank of Berlin, and First National City Bank of New York. Fifty-one percent of the country's imports come from France, 13% from West Germany, and another 9% from Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Seventy percent of its exports go to Europe.

Predictably, the "Marxist-Leninist" national bourgeoisie responding to the imperialists' call recently jailed many of its party's cadres, disbanded the people's militia, and smashed the workers' organizations.

If this is the current situation in the two "advanced" African nations then it takes little imagination to see that the rest of the continent is trapped even deeper in the swamp of neo-colonialism.

Fortunately, the continued brutal oppression of the people through their own sell-out black rulers is beginning to crack the facade of nationalist unity. Genuine African communists know that as the class struggle among the workers and peasants gathers steam there will be revolutionary upsurges in the "independent" nations aimed at the eventual overthrow of the African bourgeoisie. The masses will also rid themselves of all the phony ideas, like "new" communalism\*, negritude, unique brand of African socialism, and the myth of the "classless" African society, pushed by the elites as covers for their exploitation.

Only then will the way be opened for the African masses to give real political and material aid to the guerrilla war against the racist settler regimes in Southern and West Africa.

The Afro-American movement has followed a similar course as the African freedom struggle. The three main objectives have been self-deter-

mination, political power, and land for economic control. Each has presented possibilities and pitfalls which must be looked at from a class perspective.

**WHILE BLACK SELF-DETERMINATION CAN** never be won under capitalism, the fight for it will create in part the objective conditions and consciousness for socialist revolution. The Bolsheviks were very much aware of this. After the revolution, Finland an internal colony of Czarist Russia, was allowed to secede from the new Soviet nation and form its own capitalist state.

Many Bolshevik party members challenged this, arguing that an unrestricted policy of self-determination would only create more capitalist states hostile to the Soviet Union, and subservient to imperialism. It would further strengthen the power of the local bourgeoisie enabling it to oppress even more its own workers.

The Third All-Russian Congress of the Soviets in 1918 clarified the Bolshevik position on the matter. Stalin, then Commissar of Nationalities, with Lenin's approval had the motion passed stating that self-determination "ought to be understood as the right of self-determination not of the bourgeoisie but of the toiling masses of a given nation. The principle of self-determination ought to be used as a means in the struggle for socialism and it ought to be subordinated to the principles of socialism." The congress also affirmed Lenin's concept of federalism which opposed the formation of unlimited numbers of small states **based on each separate nationality.**

The Chinese Communist Party was in substantial agreement with the Soviets on self-determination. They held that only after state economic and political power was seized by communists could a workers' government be established to truly safeguard self-determination of national minority peoples.

Previous to the revolution, the ruling class in China usually came from the Han majority. Like America's white ruling class, they pushed their brand of racism, called "Great Han Chauvinism," in dealings with the national minorities which

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Many blacks persist in confusing "communalism" with scientific socialism. In the pre-slave trade societies of Africa, communalism was based mainly on land division in a peasant-agrarian economic-social structure. Communism is the highest form of social development in an advanced industrial capitalist society. Dialectical and historical materialism—the laws of economic-social change, and the class struggle between capitalists and workers over controlling the means of production are its two key features. Engels, in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, explains ". . . all past history, with the exception of its primitive stages, was the history of class struggle; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and exchange—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical and other ideas of a given historical period." (International Publishers, N.Y., 1935, p. 51)

number some 40 million and make up 6 per cent of the Chinese population.

After the revolutionary triumph of 1949, the Chinese Communist Party quickly set about the job of changing the status of the country's nationalities. Josef Kolmas in a study of minority nationalities states:

*Minorities officially gained equal status, the right of local self-government, and freedom to develop their languages and life . . . Regional autonomy is the basic policy which the government has adopted in its approach to the national problem. According to the Chinese constitution, autonomy is to be exercised in areas where minorities live in compact communities. In all other cases the electoral system is so arranged that they have suitable representation in the local governments. Today, there are five autonomous, self-governing regions in China, and sixty-five smaller groupings known as autonomous counties.<sup>4</sup>*

The Chinese didn't rely on phony civil rights bills, Fair Housing Acts, Equal Employment Commissions, reams of studies, or countless conferences; they took forthright action making full use of workers' state power to end the centuries of national oppression.

**GROWING NUMBERS OF BLACKS, RECOGNIZING** the critical importance of political power, have projected the idea of an independent black party. Although the desire to break away from the capitalist-controlled Democratic and Republican parties is both necessary and on the surface progressive, certain questions must still be asked. The most immediate being, "Whose interest would it serve?"

The problems with a separate party could be summarized as follows: (1) the black elite with superior resources and organization would proba-

bly be in control; (2) it would lead to further splits in the working class; (3) a party program centered on nationalist demands of the elite, like calls for black administrators and black capitalists, would hinder the growth of radical consciousness; (4) it would prevent black workers from gaining control of community leadership, organizations, and programs, (5) it would promote the false notion of black "all-class" unity.

A black political party under these conditions would, in fact, be totally acceptable to the ruling class. The future might even see the Ford Foundation funding such an "independent" party directed by "militant" front leaders as another pacification tool masking the sell-out practices of black "spokesmen" in places like Oakland, Chicago, and Newark.

If the recent Black Political Convention in Gary is any indication, the best guess for the present is that the separate party idea will remain an idea thrown out by the black Democrats only to gain more personal concessions from the Democratic Party.

The practical need is for a multi-national workers' party, capable of uniting all workers, led by a black working class vanguard, around the banner of socialist internationalism.

In direct relation to discussions on black political power is the demand for land and economic control. Marxists in the context of advanced capitalist society generally consider the land question as only one part of the struggle by workers for the means of production.

The Republic of New Africa with its appeals for five states in the South, and other black groups who speak of land as the solution, completely miss this point. Blacks have owned land for decades in the South. The peak was reached in 1910 when there were 220,000 individual black



**The real tradition of the South:  
Black and white shipbuilding  
strikers take care of a scab,  
Newport News, Virginia, 1967**



land owners. The numbers dwindled as mechanization and corporate enterprise increasingly dominated agricultural production. Blacks left the land in droves during the migrations which began in full force in the 1920's and moved to the North and West in search of better economic opportunities and living conditions.

Harry Haywood, early black communist organizer, in **Negro Liberation**, describes the process of corporate monopolization of Southern land which extended even into slavery:

*The American plantation was never self-sustaining, for it was a hybrid of two systems, classic slave economy and modern capitalism, combining the worst features of both. It was sired by a capitalist commodity-producing society developed under its wing and subjected to its market relationships. Then, as now, the nature of the planter's crop, its price and his returns were determined by the capitalist market. His supplies and finances came from outside. During slavery, the plantation was financed by big banking and commercial institutions in the North as well as in England. But the really big invasion of the South and its agriculture by northern capital could come only with northern victory in the Civil War. 5*

#### **'FREE ENTERPRISE' A THING OF THE PAST**

We see the results of that invasion today not only in the South, but the entire nation. In 1969, 5% of the U.S. farms (90,000) made over half of farm sales. One percent of American feedlots handle 52% of the beef, and five companies buy 90% of all broiler chickens. In California, the largest agricultural state, one-tenth of one percent of the farms own 40% of the cropland. The 4 million dollars in government crop subsidies in 1970 went to the corporate farmers.

This corporate dominance has forced nearly 2,000 small farmers a month out of business. IT&T, Gulf Oil, Kraft, Southern Pacific, and Tenneco are the corporations in the forefront of the land grab.

The operations of Tenneco show clearly what is meant by land being only part of the means of production. The corporation plows its own land, uses sprays and chemicals from its own chemical plant, runs the tractors on gas and oil from its own refineries and oil wells, and finally processes, packages, and distributes the food through Tenneco subsidiaries. 6.

**TO TALK ABOUT LAND IN ISOLATION AND** as an end, as nationalists do, is the height of naivete, and reveals the blurred misunderstanding of class forces. Until imperialism is destroyed there can be no independent farm, let alone an "independent" black nation. The present South where the masses of displaced black and white tenant farmers live in depressed, near semi-feudal conditions proves this.

Corporate capitalism has hit the small businessman in the same way as the small farmer. Free enterprise has long since been a thing of the past. The top 500 corporations in America in 1969 received over 75% of all industrial profits; the top ten received almost one-fourth of these profits.

General Motors employs as many workers as there are in Greece, Norway, Denmark, and Finland combined.

Against this, there is no black capitalism. Black-owned businesses, primarily small marginal shops and markets, account for less than 3% of the country's total businesses; black banking assets combined are less than one-half of one percent of the Bank of America's.

While many are aware that "black capitalism" is nothing more than a neo-colonial fraud, the class implications haven't entirely been drawn out. Talk of "capital gains," "business growth," "investment potentials," etc., almost exclusively belongs to the vocabulary of the tiny black elite. Black workers, in turn, are concerned with job related issues, such as insurance, health and retirement benefits, layoffs, salaries, and the wage-price freeze, **not owning**.

This is the starting point for comprehending the crucial place of black labor at the head of the class struggle. The black movement, despite being led by the black elite, traditionally has been powered by black workers. Their demands, ignored\* during both the civil rights and black power phase, achieved forceful expression in the massive **working class rebellions** in Watts, Newark, Detroit and dozens of other cities. \*\*

**THE OLD ARGUMENT THAT MOST BLACKS** aren't production workers, have no influence in the economy and are therefore obsolete, has no validity. In the key longshore, auto, steel and transportation industries blacks make up 25-40% of the work force. In Detroit's Chrysler factories blacks are the majority workers (70%); they're also in the majority in transit operations in cities like New York, Chicago, Detroit, Atlanta and Philadelphia.

The independent actions of black Detroit auto workers (initiated by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers), black dockworkers in New Orleans and Baltimore refusing to unload Rhodesian chrome, striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Poultry and Pulp workers in Mississippi, have demonstrated the potential for bottling up sections of the American economy.

Black women workers have provided some of the most militant leadership in these actions. They are at the middle of production in the garment trades, and are a large bloc in the auto, aircraft, and service industries as well as the nation's educational system. The triple oppression they suffer as workers, blacks, and women will

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\*. Characteristically, the Black Political Convention could come up with only one recommendation dealing with black labor. And this was a meek call for enforcement of federal laws against discrimination in the construction industry. \*\*

A study by Scientific American Magazine found that 70% of the "rioters" in Detroit and Newark held jobs. Sixty-one percent of the self-reported "rioters" in Newark were unemployed for only one month during the previous year. When asked about their employment they said that they wanted "a job with more income and responsibility."

rapidly move them into the vanguard of the vanguard of workers' movement. No amount of black male chauvinist nonsense about "staying behind the man," and "role is in the home having babies," will change this.

This isn't to say that black unemployment isn't severe. It's always been several times greater than the average because as Marx noted, capitalism requires a large reserve supply of cheap labor to lower the wages of other workers, and serve in times of crisis as strike-breakers and scabs. But it is precisely this feature that gives the black community its overwhelming proletarian character. A worker, unemployed or not, still maintains **working class consciousness**, thus tying the individual unto the industrial mainstream. This applies as much to the welfare mother as to the 20 year factory laborer.

### "LUMPENPROLETARIAT"

Even if this were not the case, Marxists know that workers' strength is never measured by numbers, but rather by strategic location, influence, and function. In China, the industrial workers were regarded as the leaders of the revolutionary movement though they numbered only 2 million, or a minute fraction of the overall half-billion Chinese population. They realized that workers at the point of production are rigidly shaped with a discipline and stability to sustain the revolutionary struggle to its climax.

**ANOTHER COMMON TENDENCY AMONG** some blacks who seek to discredit Marxism-Leninism and working class unity is to label the black community "lumpenproletariat." The Cleaver-led Algiers Panthers have, unfortunately, given some credibility to this distortion too.

In the Marxian sense, the lumpenproletariat consists of hustlers, pimps, prostitutes, thieves, etc.; a sub-class, totally divorced from the work force, possessing no working class consciousness, and it lives by preying on the working class. The lumpen is a relatively small and powerless group in relation to the general black community.

The question is further confused by Fanon's erroneous writings, in the **Wretched of the Earth**, on the lumpen:

*In the colonial countries the working class has everything to lose; in reality it represents that fraction of the colonised nation which is necessary and irreplaceable if the colonial machine is to run smoothly; it includes tram conductors, taxi drivers, miners, dockers, interpreters, nurses and so on. It is these elements which constitute also the "bourgeois" fraction of the colonised people.<sup>7</sup>*

Nothing could be further from the African reality. Under colonialism, the African worker had no job security, benefits, and received, according to the 1958 **African Labor Survey**, pay "near the minimum level of existence." The numerous boycotts, rallies, demonstrations, and strikes by the "bought off" urban workers in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and Guinea during the 1940's and '50's set the groundwork for the rise

of the independence movement. The first demands for nationalization of industry came not from the lumpen or the peasants but by Nigerian tin miners, Ghanaian gold miners, and Zambian copper miners.<sup>8</sup>

Far more prevalent is the notion that white workers are reactionary and backward and will never be willing to unite with blacks. To a degree it is true that white workers are reactionary. But Marx didn't say that advanced workers were a natural revolutionary force, only that they held the best potential because of their proximity to the forces of production. The workers' movement goes through stages of development and growth gradually taking on genuine class consciousness as capitalism ripens. Paul Sweezy, Marxian scholar, points to this in his **Modern Capitalism**:

*There is nothing in the mere mechanics of the expanded reproduction process to bring about a qualitative transformation of the proletariat. At this point it is therefore of first importance to recognize that in Marx's view the proletariat was not a revolutionary force from its birth but on the contrary acquired this quality in the course of its capitalistic development.<sup>9</sup>*

**ENGELS AND LENIN BOTH SHOWED HOW** the capitalist class bribes a small section of labor's leadership ("labor aristocracy"; e.g. Meany's, Woodcocks, etc.) to tranquilize labor's demands and struggles and smother revolutionary class awareness. Imperialism makes it possible to support this privileged labor elite. The uneven development of capitalism and the millions of super-profits yearly extracted from poor Third World nations enable the imperialists to perpetuate the illusion of a prosperous white working class.

Theoretician James Boggs who, in **Racism and the Class Struggle**, writes "side by side with the development of the black revolutionary force grows the white workers' counter-revolutionary force," helps feed this illusion.<sup>10</sup>

A Department of Labor study in 1966 revealed that 65% of working class families fell below the department's "modest" living standard for a family of four of \$9,000. Among professionals 43% were below the standard. Labor's dissatisfaction grows larger daily as the current capitalist economic crisis deepens. The increased number of wildcat strikes by teamsters, dockworkers, autoworkers, miners, coupled with the mass outcry over the wage-price freeze (even the hardhat construction workers who attacked blacks two years ago in New York fought pitched battles with police recently in several cities) prove that the rank and file can reject its bureaucrat misleaders and conduct independent actions.

### BLACK AND WHITE UNITY IS KEY

In more than a few of these labor fights, black and white workers united in the struggle. A dramatic example was the strike against Masonite of the pulp workers in Mississippi where white workers (some former Klansmen) maintained solidarity with the black workers for several months against the company.

**True, such nationalism is not so transparent,  
for it is skillfully masked by socialist phrases,  
but it is all the more harmful to the proletariat  
for that reason. We can always cope with  
open nationalism, for it can easily be discerned.  
It is much more difficult to combat nationalism  
when it is masked and unrecognizable beneath its mask.  
Protected by the armour of socialism,  
it is less vulnerable and more tenacious.  
Implanted among the workers,  
it poisons the atmosphere and spreads harmful ideas  
of mutual distrust and segregation among the workers  
of the different nationalities.**

**— Joseph V. Stalin**

Not since the 1930's has the potential, present today, existed for black-white workers' unity in every industry to oppose capitalism. The British Marxist, George Thomson, underscores this:

*If the relatively high standard of living enjoyed by the workers of these countries was won on the basis of colonial exploitation, then, with the collapse of that basis, they will be compelled to shed their reformist illusions and so will recover their revolutionary consciousness.<sup>11</sup>*

While many blacks have been slow to see this, the rulers have not. The Masonite strike received no publicity from the mass media. Any time black and white workers join together around class demands the capitalist media will do everything to keep it from public view.

**BLACK BOURGEOIS ART CONTRIBUTES TO** this too. The poems, plays, literature of the "militant" black artists are hailed by ruling class organs like **Time**, **Newsweek**, the **New York Times**, movie industry, etc. None of it shows class struggle. It glorifies feudal African traditions, reac-

tionary kings, and empires, male chauvinism, individualism, and every lumpen element in the black community from the hustler to the drifter. The enemy is "whitey," "the Jew," "the pig," but never the real enemy: capitalism and imperialism. These "new" black cultural forms never treat the daily existence of black workers, nor do they deal with Marxism-Leninism except as a put down.

"Experts" such as Cruse, with their concepts of "ethnic pluralism," "cultural revolution," and "black aesthetic" are held up as the final answer. But there has never been a separate ruling class for blacks, browns, Native Americans, and whites. The ruling class oppresses all as workers. Working class culture, not national culture, cuts across all ethnic lines. Lenin observed:

*The elements of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in every national culture, since in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism.*

He went on to caution:

*But every nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form, not merely of "elements" but of the dominant culture. Therefore, the general "national culture" is the culture of the landlords, the clergy and the bourgeoisie. 12*

The same parallels are found in black culture dominated by the black elite, but possessing a solid working class core (the blues, black-eyed peas, dance). This applies to history as well. Largely distorted and hidden by white and black bourgeois historians is the part played by whites in the slave rebellions, the role of black workers in the late 19th and early 20th century labor and socialist organizations, and the later CIO, black communist leadership in the unemployment councils and marches in the 1930's, and the mass black opposition to the imperialist wars against Mexico (1848), Spain (1898), and World War I.

The biggest single roadblock to workers' unity still remains racism. Marxists start with the premise that racism cannot be detached from its material base: capitalism. Racism is pushed openly through every social and cultural medium by the ruling class from above to split the working class. The material base of racism lies in the estimated \$22 billion in super-profits taken in off of black labor. Racism is sustained because it means both profit and control.

Many blacks often counter this by holding up the racism of white workers as proof that racism can exist "apart" from capitalist control. Certainly after 300 years racism has become embedded in the American superstructure of ideas. But nothing exists in a vacuum. All ideas flow from, and conform to, society's class and economic structure.

For instance, the cruder forms of Southern racism manifested in lynchings, rigid segregation, etc., began breaking down long before the first sit-ins, or freedom marches. Peasant labor gave way to mechanization, the economy became more diversified, and heavy industry supplanted cotton as the area's prime economic concern. With this came the black migration to urban centers, North and South. Harold Barron, in his essay, "The Demand for Black Labor: Historical Notes on the Political Economy of Racism," explains:

*Elimination of the Southern black peasantry was decisive in changing the forms of racism throughout the entire region, for it meant the disappearance of the economic foundation on which the elaborate superstructure of legal Jim Crow and segregation had originally been erected. Not only did this exploited agrarian group almost vanish, but the power of the large landholders who expropriated the surplus it had produced diminished in relation to the growing urban and industrial efforts. While the civil rights movement and the heroic efforts associated with it were necessary to break the official legality of segregation, it should be recognized that in a sense this particular form of racism was already obsolete, as its base in an exploitative system of production had drastically*

*changed. 13*

Southern racism, today, more and more resembles the Northern model with the emphasis on code and custom rather than law.

**IF RACISM CAN BE TRANSFORMED THROUGH economic change, it can be eliminated through class struggle, and the defeat of capitalism. History shows this. The Industrial Workers of the World unified black and white workers against the timber barons in Louisiana and Texas in 1910 during the famed lumber strikes. The Communist Party in the early 1930's, the United Mineworkers, and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union saw black-white co-operation. Racism was also beaten in the courtroom fights of Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers, and the prison-workers' rebellion at Attica. Only the absence of a multi-national communist party to provide ideology and leadership has prevented the gains made in the struggle against racism from being permanent.**

### **NO SHORTCUT TO CHANGE**

Everything depends ultimately on the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past decade, the black movement has seen a steady pageant of "revolutionary" super-leaders, created largely by mass media, and "new" ideologies come and go while the condition of the black masses deteriorates. The lesson from this is that there isn't any shortcut to progressive change except through patient organizing—away from the rulers' media—and class struggle. We can learn much from the Chinese, Russian and Cuban revolutions, but in the end black liberation can only come through socialist revolution in America.

**ROMANTIC NOTIONS ABOUT ASSASSINATIONS, black guerrilla war, and terrorism, are only fantasies which can never substitute for mass-based working class consciousness united against capitalism.**

Three solid consciousness-raising tactics which could presently be used to build this are: the running of independent candidates in local elections to agitate for working class needs and spread radical ideas to a broader base of people; the formation of unemployment councils to fight for jobs, increased social security, welfare, and workmen's compensation benefits; and a working class united front around inflation, layoffs, the wage-price freeze, and other related issues.

Such a united front would definitely include the more progressive sections of the black elite on tactical matters like police repression which affects all blacks. But the united front here should be based on the Leninist principles of "struggle with, struggle against," and with black workers always firmly holding control of the leadership. The organization's structure should be rooted in democratic centralism, collective decision-making, and taking ideas "from the masses to the masses."

## FIGHT TO WIN!

This kind of united front differs sharply from the kind projected by Stokely Carmichael where black ministers, politicians, and businessmen dominated. It would also be the opposite of other non-class, no-struggle "united" approaches, such as Shirley Chisholm's phony "revolutionary" humanism, Ron Dellums' "we're all new niggers," the Communist Party's anti-monopoly front which relies on the liberal petty-bourgeoisie.

Where white workers are involved in the united front, the obvious way to beat down racism is for black workers to educate through leadership and practice while keeping paramount a class perspective. Simply saying that whites should organize whites offers no guarantee that this will end racism (it probably only reinforces it).

**A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE** is the winning of reforms (not as ends-reformism) but as stepping stones to increasing the consciousness of the masses and widening the contradictions between the imperialists and the workers. Reformism, alone, poses the danger of channeling the mass movement away from socialism.

Black studies, for instance, though never a working class objective, at one point was a progressive campus reform which mobilized large segments of black students. But it wasn't transformed into a full challenge of the biased class nature of American education. This enabled the ruling class to move in and co-opt. Now Black Studies is merely a "respectable" training ground

for the "militant" black elite. On many of the campuses, the Ford Foundation has gladly underwritten this kind of program.

The type of demands that contribute most to the sharpening of the class struggle include: self-determination; end to racism and women's oppression; the formation of multi-national, rank-and-file union caucuses; a 30 hour work week; end to speed-ups, layoffs, compulsory overtime, inadequate medical care and safety conditions in the plant, the wage-price freeze; implementation of total social and welfare employment benefits; guaranteed annual income; free health centers and day care centers, decent low-cost housing and education; peoples' control of the media and cultural forms, the halt of pollution; end to narcotics traffic; support of the farmworkers' boycotts; freedom of all political prisoners (which means all black, poor, and oppressed workers who make up the jails); support of national liberation movements in Africa and the Third World; complete withdrawal of U.S. military, CIA, FBI, and all other similar domestic counter-insurgency agencies.

**ALREADY GROUPS LIKE THE BLACK WORKERS Congress, the Communist League, the Puerto Rican Workers Organization as well as the growing number of black and brown caucuses springing up within unions, have come forth with viable tactics and strategies based on demands similar to these.**

Anything less will only lead up the blind alley of liberalism and reformism and in the end wind up back in the arms of the ruling class.

## FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "Theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920, On the National and Colonial Question," reprinted in the *Communist*, Jan. 1931, p. 43.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
3. Mao Tse-Tung, "On New Democracy," *Selected Works*, Vol. 11, Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1965) p. 349.
4. Josef Kolmas, "The Minority Nationalities," in Ruth Adams, ed. *Contemporary China* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968) pp. 51-59.
5. Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation*, (New York: International Publishers, 1948) pp. 49-50.
6. "The Small Farmer is Getting Squeezed Out," Liberation News Service, Aug. 5, 1972, pp. 4-5.
7. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press, 1966) p. 88.
8. For an excellent discussion and analysis of the critical role played by the African worker in the independence movement see Jack Woodis' *New Theories of Revolution*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972) p. 45.
9. Paul M. Sweezy, *Modern Capitalism*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972) p. 150.
10. James Boggs, *Racism and the Class Struggle*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970) p. 97.
11. George Thomson, *From Marx to Mao Tse-Tung*, (London: China Policy Study Group, 1971) p. 52.
12. V.I. Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism and Imperialism*, (New York: International Publishers, 1968) p. 17.
13. Harold M. Baron, "The Demand for Black Labor: Historical Notes on the Political Economy of Racism," *Radical America*, March-April, 1971, p. 33.

# Revolutionary Upsurge in Greece

***"We know how to get rid of our 'protectors'—***

***Kennedy, McGovern..."***

*(The following is the text of a leaflet circulated in Greece last September by another anti-revisionist socialist revolutionary organization, the People's Revolutionary Resistance (LEA). The leaflet was distributed immediately after a bomb explosion in the U.S.)*

A fighting team of our organization struck today in the center of American imperialism in Greece, the American Embassy. We don't have to explain today, even to the last Greek, that they are the ones, across the world, who promote dictatorships such as those of Popodopoulos. They suck the blood of the people. They have surpassed in criminal acts even the Nazis themselves.

For independence and people's power, the peoples of the world have to go through the forceful and total defeat of foreign imperialism. There is not any other way out. This is our political line and within the limitation of today's possibilities and the level of our struggle we convert this line into specific action. This is the reality.

In contrast to those who have assisted in the work of the Americans, by cultivating the illusion of "normalization," or of creating "splinters" and "openings" within the system and false "hopes" by referring to the various Robert Kennedys and to the various senators, even fascist Agnew, by submitting memoranda and protests of philanthropic nature, and by repeating the same

theme all over again, now with the new savior McGovern—to all of them we answer that our country, there are people with revolutionary traditions, know how to get rid of their "protectors."

To this struggle we call the Greek people, the youth, the workers and the farmers. The only weapon, the only hope and the only reality are the peoples' fighting revolutionary organizations. Greeks, one more time life puts in front of us another call for struggle.

**Long live the untamed Greek people!  
Long live the untameable Greek youth!  
Death to the imperialists and their local lackeys!  
Signed, PEOPLES' REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE.**

\*\*\*\*\*

The same organization announced that the strike against the U.S. Embassy is devoted to the memory of the fighters... and Angelone who lost their lives two years ago in the same place in an effort to blow up the U.S. Embassy.

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## ***'Socialism the only possible course...'***

*The following is a statement by a number of Greek socialist revolutionaries from various parts of North America who held a conference on December 16 and 17, 1972:*

Members of the North American Revolutionary Greek Movement met on the 16th-17th of December, 1972.

In the light of past and present struggles which have established the class nature of the oppression of the Greek people, they have realized that the only possible course is the arduous path of Socialist revolution.

Consequently, it was decided to establish an organization in North America to be called Greek

**Socialist Liberation**, which will devote itself to this goal.

Clearly understanding the long struggle ahead, **Greek Socialist Liberation** will try to achieve its aims by building revolutionary solidarity with other oppressed peoples and by supporting Greek revolutionary socialist organizations inside and outside of Greece.

In order to insure the fulfillment of these goals, appropriate coordinating measures and principles have been adopted.

(The following is a translation of one of the poems of a courageous figure of modern Greek resistance; Alexander Panagoulis, smuggled recently from his prison cell.)

## **REMINDE THEM**

Painted with slogans of the struggle  
Whoever passes here after me  
Remind them of the moments I lived here  
and if my fists now have not wounded the bars  
And if the blood that drips is mine  
It does not make me a saint  
Bars do not have blood  
Save that the bars were strong  
And my fists were weak.  
And for the days you saw me hungry and suffering  
So many days  
And for how I fought with death  
So sneakily brought into my cell  
For the infinite hours of loneliness  
The icy days of winter  
For the outbreaks of anger  
The injustices and the pain  
For the many efforts and the scalding fever  
Unbroken for my contempt  
Which I clearly show to the tyrants  
Remind them there isn't a moment I want forgotten  
There isn't a moment I am ashamed of

\* \* \* \* \*

Panagoulis is serving a life sentence after being arrested in August 1968 for having attempted, with other comrades of his organization Greek Resistance, to assassinate dictator Popodopoulos. During his incarceration into a specially built cement block cell, constructed for him alone, he has been subjected to repeated tortures, to one known attempt to assassinate him inside his cell, and has unsuccessfully tried to escape twice. He has gone on three known hunger strikes lasting as long as 30 days.

\* \* \* \* \*

# ***Students' Pitched Battles Expose Phony Elections***

(Note: From the Greek Socialist Liberation group.)

**SINCE LAST SPRING, GREEK STUDENTS IN** Athens and Salonika had been struggling to secure free elections for the student unions. The students proposed the supervision of the election by a student committee established for that purpose. However, this was rejected by the Greek Junta, which had tried various means to rig the elections and ensure that their puppets were in the leadership. For example, the fascists set the date of the election on the opening date of school, thus excluding the majority of students from voting. Elections were supervised by cops, and plainclothesmen counted the ballots.

The students reacted to this by fighting pitched battles in the streets with cops. A last-minute campaign for an election boycott was very successful. Underground socialist groups issued leaflets linking the student struggles with the wider issues of the liberation of Greece from fascism. A group called the Anti-imperialist Anti-fascist Student Organization of Greece issued thousands of leaflets declaring:

**"After five and a half years of fascist dictatorship, the student movement is reviving and threatening the police lackeys of the Junta and the bosses. On November 20th, through open terrorism and blackmail, the fascist government has tried to confuse the students with these fake elections in order to consolidate fascist leadership among the students. The Greek student struggle—mass demonstrations and most especially, the occupation of the polling booths by political science and technical students in Athens—has exposed the phony fascists' "democracy," represented by the Black Constitution of 1968, in the eyes of the whole Greek people.**

**"THE STUDENT REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD** is being born in these struggles. The students have gained the confidence through the mass demonstrations and leafletting. These leaflets represented the anti-fascist sentiments of the great mass of Greek students and the government was not able to suppress the leaflets. The Anti-fascist Anti-imperialist Student organization, which has chapters in Europe also, has since February 1972 fought against fascism in the front lines—strikes, demonstrations, petitions against fascist appointees. The founding of the Anti-fascist Anti-imperialist movement helps the stu-

dents to clarify the objectives of the struggle and is an important step in the overthrow of imperialism and fascism in Greece."

The following are the principles of the Anti-fascist Anti-imperialist Student Organization:

1. Student struggles have to be united with the masses; reject any "privileged class" status offered by the imperialists. Students must not be used as instruments of the imperialists and the monopolists, but must break down the divisions between students and workers. Students must not ally with the bosses, because students' interests are with the working masses. The only honorable role for an intellectual, especially in an underdeveloped and exploited country, is to serve the working people by fighting to end exploitation.

2. Real problems arise for the masses from a system of dependence on U.S. imperialism, but the choice is not between "good" and "bad" imperialists but only in the expulsion of all imperialists.

3. Fascism is tied to U.S. and Western Europe through the Greek bourgeois class to preserve status quo capitalism; thus, the struggle must smash the entire Greek bourgeoisie and all foreign imperialists. The April 21, 1967 coup proves that you can't peacefully reform the Greek state. We fight for democratic rights but we avoid traps like the fascist "elections." We must utilize all "legal" forms but not allow the fascists to define the struggle. We oppose revisionism. We reject all phony theories of peaceful "democratization." The only way out is for the masses to seize power with the working class and its vanguard party in the lead. To aid us in our struggle, we appeal to Greek students abroad to: organize and support a student movement inside Greece through solidarity with the students actions; break the terror of the secret police overseas; and consolidate around the revolutionary forces.

**LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST YOUTH!**

**UNITE AGAINST FASCISM AND IMPERIALISM!  
DOWN WITH THE BLACK CONSTITUTION OF 1968!**

**AWAY WITH ALL REFORMIST ILLUSIONS—  
FORWARD WITH THE REORGANIZATION OF  
THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT!**



# ***W. German Bosses Exploit Greek and Other Immigrant Workers***

## **NOTES ON THE REPRESSION OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN GERMANY:**

**THE MODERN GHETTOS OF FOREIGN WORKERS** in Modern European capitalism are a grim reality. This reality cannot escape the most alert and progressive minds. From within, the youth group of the Social Democratic Party (the governing party of Germany) concluded a survey of foreign workers in West Germany. Following are parts of that survey's conclusions:

The so-called guest workers are hired in the factories for the dirtiest and most dangerous of all possible types of work and they are paid the lowest wages that exist. They live in the worst quarters for which they are obliged to pay the highest rentals. Their children and they themselves are subject to miserable administration with regard to their elevation from unspecialized to specialized status.

The foreign workers are coming from Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, and certain Arab countries. The employers in Western German industry are making millions of dollars as additional profits from the low wages paid to foreign laborers, under the pretext of having to pay extra expenses for training, while exploiting the lack of experience of the newly arriving workers. . . . To this kind of discrimination they have especially subjected the women and the young workers. In addition, according to official statistics, the proportion of industrial accidents among foreign workers is two and a half times greater than industrial accidents occurring among German workers.

**THE EXPLOITATION IS FURTHER INTENSIFIED** due to the fact that sometimes the workers feel forced to work even if they are sick, being afraid that they might fall into disfavor and lose their jobs, thus destroying their health. According to the regulations that prevail in the country, the license to stay in a home can be withdrawn in case of a prolonged sickness of the worker.

In case of pregnancy of women workers, employers according to this report, "try to bypass the regulations concerning the granting of maternity leave. Especially difficult is the situation of foreign workers in the big cities. Workers are forced to live in condemned housing." "The reason for the poverty," the report concludes, "is the profits of the big monopolists."

To understand the role of the immigrant worker, one has to understand the modern interna-

tionalized character of capital. The economic interests are not only German, but composed of capitalists of other countries. These capitalist groups look beyond national boundaries to the overall labor market. Whereas in Greece they intensify the rate at which French, German, Italian, American financial concerns are increasing their investments, building monopolies which control all the economic sectors within the Greek economy, and are springboards for markets in the Middle East and Africa, at the same time the same joint interests are investing heavily within the German economy itself.

**In Germany foreign workers—including 300,000 Greeks—are being used for economic, social and political purposes. Economically, they are being paid the minimum possible wage rate for survival and renewal of their labor force, thus adding to the profits of their employers. Between the increasing demand of labor in Greece and the acute shortage of labor in Germany, they are being offered a subsistence wage in Germany, which, however, is higher than the wages they would have earned in Greece. Thus, a vulnerable reserve of labor, away from its national base, exists in Germany, which makes it easy for the capitalists not only to exploit them but to use them in their dealings against their "own" working class.**

**IN THE BOOM PHASE OF THE ECONOMY,** they are increasing the rate of importation of workers from foreign countries, thus adding the necessary supply of labor to match the increasing demand. This keeps the German workers "satisfied" in a psychological sense by giving them supervisory jobs while giving the foreign workers the dirtiest jobs. When the supply of labor exceeds demand, it is again the foreign laborer who is first fired, his license of stay withdrawn, and the rate of importation of foreign labor cut down.

At the same time, the German capitalists step up their racist propaganda. The foreign workers are depicted as "inferior" citizens and are made to appear responsible for the threat of unemployment and the decreasing wages of the German workers. It is to the advantage of the capitalists of the poorer countries, such as Greece, which are usually more dictatorial than those countries in which the capitalists have more support from the masses of people, such as Germany, to export their dissatisfied and potentially explosive



Students on the roof of the Univ. of Athens Law School after the all-night occupation of the building. The sign reads: 'Freedom for the students!'

proletariat, for exploitation by foreign capitalists. In a foreign environment, this proletariat is faced with the repressive rules and regulations of the immigration authorities of the foreign countries; and wherever they are, in any city of Central Europe, they are faced with the continuous intimidation and threats by the various terrorist agents of their own governments.

Greek workers, for instance, are continually reminded by the Greek consulates in the foreign countries, that, as "good citizens," "good patriots" and "good Christians," they should devote themselves to their jobs, save money, and try to do their duty toward their family. They should steer away from unions and strikes, and should not, as the Junta states, fall prey to the communist propaganda and agitation of the "exiled" communist propagandists. Otherwise, they face revocation of their passports and visas, and "cause", relatives left behind in Greece to face the consequences of their own "mindless" political involvements.

**BACK IN THE "OLD COUNTRY,"** CAPITALISTS are "solving" the problems of their own needs for an industrial proletariat in various ways, mainly driving the workers, especially the

young peasants, off the land and into the cities and at the same time, away from the village and into the foreign market. These people come to the city completely disoriented, completely unskilled, and can easily fall prey to the new markets created by the new capitalists in the urban centers of Greece. The other way capitalists meet present and anticipated shortage of labor is importation into Greece of workers from even less developed countries. Already, according to various reports, Greece has imported at least 5,000 black workers from various parts of Africa. Psychologically and economically this new labor from Africa in Greece is going to be the object of the same type of propaganda and manipulation as Greek labor is being subjected to by the capitalists in Germany. Both foreign labor in Germany and foreign labor in Greece is being used to develop racism, to build a wedge between native working class and foreign imported working class.

Despite the continuous harassment and threats to Greek workers in Germany, they have been organizing within the major cities there where they exist in large numbers. They publish a newspaper called Workers Class Solidarity (ETA), which puts forward socialist revolutionary ideas and the call for unity of Greek people to overthrow the Greek capitalist class.

# "The Emergence and Character of the 'Red' Bourgeoisie"

## PREFACE

To many honest revolutionaries and workers the years 1971-72 meant a great confusion.

War between India and Pakistan. Soviet Union gives military and economic support to the reactionary Indian and East Pakistani capitalists, China and the U.S. support the West Pakistani capitalists in the same way.

The socialist rebellion in Ceylon is crushed by the reactionary Bandaranaike regime, which receives military and political support from among others England, U.S. and Soviet Union. China closes up the counter-revolutionary front by giving economic as well as political support.

Diplomatic offensive by China. One capitalist regime after the other is acknowledged. At the same time as the fascist government of Ethiopia is recognized, China stops its delivery of weapons to the Eritrean guerillas.

China is voted into the most holy apartment of imperialism—the U.N.

President Nixon travels to both Peking and Moscow, stating again that imperialists and socialists could become as close as brothers. Now we have got to go for peaceful co-existence and not for such antiquated things as class struggle and working class dictatorship.

Hanoi and its surroundings are bombed for the first time in four years. The North Vietnamese harbours are mined and dikes are systematically being bombed. Soviet Union and China, the "loyal allies" of North Vietnam, don't move their asses.

Kim Il Sung of North Korea together with the CIA-chief of South Korea makes the statement that national unity stands above differences in ideology.

The principle of wages according to work done (the same as piece-work) is being reinforced in China at the same time as the old capitalists still receive 5% profits from "their" old enterprises.

In Peking the Swedish imperialists are breaking a record by giving their biggest expo ever held in any foreign country.

Now Chinese workers are forced to make cloth from inexpensive Chinese material of a good quality for sales to Swedish fashion houses.

The Maoists are claiming that revolution is the main trend in the world today. Capitalist experts

are talking about the years of relaxation, of reason.

Something we know for sure is that when capitalist experts are beginning to sniff fresh air, using words as "relaxation" and "reason," then it is time for all revolutionaries to take alarm.

**Comrades, the enemy is well-organized.** The events above show that the bosses' regime is the order everywhere.

What then are communists supposed to do in this world of "relaxation" and "reason"? The same as during periods of war and crisis. Communists must always fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Further, they have to expose and smash all manifestations of revisionism within the international communist movement. They have to consider all events from an historic class perspective. In order to achieve a world-wide socialist revolution, an international revolutionary working-class movement has to be built. In that struggle communists have an important task trying to explain to the workers the real meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as helping to build it.

Considering the "socialist camp" in light of the last year's events, every revolutionary has to ask himself: Is the working class holding **power** in these countries? As far as Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is concerned, it is very obvious that the working class has no power. Instead we can see that a new class has gained the control over the government, army, police and the distribution of wealth.

But how about China? Isn't the situation better over there? The Communist Party of China (CCP) has criticized the Soviets for their revisionism?

But the CCP has never broken with the foundations of revisionism, only with some of its manifestations. Most victories achieved by the working class during the cultural revolution are now lost. Private plots of land are reinforced; pay according to job done is the principle more and more applied as the profit-system gains terrain, etc.

What is characteristic about China and the "socialist camp" today is that a new bourgeoisie, a "red" bourgeoisie, is in power.

We didn't make that expression up. It was first

used by workers and students in China. During the cultural revolution workers and students were fighting for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat based upon the principles of the Paris Commune. They claimed that 90% of the cadres had to stand aside since they formed a privileged class with its own interests.

“Their relation with the people has changed from that, in the past, between leaders and the led to that between exploiters and the exploited, between oppressors and the oppressed. Most of them, consciously or unconsciously, yearn for the capitalist road, and cherish and nurture capitalist things. Rule by their class has completely blocked the development of history.” (*Whither China?* Report of Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance—“Sheng-wu-lien”.)

From this they set their task to smash the old state apparatus and “overthrow the new bourgeoisie and build a society without bureaucrats similar to the Paris Commune—the Peoples Commune of China.” (Ibid)

What we can learn is that there exists a “red” bourgeoisie not only in the Soviet Union but also in China, North Korea and North Vietnam. In these countries we don’t find a socialist economy but state capitalism. The working class is split economically by the introduction of material incentives. The new bourgeoisie uses the capitalist experts and administrators from the old society for the economic construction. In that way work-

ers are deprived every control over the production.

As technology advances in these state capitalist countries, their industry becomes more and more dependent on raw materials and export markets. Therefore the “red” bourgeoisies ally with imperialism and become imperialists themselves a la Soviet Union.

We claim that communism and the socialist revolution, in contrast to the ideology of the bourgeoisie, is international. Therefore it mustn’t be the task of revolutionaries to proclaim certain nations as “red” base areas raised above all criticism.

In all their work communists always must put the interests of the socialist world revolution foremost and help to develop the struggle of the international working class.

And it is just, therefore, that communists must expose and fight everyone who is out to support bosses, independent of their color. It is especially important that communists kill the myth that state capitalism has anything whatsoever to do with socialism.

In this report we have tried to analyze the emergence and character of the “red” bourgeoisie in order to expose all myths spread by self-proclaimed socialists. The idea of this analysis is to show what the dictatorship of the proletariat must be, when socialism is our goal.

As the object for the analysis, we have chosen North Korea, not because the revisionism of North Korea is more dangerous than the Soviet or Chinese variant, but because we have had possibilities to make our studies on the spot.

—Manifesto Group  
Stockholm, October, 1972

## ***A Swedish Marxists' Critique of Revisionism in north Korea***

The history of modern Korea begins at the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the capitalist countries’ development into world-wide imperialists. The Korean peninsula is rich in valuable minerals such as tungsten, gold, copper, zinc, iron, nickel, cobalt and coal. The soil is fertile and the labor is cheap. As all this is the condition for an expanding imperialist industry, Korea early became the seat for the imperialists’ rapacious eyes and through an agreement between the U.S. and Japan, Korea was formally colonized by Japan in 1910. During the 1890’s several uprisings among the peasants took place and the struggle continued during the Japanese rule, which was very brutal. During the struggle for independence, “national” capitalists often appeared as leaders. Their last attempt on a big

scale (that failed) was the so-called March uprising in 1919. After that, one can see how workers and peasants themselves took the lead in the struggle against the occupation:

“The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia marked an important turning point in the spread of Marxism-Leninism in our country... As early as 1918 the progressive patriotic fighters of our country began their activities for the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and endeavoured to put the national liberation struggle of the Korean people on to a new road of development under the banner of Marxism-Leninism... Thus, after the March First Movement, the liberation struggle of the Korean people gradually

developed with the working class in the lead, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

"In the early 1920's, the working class grew and firmly stepped into the arena of struggle. Marxist-Leninist circles arose and became active in different parts of the country; the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology spread rapidly among the masses. Many labour, peasant and youth organizations appeared, and mass struggles, including workers' strikes, took place." (Kim Il Sung: *The 20th Anniversary of the Workers' Party of Korea*, October 10, 1965.)

At the first congress of the toilers of the Far East, held in Moscow in 1922 on the initiative of the Comintern, a Korean delegation participated, among others. The Korean delegates gave interesting and valuable information in their reports about the situation in Korea and the character of the Korean society. They claimed, among other things, that Korea mainly was an agricultural country; 85% of the population were engaged in farming, 80% of which were classified as small tenants and farmworkers. The workers were classified as follows in one report:

"The labouring masses of Korea may be divided into four main groups: transport workers, builders, miners and factory hands forming a total of about 280,000. Besides these there are the peasant workers and the workers at the fisheries, making up another 900,000. Thus, the workers constitute really about 1/9 of the agricultural population..." (The *First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, 1922*; Hammersmith Reprints of Scarce Documents, London 1970.)

### FEUDALISM VS. CAPITALISM

The entry of Japanese imperialism into Korea gave cause to a certain industrial development and (for a colonial country) a comparatively large working class. The overwhelming majority of the rural population ought to be classified as working class. (How one ought to regard the peasants in the colonial and neo-colonial countries is an extremely important question. Revisionists of different brands look upon the peasants as a petty bourgeois class who can only be won for the struggle against imperialism through promises of their own piece of land and capitalist production relations. These revisionists mean that there exists a qualitative difference between workers and poor peasants, since the peasants are considered victims of **feudal** exploitation. The fact is that the poor peasants, who make up the overwhelming majority of the rural population in the neo-colonies, are also exploited by **capitalists**. Capitalism has for a long time been the dominant mode of production in the greater part of the world. In the neo-colonies the capitalist system was imposed by imperialism. Capitalism is a system of commodity production, production for the market mediated by a system of monetary exchange, a system in which the actual producers

don't own the means of production necessary to turn out a usable product. These means of production are owned by a class of capitalists who buy the labor-power of the producers, paying them only a certain portion of the total value they produce. The most developed typical form in which producers are paid is by a money wage. But there are other forms characteristic of less developed capitalist systems, especially agrarian economies. In general, the poor peasants in the neo-colonies do not have enough land to be self-sufficient and they own either no tools at all or pitifully meager implements. The rural capitalists, the rich farmers, provide them with additional land and the necessary tools. They pay the tenants, i.e. the poor peasants, with a share of their output. It is a wage paid in kind rather than in money. Some people call this exploitation feudal but it is, in fact, capitalism, and the poor peasants who own nothing more than their labor-power are, in essence, workers. This means that there is no qualitative difference between workers in the city and workers in the countryside. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry in the neo-colonies has been proletarianized and has therefore an objective interest in crushing capitalism and fighting for **socialism**).

The Korean report to the Comintern congress says about the strength of the workers' organizations:

"The Korean Labour Organizations have only started since the last three years and even in such a short time they have grown so fast that there are now 450 localities where these organizations exist with more than 252,000 members." (Ibid)

The fighting spirit among the workers was high and it was reported at the congress that there had been month-long strikes in several places, among them the capital of Seoul during 1921.

### THE COMMUNISTS

As a result of a continuous growth of the working class and its openness to Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of Korea was founded in 1925.

"The founding of the Communist Party gave an impetus to the development of the working-class, peasant and national-liberation movements. Under the leadership of the Communists the June Tenth Independence Demonstration took place and mass worker and peasant struggles against the Japanese imperialists, landlords and capitalists gained in scope.

"In those days the Communists carried on their activities in difficult conditions: repression by Japanese imperialism was severe and the Party itself suffered from serious weaknesses. Most of the Party's leading posts were held by petty-bourgeois careerists with a poor knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and a shaky class position, and the Party organi-

zations failed to take root among the working class and the broad masses. Worse still, fierce sectarian strife among the factionalists prevented the Party from securing the unity of its ranks. Consequently, the Communist Party, unable to prevent its suppression at the hands of Japanese imperialism and the destructive activities of the factionalists, ceased to exist as an organized force just three years after its foundation." (Kim Il Sung: **The 20th Anniversary of the Workers' Party of Korea.**)

Kim Il Sung goes on to say that even if communists at this time were suffering from great weaknesses, they did manage to spread Marxism-Leninism throughout Korea, gaining very valuable experiences for their future struggles:

"The Communists continued the struggle even after the breakup of their Party." (Kim Il Sung, *Ibid*)

During the 1920's, the violent fighting by workers and peasants was intensified and several strikes and peasant uprisings took place:

"Despite the Japanese imperialist repression, the Communists kept up their underground struggle in different parts of the country, revolutionary trade union and peasants' association movements, workers' strikes and peasants' tenancy disputes broke out one after another; and violent mass actions against the Japanese imperialists grew even broader in scope." (Kim Il Sung: *Ibid*)

### COMMITMENT

In spite of the poor unity among the communists, workers and peasants showed a high level of commitment and readiness to fight.

As a result of the increased suppression by the Japanese imperialists, many revolutionaries had to flee from Korea. Such revolutionaries can be divided into three main groups: those who joined the Chinese communists, those who went to the Soviet Union and became members of the CPSU and those who carried on the guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in Manchuria. In addition to these communist groups, there were, of course, many communists who also stayed and carried on the fight within Korea.

At this time there existed several guerrilla groups. The most important and the strongest was perhaps the one that was set up by the young Kim Il Sung in the beginning of the 1930's. And there exist strong reasons to propose that most guerrilla soldiers at the same time were members of the Chinese CP. (In those parts of Manchuria where the guerrillas were active, the majority of the population were Koreans.) The anti-Japanese guerrilla (and from now on we only speak about the group associated with Kim Il Sung since it is impossible to find any material whatsoever dealing with the activities of other groups, not even falsified historic documents) fought for

national liberation according to the model of the Comintern, i.e. the line of a broad united front of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and "national" capitalists "under the leadership of the working class."

"Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified that the character of the Korean revolution was of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution... He said that the basic motive force in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution consisted of the working class and the peasantry, its most reliable ally, and the petty bourgeoisie, and an alliance could be formed with the national bourgeoisie too. And he made it clear that the objects of the revolution were Japanese imperialism and its accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation, and clearly pointed out that our revolutionary task was to overthrow Japanese imperialism, liberate the country and build socialism and communism subsequently to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in our country and, further, to carry out the world revolution." (Brief History of the Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Kim Il Sung, Pyongyang 1970.)

### UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The fundamental line guiding the work was Georgi Dimitroff's popular front line of the 1935 Comintern Seventh World Congress. At this congress Dimitroff, who was the general secretary of the Comintern, put forth the UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM, proposed as a guiding line for all communists. This was based upon the thesis that fascism is the "open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." To fight fascism and defend bourgeois democracy, i.e. the bosses' dictatorship, became the main task. And fascism was supposed to be fought by a united front between communists, social-democrats and the "democratic" capitalists. This idea, however, soon could harvest disastrous consequences—not the least during and after the Second World War, when communists by the alliance with bosses acted as defenders of bourgeois democracy, subordinating themselves to their ideology and thereby giving up the fight for socialism. This line, which advocates alliances with "progressive" capitalists, is today ensured by the Russian, Chinese and Korean revisionists.

In 1936, in accordance with the Comintern line, "The Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland" was established in Korea—a united front in the very spirit of Dimitroff.

Inside the guerrilla movement, left-wing as well as right-wing ideas were fought. What the left wanted by its struggle was to found a working-class state, while on the other hand the goal of the right-wingers was a bourgeois democratic republic. The "dialectic" answer as given by Kim Il Sung was that the Korean revolution

was neither a socialist nor a bourgeois revolution but was an "anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution" supposed to be guiding the introduction of a "people's democratic state."

## LIBERATION

But the guerilla war did in no way liberate Korea:

"The heroic Red Army of the Soviet Union has expelled the Japanese imperialists from the territory of our homeland and brought freedom and independence to the Korean people. A broad avenue has now been opened to the liberated Korean people" (Kim Il Sung: **On the Work of the Organizations of the Communist Party of North Korea**, December 17, 1945).

These words by Kim are not only a tribute to Stalin and the Soviet Union but a correct description of the way the Japanese occupation of Korea was smashed. It wasn't the anti-Japanese guerilla who did it—it was a rather unimportant military and political force. But the Red Army didn't drive away the Japanese from the whole of Korea; it let the U.S. occupy the land up to the 38th parallel only one month after the liberation, in September 1945. The way the Soviet Union sold out the Korean workers and peasants to U.S. imperialism wasn't an exception at the time of the Second World War. We can compare it with the Greek tragedy, where a strong communist partisan movement was virtually liberating the whole of Greece when it was ordered by the Soviet Union to put the weapons down in favor of peaceful coexistence. We can also compare this with the division of Vietnam at the Geneva conference in 1954 when the workers and peasants of Vietnam were sold out in the same way. These events are not exceptional mistakes or examples but expressions of the completely rotten great power chauvinistic policies that the Soviet Union has pursued since the 1940's.

Just after the liberation the communists in the northern part of Korea were not especially strong and they probably wouldn't have managed to take, and stay in, power without the presence of the Soviet troops. The communist party was reorganized in October 1945, with only 2,000 members. In December 1945 the party counted 4,530 members. The communists who made up the party could be divided into four categories: Yenankoreans, the ones who had been with Mao in China; the Soviet-Koreans who had been in the Soviet Union; the anti-Japanese guerrillas; and finally the Koreans who had continued their work in Korea in spite of the Japanese imperialist repression. It was not at all self-evident that Kim Il Sung would become the chairman of the reorganized party and, as its first chairman, elected a member of the group which had been active in Korea during the Japanese occupation. But as vice-chairman Kim got a rather strong position within the party and he was more and more approved and supported by the Soviet Union. In the beginning of 1946, the Provisional People's

Committee of North Korea was founded on the initiative of the Soviet Union. Kim Il Sung was elected its chairman. This new state, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung and with the Soviet Union as supporter, now made its first task to "build a new, independent and democratic Korea."

"The provisional government should be a genuine democratic government capable of fulfilling the desire of the entire Korean people." (Kim Il Sung: Twenty-point platform, Radio Address, March 23, 1946.)

This government, **which from the beginning was a bourgeois government**, immediately carried through "democratic reforms"—land reform was carried out; all properties of above five hectares were confiscated and divided among poor peasants and farm workers; industries, business enterprises, etc. that had belonged to the Japanese and "comprador capitalists," i.e. the pro-Japanese capitalists, were nationalized (the "national" capitalists were not affected by that reform); the eight-hour work-day was introduced; women were equalized with males and a law about general education was carried out.

The strategy behind all this claimed that the main contradiction in Korea was the one between the Korean **nation** and Japanese imperialism (including its allies, the big landlords, the "comprador capitalists" and the reactionary bureaucrats). Further, it was claimed that the "People's Democratic" power which was founded on the ground of an alliance between workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and "national" capitalists and their respective parties "under the political leadership of the working class" now was supposed to carry through "democratic reforms." In that way "the independent and democratic development" of Korea would be guaranteed. These reforms were considered as a necessary transition period before the socialist transformation of the production relations (something that would be carried through by peaceful means).

## A WEAK PARTY

At the time of the liberation the communist party was weak, it suffered badly from a lack of capable cadres and had a poor support from the broad masses:

"Owing to the vicious propaganda launched against it by the Japanese imperialists and the harm done it by the factionalists in the past, the Communist Party does not yet have the support of the broad masses, and some sections of the masses who are not awakened politically still harbor illusions about the nationalists." (Kim Il Sung: **The Building of New Korea and the National United Front**, October 13, 1945).

"Party Committees have not yet been built up with best workers, and Party Organizations have yet to be created in a large number of

factories, enterprises and farm villages.”  
**Kim Il Sung: On the Work of the Organizations of the CPNK, December 17, 1945.)**

“The present composition of our Communist Party is as follows:

Workers..... 30%  
 Peasants..... 34%  
 Intellectuals, tradesmen & others..... 36%

“We can see from these figures that the Party is not developing on a sound basis. The Party ranks consist primarily of peasants and intellectuals. Thus, the Party has failed to become truly a working-class party. A party with such a composition will not be able to carry out the will and demands of the working class to the full.” (Kim Il Sung, *Ibid.*)

Kim goes on saying that the party functionaries have failed to establish close relations with the masses, that party cells still are missing in many factories and enterprises, that unity within the party is weak and that discipline is missing. At this time, workers’ organizations were also weak and the trade unions counted only about 30,000 members of a working class of about 200,000-300,000. The situation was, needless to say, complicated and, without the support of the Soviet Union, the party probably would not have been able to carry through its “democratic reforms.”

Already at that time there existed a rather strong opposition from the left against Kim’s and Stalin’s line of unity with the “national” capitalists:

“They indulge in “ultra-Left” phraseology and actions and are clamoring as though they would overthrow the capitalist class and establish “soviet” power right away... We should wage a merciless struggle against these alien elements that have sneaked into the Party.” (Kim Il Sung: **The building of New Korea...**)

During 1946, the New Democratic Party, a petty bourgeois party that mainly was organizing intellectuals and peasants, took the initiative for a merger with the Communist Party (such a merger was not unique but had also taken place within the East European “people’s democracies,” for instance East Germany where the communist and the social-democratic parties joined to form the Socialist Unity Party, a consequence of the Comintern’s popular front policy). The merging into the Workers’ Party of North Korea took place in August 1946 which made the party “grow” all the way up to 366,000 members. Why was this party built?

“The enemies of democracy and of our nation want to see more than anything else our working people—the workers, peasants, working intellectuals, etc.—torn apart and fighting and biting each other... The merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party is of really epochal significance in cementing the unity of the democratic

forces in our country at present.... Our party is, as is clearly stated at the beginning of the Programme, a party that represents and defends the interests of the Korean working masses, its aim being to build a mighty, prosperous, independent and democratic state.” (Kim Il Sung: **Establishment of a United Party of the Working Masses, August 29, 1946.**)

**The goal of the party was never to build communism!** That position of the party was maintained also during the period which was called the socialist transition period. At the Third Party Congress in 1956 it was stated:

“The Workers’ Party of Korea represents the interests of the Korean nation and the Korean people... (**Rules of the Workers’ Party of Korea**)

“Our party is not a party which champions exclusively the interests of one class or one social stratum, but a party which champions the interests of the Korean nation.” (Pak Jung Ai: **Report on the Revision of the Rules of the Workers’ Party of Korea.**)

The party represents according to this: workers, peasants, intellectuals, businessmen, handicraftsmen and “national” capitalists; it was really a “party of the whole people.” (It wasn’t Khrushchev who made this new “marxist” discovery.) In 1946 at the time of the merger the party counted 20% workers and 50.5% poor peasants as members. In 1950 and 1952 the party was made up as follows:

	July 1, 1950	Nov. 1, 1952
Workers	21.2%	22.2%
Poor peasants	54.7%	57.4%
Middle peasants	7.5%	3.9%
Office workers	11.4%	12.5%
Students	1.0%	1.4%
Rich farmers	0.3%	0.1%
Tradesmen, entrepreneurs, handicraftsmen, men of liberal professions and others	3.9%	2.5%

At the Third Party Congress in 1956 workers made up only 17.3% of the party membership, but at the Fourth Party Congress in 1961 workers’ share had increased to 30% (Figures from Kim’s **Report to the Fourth Congress of WPK.**)

From that time on, the available statistics aren’t very reliable. Today the party counts 1.7 million members, i.e., about every third adult North Korean is a party member.

The merger with the New Democratic Party caused strong opposition from the left within the communist party since they wanted to save the communist party, or demanded that the Workers’ Party must be a Marxist-Leninist party and that the members had to be Marxist-Leninists.



“But it is a great mistake to think that only those who are well versed in Marxism-Leninism can take part in the carrying out of the democratic revolution and join the Workers’ Party. It is our view that whoever, even if not yet armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology, displays a high degree of patriotic enthusiasm and activity and plays a vanguard role in a building of a democratic country at present, can join the Workers’ Party.” (Kim Il Sung: **On Results of the Inaugural Congress of the WPNK**, September 9, 1946.)

## THE “DEMOCRATIC REFORMS - KOREA’S NEP

The “entire-people-character” of the party showed itself very clearly in its tasks and practice:

“For the rapid rehabilitation of the national economy, we encourage the business activities of the national capitalists and actively draw the traders and entrepreneurs into democratic construction.” (Kim Il Sung: **On the Establishment of the Workers’ Party of North Korea and the Question of Founding the Workers’ Party of South Korea**, September 26, 1946.)

The historic roots of this line are to be found in the Soviet experience. When the Russian revolution gained victory, the Russian working class faced the big task to get the factories going and build the first socialist economy in world history. Within the Bolshevik Party there were different ideas on how to achieve this. The strongest faction, that around Lenin, worked out the New Economic Policy, NEP, which opened the door for the old factory leaders, the experts, the administrators and technicians who were to build the socialist economy.

NEP was met by strong opposition from many revolutionary workers who all too well knew what these former allies of the tsar and the capitalists were like. The faction within the party who expressed the resistance of the workers was the “Workers’ Opposition” which had its strongest support among workers in Moscow and in South East Russia, i.e. the industrial centers of the Soviet Union.

“The cause of the antagonism and the crisis within the party lies in the assumption that “practicians,” technicians, experts and the leaders of capitalist production suddenly can liberate themselves from their traditional ideas of how the work must be organized (which has been deeply rooted in their minds during the years that they served capital) and acquire the ability to create new production forms, new forms for the organization of work and new working incentives. To presuppose that this is possible means that you forget the indisputable fact that a production system cannot be changed by any

separate brilliant individuals but only by the united efforts of a class . . .

“The task of the party is to create the external conditions—i.e., to give freedom to the masses of workers, united through common economic tasks—so that the workers can become workers/creators, find new work methods, work out a new system for the utilization and the division of labor power in order to reconstruct the society, thus creating a new economic order on a communist basis. **Only the workers can, through their consciousness, create new methods for the organization of work as well as for the management of industry.** (Alexandra Kollontay; **Workers’ Opposition.**)

The “Workers’ Opposition” as well as other oppositional trends within the party were crushed by the strongest faction and NEP was established. Lenin called NEP an occasional but necessary **retreat** and he meant that the road towards socialism had to pass through the stage of state-capitalism and that the workers should learn from the capitalist experts.

This road to socialism that the Bolsheviks presented as the only possible one for Russia was later made into a general “communist” principle. And what it mainly teaches us is that workers are “too backward” to be able to build socialism.

This bourgeois idea has its child in the ideology of “New Democracy,” which, under the cover of nationalism, not only allows capitalists to help build “socialism” but also makes them party members. China and North Vietnam are practicing that ideology in the same manner as has been done in North Korea.

In addition to the founding of the Workers’ Party of Korea, the “entire-people-character” was further stressed in the broad national front which was established together with the religious Chongu-party and the party of the capitalists, the Democratic Party. (These parties still exist and participate in the parliament, the Supreme People’s Assembly, even if new members are not allowed. The idea is that they gradually will die.)

What was the significance of the “democratic reforms” and primarily the nationalization of industries and the land reform?

During the Japanese colonization, industry as well as trade was almost completely monopolized by Japanese capitalists. Of the industrial capital only 5% was Korean capital and of the trade capital the Korean share was 15%. The industries and trade companies which were nationalized were mainly those which were owned by Japanese capitalists and pro-Japanese capitalists (“the comprador capitalists”). The “national” capitalists, on the other hand, were encouraged and strengthened. In 1947, the state-owned industry accounted for 80.2% of the total industrial output and private industry for 19.8%.

The reforms were based upon the predominant and incorrect idea that socialism could be established by nationalizing industries and planning the

production. The task was only to develop the productive forces along a straight line. Communists didn't see (and many still don't see) the **qualitative** difference between capitalist and socialist productive forces. The question isn't merely how much to produce but **what** to produce and **how** that is going to be done. A socialist economy is never the same thing as a planned increase of productivity but a total change in the whole production direction and forms. A socialist development always has to mean that working-class power abolishes the division of labor left over from the capitalist society. Before even speaking about socialism, the division of labor has to be abolished. This means that the real power has to lie in the production and be exercised by the workers. The division between intellectual and manual labor, between leadership and production, between agricultural and industrial labor has to be fought against and be abolished.

The reforms in North Korea, therefore, didn't mean, as Kim Il Sung claims, that the socialist sector within the economy became predominant, but rather that two "sectors" were established—one state-capitalist and one private-capitalist. Both "sectors" practiced the division of labor and the workers were still wage-slaves, i.e. they were exploited. What the reforms really meant was that the position of the "national" capitalists was strengthened and that, by the introduction of state-owned industry, the ground was laid for the emergence of a new, "red" bourgeoisie, a class which formally does not own the means of production but controls them and keeps them at its disposal at the same time as it controls the planning of production and the distribution of the surplus value from production.

Any form of capitalism always means the existence of a boss class, and state capitalism is no exception. In a process where state capitalism is developed, it follows that a new type of capitalist class (a "red" bourgeoisie) is developed. If the working class in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is determined to build state capitalism as a "step ahead" towards socialism, a new bourgeoisie will be the inevitable result. The working class in power can neither carry through any kind of capitalism nor can it keep the control over any kind of capitalist development. If the workers' dictatorship in any way treads the road of capitalism, as a result the proletarian state will soon be converted into a new "red" bourgeoisie's power. If the dictatorship of the working class wants to remain in power it is necessary to develop a socialist economy without any kind (whatsoever) of "new democratic" or capitalist "intermediate stages."

The land reform in Korea smashed the landlords' power but instead laid the ground for capitalist farming. The rich peasants were not smashed, the middle peasants were strengthened and the position of the poor peasants wasn't changed **qualitatively** since they still were exploited by the rich peasants and the state. An interesting point is what happened to the exploi-

ated landlords. They were sent away from their home villages and were given a small piece of land in other districts. When the American imperialists went north in their offensive during the Korean war, these landlords immediately offered their service as informers to the U.S. imperialists: "This one and that one is a party member"; "this one and that one is a member of the women's union," etc. There were many communists who got their throats cut as a result of such information. The liberalism against the landlords was an expensive experience that the communist workers and peasants had to pay for.

### **THE WAR CRUSHES THE CAPITALISTS—THE PARTY HELPS THEM BACK ON THEIR FEET**

During the war (1950-53) against united world imperialism (under the banner of UN), the situation was rather awkward for the "people's democratic dictatorship." It was with distress it managed to defend itself, and that was with the help of Chinese volunteers. The country was completely destroyed, the economy was ruined, homes, hospitals, schools etc. were completely destroyed. People suffered bad losses and after the war 50% of the party members were new. But, at the same time, the war really had tested and hardened the Korean workers and peasants who developed an amazing militancy and heroism and succeeded in defending the northern part of the country against imperialist control and exploitation.

With all probability the working-class influence within the party and the administration was strengthened during the war, and what took place after the war gives evidence of that. The rehabilitation of the economy after the war also comprised a "socialist" transformation—the agriculture was collectivized and the industry and trade were completely nationalized through different cooperative intermediate stages. (What this cooperative stage meant was that the former owners, i.e. the "national" capitalists, got high administrative positions just as happened in China. The only difference seems to be that the Korean capitalists don't receive any annual profits from "their" companies. In China these profits still are 5% of the total output.) The beginning of the capitalist, rich-peasant economy was crushed by the war and the poor peasants didn't hesitate to use this situation to collectivize the land and once and for all make up with their exploiters and suppressors.

The "peaceful socialization" of industry and trade took the same turn as in China and North Vietnam: through the strengthening of the People's Democratic Dictatorship and the united front with the "national" capitalists.

"For a successful achievement of... the socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic... the Party should, first of all, reinforce the work of the United Democratic Fatherland Front." (Kim Il Sung: **Report of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party**)

of Korea to the Third Congress, 1956.)

"The Workers' Party of Korea successfully carries on the building of socialism in the northern half of our country by consolidating the people's democratic system." (Rules of the Workers' Party of Korea.)

How was it possible then that the transition to a "socialist" economy could be carried through with such a flexibility and in a peaceful way?

"The majority of enterprisers and merchants together with the entire people... gave support to the policies pursued by our Party and people's government in socialist construction...."

"The capitalist tradesmen and industrialists found it impossible to restore their ruined economy unless they relied on the assistance of the state and the socialist economy...."

"Only when they were embraced in the socialist system of economy could the enterprisers and merchants improve their posi-

tion." (Kim Il Sung: Report of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to the Fourth Congress, 1961.)

The war had completely crushed the "national" capitalists' economic position and now, when they wanted to regain what they had lost, the state appeared as their friendly helper. Here a real and magnificent possibility existed to completely smash the "national" capitalists. That no attempts in that direction were made is nothing but an expression of which class the state was set up to serve.

Which were, then, the alternatives that existed for the "national" capitalists? If they didn't want to be wiped out as a class their only chance was to support the "socialist" transformation. They understood very well that this wasn't the time to build a competitive capitalist economy. And when they also got the magnificent offer from the "People's Democratic State" to join in, and take a leading role within, the state capitalist system they certainly did not hesitate accepting. It was their only possibility to survive as a class! What



'Coca Cola' (The real thing)

happened then when the capitalists took part in the cooperatives?

“Joining the producers’ cooperatives, the enterprisers and traders have been transformed into working people of a socialist type. In this process their ideological remodeling has also been facilitated.” (Kim Il Sung: **Report of the CC... to the Fourth Congress, 1961.**)

This quotation tells us the same idealistic idea about the character of classes and their conditions as Mao Tse-tung holds (see particularly his work: **On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, and On New Democracy**). What is at stake here is to give the impression that a parasite class has been converted into socialist working people. But what has really happened is that these parasites live as they used to (even if the forms have changed somewhat) and all true attempts to realize workers’ power are frustrated.

The “socialist” transformation of the economy, i.e. the nationalization, has resulted in a very quick development of the productive forces. In the short time of 14 years, North Korea has been industrialized and according to capitalist models the economy is “comprehensively” built. The main stress has been put on heavy industry, but also light industry and agriculture have made fast progress. The standard of living has increased considerably and is probably the best on the Asian continent today. An advanced public health service has been established and the educational system has been built in an ambitious way. In short, what has been accomplished within the economic and social sector is a very quick development. This was possible because of the mobilization of the broad masses of workers and peasants who in this construction showed their strength, heroism and inherent abilities. This development, however, isn’t a manifestation of socialism and workers’ power but has generated a new “red” bourgeoisie, a class where you also find parts of the “old” capitalist class. The concessions to the capitalists which we documented above are of a fundamental importance to the emergence of this new bourgeoisie.

### THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

When analyzing any state calling itself socialist, we must proceed from the principles and form of the Paris Commune, “the form at last discovered by the proletarian revolution, under which the economic emancipation of labor can take place” (Marx). The Paris Commune was established in 1871 by the working class of Paris when they fought against the German occupation army and the French bourgeois government. It was the hardships in the war between Germany and France and the siege of Paris that urged the workers of the French capital to this historic action, and which

showed to the world that the working class was an independent revolutionary force. The Paris Commune was the organizational form of the first proletarian revolution and dictatorship in history. The Commune was smashed, however, after only 72 days by the united efforts of the German and French governments. Marx, Engels and Lenin have carefully analyzed the political forms of the working-class power that emerged during the days of the Commune. These principles that Lenin primarily pointed to and that he deemed necessary for the bringing about of a socialist society were (see **State and Revolution**, chapters III and IV):

- 1) The need to smash (as opposed to taking over or “appropriating”) bourgeois state power and establish the dictatorship of the **working class**;
- 2) The abolition of a bourgeois-type standing army and the distribution of arms to the masses of the working class;
- 3) The need to elect all functionaries and administrators, making them responsible, and the need to introduce immediate recall of those functionaries by the masses if they fail to carry out the desires and aspirations of the working class;
- 4) The need for economic equality between the functionaries and the workers; functionaries must never earn more than ordinary workers.

Proceeding from these principles, let us now analyze North Korea:

Today there exists a very mighty state apparatus in North Korea and we cannot find any signs indicating this state apparatus is withering away. “The existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable” (Lenin). The question to be answered is: which antagonistic classes exist today in North Korea and which class controls the state?

The social power in North Korea is exercised by the Workers’ Party, where, as we have seen, the working class doesn’t have any real power. Therefore, the party cannot express the power of the **working class**. The party takes the leading role in all administration all the way from the central government and planning authorities down to the management of factories and agriculture cooperatives, i.e. the power is completely monopolized by the party. In general we can say that workers’ influence grows the closer to the production we get, but this is checked and regulated by strict centralism. The power is, to a certain extent, exercised through parliamentary institutions and the North Koreans still maintain the division between “legislative and executive” power, i.e. special organs for making the decisions and other special organs for carrying them out. This is quite contrary to the principles of the Paris Commune, i.e. the abolishment of parliamentary institutions which must be replaced by working bodies which are legislative and executive **at the same time** and, furthermore, these organs must be responsible to the masses.

The real power in North Korea doesn’t lie in

the production, in workers' councils or soviets. Thus, we cannot say that the working class holds the power. But at the same time we must not forget that the workers have some influence on planning, administration and production in the factories and the cooperatives through the Taean work system, even if the real essence of this system is that higher organs help the lower ones and that superiors help and guide inferiors.

### WHAT ARE THE CONTRADICTIONS?

But which class does really control the state? Which are the antagonistic contradictions? Are they the contradictions between workers and peasants, which according to the Workers' Party are the only contradictions existing in a socialist society?

Hardly! Or are they the contradictions between workers and peasants on one hand and the remnants of the old exploiting classes on the other? Partly, as we have seen certain parts of these classes, i.e. the "national" capitalists, let themselves be expropriated in a peaceful way as their only chance of surviving and thereby maintaining at least some of their old position. They do not any longer own the means of production but they own influence and have power over them, the planning and distribution of the surplus value, this because they now belong to the new class of party bureaucrats, factory directors, technocrats and other administrators. **The antagonistic contradictions in the North Korean society today are between this new parasitic class, the "red" bourgeoisie, and the working class.**

Now we want to show how Kim Il Sung must revise Marx's and Lenin's ideas of the state in order to justify and defend the position of the new bourgeoisie:

"Even if communism is materialized in one country or in some areas, such a society will not be free of the menace of imperialism and also of the resistance of the enemies at home who conspire with the enemies without, so far as the world revolution has not yet been accomplished and capitalism and imperialism remain in existence. Under such circumstances, the state cannot wither away and the dictatorship of the proletariat will have to remain in existence even in the higher phase of communism." (Kim Il Sung: **On the Question of the Period of Transition From Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat**, 1967.)

Kim Il Sung's ideas are that communism could be materialized in one single country even when imperialism exists in other countries and that this means that the state must be maintained instead of withering away. What is behind these queer ideas is the belief that the borders of nations can be borders between different social systems. If we should look upon imperialism and communism only as two different political lines,

two different ideologies that the government of a country can choose, well, then we fully understand Kim's idea. But we cannot reduce the question of imperialism or communism to a question of ideologies. They are **total social systems**, where the economy and not ideology is the material backbone. That imperialism is a world-wide system is quite clear—the division of labor is never stopped by national borders but its roots reach into every corner of the imperialist system. It is also quite clear that communism from the basic angle, i.e. from the economic aspect, only can be built when imperialism is completely smashed and when phenomena such as commodities, money, market, wage-labor, capital, etc., are wiped out. Communism demands that all the resources of the world are utilized by the working class in a rational way. The national borders will lose their importance and wither away. Communism in one country implies that world revolutionary victory is already won and that the working class of the world already has established its own power, the proletarian dictatorship, on all fronts.

### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

But the global socialist revolution will not be accomplished all at once. The socialist struggle will develop unevenly on different fronts.

Now, "national" bosses in the neo-colonies are trying by all means to safeguard their class position by a closer cooperation with stronger imperialists. At the same time, they are trying to catch the workers in a grip of "new democratic" nationalism. The national "liberation" movements are all built under a bourgeois leadership and with bourgeois aims. But, as history showed, in the big liberation movements peasants and workers make up a big bulk and are armed in that way. Furthermore, there exist good possibilities that conscious peasants and workers in the movement break with their bourgeois leadership and organize themselves in new revolutionary movements. Our task is not to prevent the emergence of national "liberation" movements but to expose, wherever they occur, the bourgeois leadership and its aims, thus contributing to the emergence of a revolutionary, working-class movement with an international and socialist outlook.

Kim Il Sung's idea of communism with a state apparatus intact (which is the expression of one class suppressing another) has as its aim to justify the position of the "red" bourgeoisie also in the future. The "red" bourgeoisie is eager to maintain the state apparatus because it is through the state its power and position are ensured. To abolish the state would be the same as suicide for the "red" bosses.

In North Korea we still do find a strong and mighty standing army. And the body of officers make up the nucleus in this army. The existence of such an army (no matter how it is motivated, by threats from the imperialists, etc. etc.) must

be a threat against the working class and cannot possibly be an expression of the power of the working class. **It is only the armed working class that can resist the imperialists and the domestic class enemies!**

It is true that there exists a militia in North Korea but it is completely subordinated to the strategy, the social role and position of the standing army. It might possibly guarantee some influence for the workers, but it cannot be an expression of their social power since it is subordinated to the standing army and since the workers themselves don't control the militia. (This is quite clear from the North Korean propaganda material.) The defense policy of the Workers' Party is, in short: to strengthen the standing "people's army," to transform it into a cadre army, modernize it, turn the whole country into a fortress and arm the entire people. "It means to organize the whole nation into a single military force, by placing the regular People's Army at its core..." (Korea Today, no. 142/1968.) This conventional bourgeois military line is also practiced in China. In Peking Review, no. 26/1972, the Chinese militia was described as "auxiliary and reserve" of the standing army.

The "people's army," i.e. the standing army, is an expression of the power position of the new "red" bourgeoisie, and the officers—at least the big boys—belong to this class themselves. These people have a lot of power and influence over the production, they enjoy sky-high wages and a lot of other material benefits. (A huge part of the central committee of the Workers' Party consists of the military. In China this phenomenon is even more common.)

Functionaries and administrators are appointed from above; they are not responsible and cannot be recalled by the working class. If the principle of election, responsibility and recall was materialized the emergence of a "red" bourgeoisie would be impossible.

The functionaries in factories are appointed by the local party committees and some of the functionaries in the cooperatives are elected at general meetings, but this democratic character at the lower level is entirely imaginary. The steering from above from the core of the "red" bourgeoisie is complete. And what is more important, the functionaries at the higher level are not at all controlled by the working class.

The wages of functionaries and administrators are much higher than a normal worker's wage. An ordinary worker earns about 70-80 won a month (two wons make up one U.S. dollar) while the directors in the same factories earn a lot more than 100 won. Furthermore, the directors have at their disposal official cars with drivers. Teachers at universities and high schools earn about 200 won a month. But the picture is not completely clear-cut and, in some smaller factories, the directors earn no more than 100 won. At the same time we must observe the enormous

differences within the working class. In some heavy industries the workers with the most heavy and most qualified jobs can earn 200-320 won a month, i.e. even more than directors and engineers. Some industries have wage-differences between the different workers of 1:5! That is indeed a traditional capitalist method of splitting the working class.

## KOREA A CLASS SOCIETY

From all this we can see that North Korea isn't a dictatorship of the **working class**, that the working class doesn't have the necessary power to transform the society into a communist classless society, that there exist antagonistic classes in the North Korean society and that the class holding state power must be characterized as a "red" bourgeoisie, a new type of bourgeoisie, that first emerged in the Soviet Union already during Stalin's heyday.

What happened in the Soviet Union after the October revolution is well expressed by Alexandra Kollontay in her pamphlet "Workers' Opposition." In the Soviet Union, the petty bourgeoisie flexibly adapted the new conditions after the revolution and they filled most leading and responsible positions in the state economy and industry. This was possible because the strongest faction within the Bolshevik party trusted bourgeois experts more than they trusted the workers. The leaders' distrust of the workers increased all the time as the gap between the communist ideology and the real conditions grew. The workers were more and more often put aside and were replaced by specialists and bureaucrats who filled all high administrative posts. Instead of relying on the workers and their unions, the Bolshevik leaders trusted in bureaucrats and pseudo-specialists. They did not believe that the workers themselves, and independently, were able to build the Soviet economy.

But bosses can never build a socialist economy; that can only be brought about by the working class. Therefore, the result in the Soviet Union was state-capitalism instead of socialism, the dictatorship of a "red" bourgeoisie instead of the dictatorship of the working class.

## THE 'RED' BOURGEOISIE

This new brand of bosses that established themselves didn't fall out of the sky but have a long history in the "socialist" experience and we now want to show why they necessarily must be considered as a new bourgeois class:

- 1) Because the means of production are collectively kept at their disposal, they have the power and the "right" to all decisions on the planning and the course the production should take.
- 2) The surplus value produced is, in the same

way, fully kept at their disposal following their "rights" to control and distribute all values accumulated, i.e., they exploit the working class. (This is reflected in the outlook of the "red" bourgeoisie who regard the workers just as a source for profits. During the cultural revolution in China, the genuine left attacked very hard all forms of capitalist methods of administration and capitalist production relations. The left opposed strongly the slogan of the bourgeoisie: "production for the sake of production" or "production for profit," claiming that politics must be placed at the head and be the guide of production. Now, conditions in China are essentially the same as before the cultural revolution, a fact which received praise from *Pravda*, the newspaper of the Soviet bourgeoisie. And it wrote that China has "begun to substitute approved socialist forms of work for the adventurous forms for production and economic steering." In an article in the bourgeois newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, its Peking correspondent quoted the Chinese People's Daily, which wrote that "the question of... the profit of the enterprise is not unimportant." This is the same thing as production for profit, which means nothing else but exploitation of the working class. This capitalist principle is today applied in all self-styled socialist states).

3) This class occupies all administrative functions and in that way completely controls the party, the mass organizations and the state apparatus (including the army and the police), i.e., it has monopolized the economic and political power.

4) This "red" bourgeoisie lives a lot better than the working class and it promotes differences in living standards among the working people. In that way it also promotes the emergence of a huge middle stratum, consisting of administrators, technicians, engineers and a loyal labor aristocracy.

The questions to be answered are: How did this bourgeoisie emerge? What will the future development be like in North Korea, China, Soviet Union and the other state capitalist countries? How can the emergence of a "red" bourgeoisie be prevented in socialist construction? What can we learn from the North Korean example and how can this knowledge be used in the struggles of the international working class?

At first we want to describe some characteristics of the "red" bourgeoisie and the North Korean society.

**Ideology.** North Korea has taken an independent stand in the Sino-Soviet conflict. This must be understood as an expression of the independence that the country has achieved in the economic sphere. This doesn't mean that North Korea has refused to decide on Marxism-Leninism and revisionism but that the North Koreans have put forth their own ideology, which is based upon the social relations in North Korea and contains some

basic distortions of Marxist-Leninist principles (we have already shown how they revised the basic understanding of the character and "withering away" of the state). In this way North Korea is not very different from China or the Soviet Union, which both act in the same way, i.e., they act from the position and movement of their respective bourgeoisies. That the Chinese have put forth a "left" line doesn't mean very much against this background, since their line didn't break essentially with revisionism. They criticized, just as the North Koreans did, some manifestations of revisionism but they could not possibly criticize its foundations because this would have forced them to question their own existence, i.e., the existence of the "red" bourgeoisie. The Soviet bourgeoisie is more consolidated, which is expressing itself in their ideological stand.

The stand of the North Koreans is, in many ways much more consistent than that of the Chinese and the Russians—Kim Il Sung has for some time now pleaded for unity within the "socialist" camp, and has claimed that there is more that is uniting than separating the "socialist states," and further that no one can deny the existence of the "socialist camp" and place himself outside (exactly what China has tried to do, according to Kim). Of course he is right; there is more uniting than separating among the different "red" bosses (although the Chinese bosses almost were overthrown during the cultural revolution). Kim "understood" this and he "exposed" this. ("The differences between the socialist countries are... something like a casual family conflict of views. Even brothers in one and the same family quarrel with each other occasionally, and how can there be no differences at all on this or that question between the fraternal countries?" Kim Il Sung: **Answers to the Questions Raised by Abdel Ahmed Hamrouche, General Manager of Dar-El-Tahrir for Printing and Publishing of the United Arab Republic**, July 1, 1969.)

Here we want to point at some of the theoretical distortions made by the North Koreans.

## NEW DEMOCRACY

Kim Il Sung's line for the struggle against imperialism is New Democracy, i.e., alliance with "national" capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie:

"From his deep analysis of the economic structure of the colonial, semi-feudal society and its class relations, he drew the scientific conclusion that the character of the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries is neither of the bourgeois nor the socialist revolution but the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution." (Yang Hyong Sop: **The Tasks of Social Science to Thoroughly Defend the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's Revolutionary Thinking and Propagate It Extensively**—Report to a National Conference of Social Scientists, April 1972.)

Who then is allowed to participate in this wonderful revolution?

"The motive power of the South Korean revolution is the working class and its reliable ally, the peasantry, and the progressive student youths, intellectuals, patriotic-minded armymen, some patriotic-minded national capitalists and people of small-property classes who are opposed to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys." (Kim Il Sung: **Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea**, November 1970.)

This line is the same that guided the work in the 30's and 40's (the line of Dimitroff) even if there nowadays are added some more "revolutionary" phrases.

This basic revision of Marxism replaces class struggle with national unity and harmony. New Democracy is today a counter-revolutionary ideology which advocates alliance with the enemy—i.e., the "national" capitalists, who are completely dependent on imperialism and cannot exist without it—and advocates more capitalism

when conditions all over the world are ripe for socialism. The fact that the North Koreans advocate this line (just as the Chinese and Russians do) cannot be explained by "dogmatism" or "insufficient knowledge" but is a result of the class relations in North Korea. The "red" bourgeoisie is not interested in the emergence of a real socialist movement but cooperates with regimes which might seem to be opposed to imperialism, yet which, all the same, are parts of the imperialist economic system. This is the way in which the "red" bosses are trying to protect their own position. By this time we have seen a lot of New Democratic revolutions, which only lead to the emergence of a new comprador elite and bourgeoisie, completely integrated within the imperialist economic system (Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, Ceylon, Egypt, Cuba, etc). These revolutions never were **claimed** to be led by the working class. Those New Democratic revolutions which had a communist leadership have for some time resulted in successes for the working class, but because of the enormous concessions to the "national" capitalists these successes produced a new "red" bourgeoisie (China, North Korea, North Vietnam).

**The workers don't need New Democracy, i.e.,**





**more capitalism, but need socialism.** Today conditions the world over are ripe for socialism (capitalism has produced the forces capable of overthrowing itself) and to advocate New Democracy, which will never lead to working-class liberation, is an attempt to reform imperialism not smash it. The reason why the social-imperialists in the imperialist countries are backing and advocate New Democracy is that this petty bourgeois class wants to keep intact the division of labor between the imperialist and neo-colonial countries, since it is the division of labor that guarantees their class favors. New Democracy can never smash the international division of labor. Only socialism can accomplish that!

According to all this, the North Korean foreign policy is directed towards alliances with the "national" capitalist regimes in the neo-colonies, primarily in Africa and the Arab countries. Lately we could hear a new tune from Pyongyang, as it tried to get some more close cooperation with the imperialist countries. In an interview with Harrison E. Salisbury of the **New York Times** on the 26th of May 1972, Kim Il Sung said:

"You have just said you hoped that this abnormal situation between our country and the United States would improve. So do we. We do not want to have many enemies. The relations between our country and the United States entirely depend on the attitude of the U.S. government. If it changes its policy towards us, we will do the same towards the United States . . .

"If the U.S. Government gives up its unsympathetic acts against our country and stops obstructing our national reunification, then there will be no reason why we should be antagonistic to the United States . . .

"The U.S. Government should improve relations not only with big countries, but with small countries as well . . ." (**Pyongyang Times**, June 10, 1972).

After all, this isn't much of an opposition to U.S. imperialism, which in the past the North Koreans used to describe as the number one enemy of all the peoples of the world. The very day that the U.S. stops provoking the "red" bosses in North Korea everything will be fine for them. This miserable policy is made up solely in the interests of the "red" bourgeoisie. This class is not interested in the advance of world revolution. It is only interested in protecting its own position within "its own" country and strengthening it internationally, in order to be able to exploit also the workers of other countries. This makes it necessary to maintain the status quo and peaceful co-existence with the imperialists.

### THE PERSONALITY CULT

The personality cult in North Korea has assumed enormous and absurd expressions. Its basic content is that it replaces the Marxist theory of class struggle as the motive power of history with idealism and metaphysics, claiming that the

individual is the creator of history. The present North Korean historiography doesn't contain very much about class struggle; it was Kim Il Sung who liberated the country; it was **HE** who defeated U.S. imperialism during the Korean war; it is **HE** who has built socialism; it is **HE** who always knows every answer to all the questions; it is **HIS** boundless love for the working class that gives them new machines and higher wages; **HE** is the supreme brain of the party and its sole centre; **HE** is the one carrying upon his shoulders the proletarian dictatorship, etc. etc.

The personality cult contains a gigantic falsification of history, in which the Korean revolution is depicted as a family affair of Kim's relatives. His father was the great Leader before him. When the father died a hero's death, his mother took over since Kim was yet too young. But in his very early years he was ready to shoulder the revolutionary mantle. Who will carry on the revolutionary family tradition after Kim? Kim Yong Ju, his ten-years-younger brother, is a member of the political bureau of the Workers' Party and he is the one who has made the fastest career within the party. His wife Kim Song Ae is the chairman of the Women's Union. And his children? The many communists who really fought and suffered in the past have been wiped out of history or reduced to simple "factionalists."

### FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY

Falsification of history has always been used by **bosses** all over the world and the "red" bosses are no exception. How many times has the history of Russia and China been rewritten in order to suit new power relations within the "red" bourgeoisie? Especially the Chinese bosses seem to feel no restrictions at all in this field. During the cultural revolution, the historians were assigned the task of wiping out the contributions to the Chinese revolution made by Liu Shao-chi and his followers, reducing them from the very beginning to agents of Kuomintang and imperialism. Recently the historians had to wipe out Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and quite a few others, making Chou En-lai (the chief representative of the "red" bourgeoisie) Mao's faithful assistant and pupil since long ago. In Eastern Europe the problem many times has not only been to wipe people out of history but also to rehabilitate those who had been purged in the past. That can be very delicate. And it must be stated once and for all: **falsification of history is reactionary and serves bourgeois interests.**

The groups beside Kim's own guerrilla group who formed the North Korean communist Party in the 40's have been purged in different turns. And one can talk of three or four big purges when the pro-Chinese, pro-Soviet (they tried to overthrow Kim in a coup d'etat with the support of Khrushchev in the mid-fifties) and the "native" Koreans were thrown out of the party. The last big purge was made between 1967 and 1969 after Kim Yong Ju became responsible for the party's organizational affairs. About 70% of the members of the Central Committee, elected at the

party congress in 1970, were new-comers and between 1968 and 1970 eight out of 13 members of the political bureau were cleared away. The struggle behind all this was the question of independence or reliance-dependence on China and the Soviet Union, and the question of personality cult. And this question, especially, caused the last purge.

In all these struggles within the party, Kim was the winner, Kim the "sun of the nation, the great Leader of the whole Korean people, peerless patriot, national hero, ever victorious iron-willed brilliant commander and one of the outstanding leaders of the international communist and working-class movement." His thinking is presented as Marxism-Leninism of our times, giving clear answers to all questions that arise in revolution and construction. And foreign guests in Pyongyang proclaim him the sole leader of world revolution and the greatest Marxist-Leninist of this century. All around North Korea, in schools, universities and factories you can find big collections of things that HE has touched, everything from ashtrays and table-tennis balls to coat-hangers and tables he has used. If his hands happen to touch a machine in a factory, it is immediately painted in a special color and provided with a medal and inscriptions. The task of the workers now is to always return HIS love and care with loyalty (to HIM) and follow the way HE points out. The Koreans have also generalized these absurd ideas about the role of the Leader:

"Establishing the party's monolithic ideological system acquires an especially important meaning in strengthening the leadership of the working-class party in the revolution and construction.

"This means equipping the whole party with the revolutionary thought of the leader, closely uniting its entire membership around him and carrying on the revolutionary struggle and the construction work under his unique leadership. It is the supreme principle to strictly maintain in strengthening the Party's leadership in the revolution and construction.

"The leader alone can lead the whole system of proletarian dictatorship, including the party. The leader is the sole embodiment of the organizational will of the party, the working class and the masses of the people. He is the center and heart of unity and cohesion and the supreme brain in the struggle for the revolution and construction. (Yang Hyong Sop)

Why then, this enormous personality cult? **Partly**, to defeat a strong opposition against Kim within the party. The strengthening of the cult indicates that the 1967-69 purge still has considerable after-effects. **Mainly** in order to protect the position of the "red" bourgeoisie. The personality cult is an expression of the consolidation of this bourgeoisie. Through the experiences of the Chinese cultural revolution, the bosses in North Korea saw that there existed a material basis for a revolutionary struggle against themselves. How then could such an outburst be avoided? Through the personality cult and in-

fallibility myth. The theories about the Leader as the supreme brain, etc., also mean that the party and the state administration must be infallible, because the Party is the very party of the Leader and the state administration is led by HIM. To criticize these institutions would be the same thing as criticizing the Leader, which is the same as criticizing Marxism-Leninism. In that way all criticism is said to be "counter-revolutionary" criticism. In order to keep their positions materially, this is the ideological method the "red" bosses chose to use.

**Personality cult is always reactionary.** It thwarts the political development of the masses. "There is always someone up there who does our thinking for us, solving our problems, so we don't have to bother about it;" that will be the practical contents of the cult and the infallibility myth. The cult takes political power out of the hands of the masses and it encourages bourgeois individualism. It places the party and the administration above the masses. The working class must possess all control of the party as well as all the power over production and planning. Personality cult is a class question.

The personality cult is also used to defend and consolidate the very strong bureaucratic centralism and degeneration within the party. All directives coming from the Leader are correct and discussions are unnecessary. What is needed only is that the party membership learn the directives from the Leader and try to carry them out. These directives must be correct, because the Leader is the supreme brain of the party... This is also the main point in the education of the lower cadres and the workers—they have to learn **by heart** from Kim's writings. (This we have seen very closely with our own eyes.)

The personality cult is a way of taking the power out of the hands of the workers and peasants and thereby secures the "red" bosses the leadership in the party.

## NATIONALISM

Nationalism is bourgeois ideology completely contrary to proletarian internationalism. And these two ideologies can never be united. In Kim Il Sung's new democratic line against imperialism, and in the reunification question, his brand of nationalism finds its expression above all. The line of the Workers' Party in the reunification question has experienced many twists and turns. Even if all the time it stressed the idea of peaceful reunification, the strategy has, during different periods, been accompanied by different tactics. During some periods, for example in the mid-sixties, the main stress was on support to the revolutionary forces in South Korea. These forces were supposed to throw out the U.S. imperialists and overthrow the puppet regime with the support from the North and then start negotiating with the North about a peaceful reunification. These tactics have been replaced by negotiations and cooperation with the nationalist forces. Now, class struggle in the South is subordinated to the "national unity" and "harmony" in order to show a "united

nation" against the U.S. and Japanese imperialists:

"If the peaceful reunification of the country is to be achieved, many problems must be solved. We should jointly check the invasion of outside forces, a root cause of the national misfortunes, remove the present tension in our country and create an atmosphere of national harmony...

"If all these problems are to be smoothly solved, the north and the south must not fail to unite, regardless of ideology, and hold political negotiations. Only when we unite and hold negotiations, can we jointly cope with the outside forces imposing a split upon us and discuss problems of interest for our nation and hew the way to reunification in conformity with the will of the nation...

"The difference of the social system and ideology cannot be an obstacle to the promotion of national unity nor be a pretext for obstructing national reunification... All the political parties, public organizations and individual personages in the north and the south should, standing above the difference of ideology and political view, jointly approach the questions confronting our nation, to begin with, and subordinate everything to the nationwide struggle for achieving the peaceful reunification of the country." (*Rodong Sinmun*, newspaper of WPK, March 25, 1972.)

The communists in the South are told not to disturb the "national harmony" and they must subordinate their struggle for socialism to the alliance with the capitalists and the national reunification. This line must be understood as an expression of the class relations that exist in North Korea. If a real proletarian movement would develop in South Korea it would also of course threaten the "red" bourgeoisie in the North. The line of the reunification question is decided from the wishes of the "red" bosses to keep and consolidate their positions.

To advocate a peaceful reunification between two different social systems is nothing else but advocating a peaceful transition to socialism, and this revisionist thesis is proposed by the North Koreans in their new democratic line against imperialism. After all, transition to "socialism" in North Korea was peaceful!

Obviously the bosses of North Korea don't see any longer any basic differences between the social systems in North and South Korea:

"We do not regard South Korea as a capitalist society in the true sense of the word. There are no big monopoly capitalists in South Korea; there are only a few comprador capitalists. Of course, we are against comprador capitalists. We oppose them because they obstruct the development of the national economy. But we are not against national capitalists and small and medium entrepreneurs. We can say that south Korean society is no more than a society which is just starting to take the road of capitalism, or is

inclined to capitalism or is being influenced by capitalism or believing in capitalism, or something like that." (Kim Il Sung, when interviewed by Harrison E. Salisbury, *New York Times*, *Pyongyang Times*, June 10, 1972.)

The forces in South Korea that Kim is trying to win for a reunification, are obviously the "national" capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie. These classes are promised a prospering paradise after the reunification of the country. And there is no doubt, their class brothers in the northern part willingly say about the state-capitalist paradise they live in (as part of the "red" bourgeoisie)! With these facts in mind, it is not very surprising that the governments of North and South Korea now sit around the negotiating table. It is obvious that the handshakings between Kim Il Sung and the CIA-boss of South Korea (as well as the handshakings between Nixon and Mao and Brezhnev) bode no good for the revolutionary forces in the world.

### DOGMATISM

Of course, it is absolutely necessary for the "red" bosses to stifle and distort the revolutionary contents of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., dialectical materialism. The bosses' own ideology is presented as the highest stage of Marxism-Leninism. This is permanently done in the propaganda, both within the country and abroad. (During the last few years, since the North Korean government set up an information bureau in Stockholm, Swedish bourgeois newspapers have got their share also. The information bureau has spent hundreds of thousands of Swedish crowns in big advertisement drives. A few days after publishing the advertisements in the Swedish newspapers, the contents of them are published in the newspapers of Pyongyang, presented as the views of the Swedish papers. This is so because the bosses want to give the North Korean workers and peasants the impression that all peoples of the world really believe that Kim Il Sung is the hero of the 20th century. Thus, the propaganda abroad is primarily used in the domestic infallibility cult around Kim Il Sung.)

Kim's thoughts are presented as a text-book and an encyclopedia, where one can find answers to all questions that possibly might arise in the revolution and construction.

There exist of course a lot of other theoretical revisions of Marxism and some of them worth mentioning are the ideas about "the entire people." The working people in North Korea, which is mostly understood as the whole population, are presented as one single red family united around the Leader. That other classes than workers and peasants, and possibly very, very small remnants of the old exploiting classes, exist are completely denied. The only class struggle said to be taking place, is the "ideological class struggle to root out all forms of old, bourgeois ideas." From these ideas necessarily follow the theories about the monolithic unity within the party around the

leader. There is no such thing as open struggle between different views in order to solve problems and contradictions, because that would very much undermine the monopoly power of the "red" bourgeoisie.

The Workers Party's understanding of the concept of proletarian internationalism is also a distortion of Marxism. The Koreans are claiming that socialist "patriotism" and proletarian internationalism are just two sides of the same coin. But you can't be a boss and a proletarian at the same time. Under the cover of the pretext that there is no need for a center of the world communist movement, the Koreans practice every avoidance of an international co-ordination of the communist forces. Of course, bosses can't possibly act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism—this is the basic reason for the distortions on this point.

## THE QUESTION OF INTELLECTUALS AND OF TRADE UNIONS

Already in the 40's there were hard contradictions within the party on the question of the intellectuals. The left within the party was very skeptical about intellectuals because they had been in the service of the Japanese imperialists and the domestic exploiting classes. And the left didn't want to allow too many of them into the party, claiming it was necessary to investigate their past. The group around Kim Il Sung, on the other hand, claimed that the intellectuals had been "nationally suppressed" by Japanese imperialism and that they had a role to play in the construction of the "democratic" stage. And they argued that you mustn't dig too deep into their past. This ideology is based upon an idealistic conception of the classes and their conditions.

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1973*

# *In Marxist Chile, the Wealthy Who Remained Still Find Beef and Scotch*

By JONATHAN KANDELL

*Special to The New York Times*

SANTIAGO, Chile, Feb. 20 — On a recent evening a small group of neighbors gathered for dinner on the open veranda of a large Spanish colonial house in the affluent district of Las Condes.

Behind the willow trees in the garden were the manicured lawns of the Prince of Wales Country Club and beyond that the stark brown Andes mountains.

A cool summer breeze wafted the sweet smell of a slab of black-market beef sizzling over a coal burner while the guests drank smuggled Scotch and smoked that scarcest of commodities, American cigarettes.

"This Government has violently discriminated against us in the delivery of goods and services," said Alfredo Alcaino, the alderman of Providencia, another district in the barrio alto. "But the shopowners and residents of this neighborhood are united. We will manage the way we

have managed for these past two years."

The way to manage in Chile nowadays is to have access to dollars and the black market. Not surprisingly, the well-to-do have managed better than most.

While the Chilean escudo remains officially pegged at 46 to a dollar, the black-market rate has risen to 430 escudos to a dollar, and will probably rise above 600 after the legislative elections on March 4.

As a result, the buying power of those who own dollars has stayed far ahead of the booming inflation rate (a world record 163 per cent last year). And the trappings of affluence are everywhere in the midst of a crumbling economy.

In the dimly lit discotheques that have sprouted and expanded in the barrio alto, young couples pay 500 escudos for a round of drinks—officially more than \$10, but only a little more than \$1 in fact.

"We are crowded every day of the week," said

Guillermo Troncoso, the assistant manager of Las Brujas, the leading dance spot, as he struggled to hold back newcomers at the entrance.

The blue-ribbon restaurants continue to be heavily patronized even though it is the height of the summer season in the beachside resorts. The menus are irregular, but the white-gloved maitres d'hôtel lean forward quietly to offer guests part of a steer slaughtered only the night before.

The pantries and basements of the houses of the barrio alto are stocked with food and drink bought in bulk in anticipation of shortages that inevitably develop.

"Things are still too comfortable to leave Chile," said a young executive at a still privately owned asphalt company. "There is always a friend who owns a mill, a milk factory or a few head of beef. It can last maybe another six months, maybe a year. But what I've eaten and danced nobody can take away from me."

In reality, the intellectuals had been part of the suppressive machine of the Japanese and servants of the domestic exploiters. And if they were to play any progressive role after the liberation, they would have to abandon their petty bourgeois class standpoint, subordinating themselves to the workers. What happened was quite the contrary—they brought their petty bourgeois standpoint into the party. Instead of being transformed, they transformed the party in a petty bourgeois direction. Today intellectuals form a mighty middle stratum in North Korea, which is tied to the “red” bourgeoisie. They also have a lot of benefits, compared to the working class, they have more power, they enjoy higher wages and a lot of other benefits. The Workers’ Party now boasts how, within the next few years, intellectuals will be developed into a one-million-man-strong army. These intellectuals are of course very loyal to the Leader and they do make up a big bulk of the party membership. (At the Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang about 90% of the teachers and professionals are members of the party. Compare this to the figure of 30% or 40% at factories and farms.)

The trade unions are built in a corporative way. Also directors, high engineers and such bosses are members of the “workers’ unions.” This is, of course, based upon the theories about the working people as one single red family. The tasks of the trade unions are to stimulate the workers’ production efforts and to arm them with the ideas of Kim. The trade unions are no longer organs of the working class and they cannot be transformed into organizations expressing the will and strivings of the workers.

Thus, the “red” bourgeoisie has not only deprived the workers of power and control but also of their means for self-defense. Every economic defense struggle of the workers will necessarily bring them 100% into direct conflict with the “red” bosses and the state apparatus. (This is exactly what happened in Poland in 1970. Compare this also to Sweden, where the trade unions are totally subordinated to the capitalist state apparatus and where the workers’ defense struggles are forced outside and against the unions, thereby bringing the workers into direct confrontation with the state apparatus.)

The main contents in all education and culture (films, theatres, operas, etc.) are loyalty to the Leader and the incredible feats of the Leader and his boundless love for the working people.

## HOW DID THE ‘RED’ BOURGEOISIE EMERGE?

How did the “red” bourgeoisie emerge? In order to answer this question comprehensively, we must recapitulate, in short, what has happened in North Korea.

After the liberation, a bourgeois state was set up. This state was called People’s Democracy. Today the North Koreans are claiming that this was a proletarian dictatorship (at that time they didn’t mention a word about this). But you can’t

characterize the kind of state power which was set up after the liberation as a **working-class dictatorship**. It is true that the communists led this take-over of state power, thereby also monopolizing the power and actions of the working class, but it was the kind of state power having considerable concessions to the “national” capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie, which were said would grow into “socialism” in a peaceful way according to the model of Bukharin and Mao. (The theory about capitalists growing into socialism peacefully was first introduced by Bukharin in the Soviet Union at the end of the 20’s, when he claimed that the kulaks, i.e., the rural capitalists, would grow into socialism without being smashed as an exploiting class. Mao Tse-tung and Kim Il Sung have carried these ideas further when they claim that “national” capitalists in the neo-colonies peacefully can grow into socialism after the “new-democratic” revolution. See especially Mao: **“On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People”**).

The position of the landlords was crushed already before the Korean war, and the position of the workers was improved and the pro-Japanese capitalists were smashed. After the war, all tendencies to a private capitalist agriculture (rich-peasant economy) were smashed, and also the “national” capitalists were pinioned (and they let this happen because it was their only chance to maintain, at least to some extent, their past position). This development was urged by the proletarian forces. The economic base was transformed into a state-economy, which definitely is not the same thing as a socialist economy. The war strengthened the workers’ influence, but gradually a new bourgeoisie emerged. The productive forces developed extremely fast; the country was rebuilt and industrialized. The agriculture was modernized and mechanized, and the public health service and the education were extended to a very advanced level. **IT WAS NOT THE “RED” BOURGEOISIE WHO CREATED THIS DEVELOPMENT. IT WAS THIS DEVELOPMENT THAT CREATED THE “RED” BOURGEOISIE!**

The concessions made to the “national” capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie played an essential role in the emergence of the “red” bourgeoisie. In order to justify what happened it was necessary to defend the concessions ideologically. Therefore the distribution of wealth was done according to the “socialist” principle—to each according to the amount of labor performed. This was a bourgeois assessment of the labor. Technological, administrative, in short professional work was (and still is) classified as better and more valuable work (if it wasn’t that way, the old capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie would not have come along). This meant that the capitalists accepted the development (as **their** chance to survive as a class) and that the leading communists soon adopted the bourgeois attitudes and habits. Bosses continued being bosses and the communists, the former revolutionaries, were corrupted, and became bosses themselves.

“Socialism” in North Korea was never based upon the principles of the Paris Commune. There never existed any real working-class power in North Korea, even if the demands and the struggle for such a power must have occurred very strongly, especially from the lower cadres of the party and the workers. As the bourgeoisie was strengthened, the workers’ influence was hollowed out. And the personality cult is the most striking expression of this.

North Korea is **not** a socialist society. It is a state capitalist society, where a bourgeoisie of new type, a “red” bourgeoisie, is in power. To transform state capitalism into socialism, a revolution is necessary—a revolution in which the working class overthrows the “red” bourgeoisie, smashes its state apparatus and establishes a working-class dictatorship, capable of developing socialist production relations. (This was also what the Left in the Chinese cultural revolution had as its goal. One of the revolutionary organizations, Sheng-wu-lien in Hunan, claimed that the task of revolutionaries was to “overthrow the new bourgeoisie and build a new society without any bureaucrats, similar to the Paris Commune—the Peoples Commune of China.”)

But which are the tendencies in North Korea? The current development has created a new, “red” bourgeoisie, which stands in contradiction to the working class and completely lives off its work; it has created a big middle strata of technicians, lower administrators, teachers, journalists, producers, artists, etc., who will remain faithful to the bourgeoisie (in the form of the leader) until their death, since they have everything to gain by maintaining the status quo. The development also multiplied the working class, who now make up the majority in the North Korean society. The development continues in this direction—the “red” bourgeoisie tries to strengthen its position, the middle strata and the working class are both growing. More and more the working class will get into antagonistic contradiction with the bourgeoisie. But there are many things that put a check on a revolutionary opposition from the side of the workers—the bosses’ ideological defense line, especially the personality cult; the economic split of the workers and their relatively good material position (including education, health service, etc.); and the bosses’ organizational control over the workers through the party and mass organizations.

### **FIGHT FOR WORKING-CLASS POWER!**

What does Korea’s example show, and what can we learn from it?

1) A small colonial country is capable of building socialism by mobilizing the initiative, power and enthusiasm of the workers and peasants. Socialism is possible and necessary in the neo-colonies and poor peasants can be mobilized to fight for **socialism**. At the same time, Korea’s example teaches us that socialism is not the same

thing as turning the means of production into state property and developing a planned economy. Socialism is working-class power, and the development of socialist productive forces, i.e., a new quality of forms of production, conditions and direction. The capitalist division of labor must be smashed. Korea’s example shows us that workers, not technocrats or administrators, must be in power and that politics and not production must be placed in command. It is only the independent and creative struggle of the working class that can bring about the communist classless society!

2) Further, it teaches us that an armed and politically-mobilized working class can defeat the most horrifying imperialist power. A determined working class feels no limits in its activities.

3) That the “new democratic” revolution “under the leadership of the working class,” i.e., with concessions made to the “national” capitalists, inevitably is leading to the emergence of a new “red” bourgeoisie, which are picking up strata from the old exploiter-classes. New democracy leads definitely to bourgeois, not proletarian power. Only socialism will lead to working-class liberation.

4) It also tells us that every manifestation of personality cult and falsification of history is reactionary, serves bourgeois interests and works against socialism and undermines workers’ power; and further, that the working class must keep fighting the emergence of new bosses at every stage of the struggle.

5) That socialism, of necessity, must be built on the principles of the Paris Commune. Without these principles, no socialism or development towards communism is possible.

6) Also, that the communist party, necessary to the success of the revolution, must be a genuine working-class party, i.e., this party must consist of the most conscious, courageous and disciplined workers and keep the closest ties to the working class. This party must not be dominated by petty bourgeois intellectuals or be inclined to the slightest concession to, or compromise with, the bourgeoisie. The inner life of the party must be characterized by the broadest democracy, where criticism and struggle between different opinions will not be reduced to an empty phrase. The workers also must be in power in the party. The uniform actions of the party must be based upon all members’ absolute equality and equal right of criticism and self-criticism. The leading bodies must not have any privileges or advantages, whether they are material or political. The membership must possess all the rights to recall the leadership.

To us this means: Fight for socialism, fight for working class dictatorship, no concessions to the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie, smash nationalism and new democracy. Proletarian inter-

nationalism must be the essence of our politics. Build a revolutionary working-class movement! Build a communist international which coordinates and guides the struggle against imperialism! Only the revolutionary struggle of a united international working class is capable of smashing the international division of labor. This division of labor, and imperialism's superprofits from the exploitation of the neo-colonial workers, are the foundations of imperialism. It is only the international struggle for socialism that can smash these foundations and thereby imperialism itself. Socialism is impossible without proletarian internationalism.

And we now have a better understanding of what socialism must mean and thereby how to prevent the emergence of a "red" bourgeoisie. These teachings are extremely valuable and must be brought to the working class. We must be fighting for the dictatorship of the working class, a dictatorship where the power lies in work places, in soviets or workers' councils, and where the party is not allowed to monopolize the power. Such monopolizing will always lead to a party dictatorship (which is the same thing as the dictatorship of a new "red" bourgeoisie) or will soon develop into one.

Revolutionary consciousness does not develop spontaneously within or through the workers' defense struggle—it must be brought to the working class by communists. Communists must show the working class the way towards the communist society through their analyses, through their propaganda and through their practical activities. But communists must not act as representatives or deputies of the working class or monopolize the actions of the class—there must always be a close inter-action between the class and the communists, and communists must always act in such a way as to help liberate the inherent strength and capacity of the class.

Communists must neither trail behind, or remain content at, the same level as the workers' spontaneous struggle, nor be satisfied to make "better" reform demands than the workers. They must always be ready to give a Marxist and internationalist view, propagate the necessity for international class solidarity and socialism, and in different ways try to raise the level of the spontaneous struggles. In today's Sweden, the workers' economic struggle mostly has to take place outside and against the trade unions, which are subordinated to the state apparatus and its demands. Communists must, in this situation, act in order to make the confrontation with the union bureaucracy and the state apparatus as violent and conscious as possible. Through their propaganda, communists must always try to "recruit" new cadres and members and help organize militant workers in class organizations, which will create an embryo of the future soviet power at every work place.

The following principles from the Paris Commune must be the guidelines for the building of the socialist society:

"From the very outset the Commune had to recognize that the working class, once in power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just-gained supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old machinery of oppression previously used against itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies, and officials by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any time..."

"Against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of the society into masters of society—an inevitable transformation in all previous states—the Commune used two infallible means. In the first place, it filled all posts—administrative, judicial and educational by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to recall at any time by the electors. And in second place, it paid all officials, high or low, only the wages received by other workers... In this way a dependable barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up..." (Engels)

"Marx, referring to the example of the Commune, showed that under socialism functionaries will cease to be "bureaucrats," to be "officials," they will cease to be so in **proportion as**—in addition to the principle of election of officials—the principle of recall at any time is also introduced, as salaries are reduced to the level of the wages of the average workman, and as parliamentary institutions are replaced by "working bodies, executive and legislative at the same time." (Lenin)

This indicates the **political** form for socialism, and the dictatorship of the working class. What is essential to realize when building a socialist **economy** is that it will not be served on a platter because capitalist productive forces are developed to a "higher stage" or something like that. First of all, the power in a socialist society must lie in the work places and the power must give the workers **complete** control over the forms for production, their conditions and direction. Socialist production relations necessarily must mean that the independent and creative actions of the working class constitute the basic motive power in communist construction. The workers and only they, not bloody bureaucrats, can develop a socialist economy. The workers' complete and absolute power over production must be used to completely smash the economic basis of the old exploiting classes and crush the capitalist division of labor.

On the other hand, if the division of labor is not smashed, it will definitely contribute to the emergence of a new "red" bourgeoisie. Technical knowledge must no longer be a special privilege of technocrats and bosses but be the property of the working class. New communist forms for stimulus and progress must be created—the principle of pay in money according to the amount of

labor performed (in Sweden we call it piece-work) must be removed and replaced by communist principles—the working class must be free to independently find out new forms and methods. Capitalist commodities, market, money, capital and wage labor must be abolished. In all productive work, politics must always be placed in command. And the course of production must be

changed according to communist principles. Production must be placed in an international and long-range perspective in order to correspond to the demands of the international working class and world revolution. **The communist society can only be international!**

**WORKERS IN ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

**"Sometimes the bourgeoisie succeeds in drawing the proletariat into the national movement, and then the national struggle externally assumes a 'nation-wide' character. But this is so only externally. In its essence it is always a bourgeois struggle, one that is to the advantage and profit mainly of the bourgeoisie." — Joseph Stalin, Marxism and the National Question**

Article from a San Francisco paper -  
Use your own judgement; no comment necessary.

**Editor's  
view**

# Mao & The New Imperialists

By CARL BLOICE

SAN FRANCISCO

One can never be really comfortable believing what the wire services say about China. They've told so many lies over the past 24 years. So, it might be a good idea to keep a few grains of salt handy when reading a peculiar United Press International report from Tokio Oct. 2.

Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka had just returned last Sunday from his talks with Chinese leaders, including Communist party chairman Mao Tse-tung, and Japanese newspapers, the UPI reported, quoted him as saying:

"Chairman Mao said that Generalissimo Chiang (Kai-shek) is an outstanding person.

"He wouldn't entrust a foreign nation with taking charge of (Nationalist China's) military."

That—including punctuation—is the way the UPI reported it. Since people don't normally speak in parentheses, the whole quotation is suspect.

However, if Chiang, after years of being called the most vile names in the Chinese language, has become an outstanding person in the eyes of the chairman, it should not be surprising. Stranger things are being said in Peking these days.

This week, in honor of the People's Republic's 23rd Anniversary, government, party and military publications in the country called the Soviet Union "even more deceitful than old line imperialist

countries and therefore more dangerous."

One can only wonder what is meant by "old line imperialists." How are they to be distinguished from new line imperialist countries and where in the vast volumes of Marxist and Communist theoretical works is any such distinction made?

The idea that there could be new line and old line imperialists doesn't have to be in the books to be valid (although it does sound strangely like something out of the discredited German socialist Karl Kautsky). However, such a proposition is wild enough to cry out for theoretical justification.

For most people in the non-socialist world such nuances in wording don't have much meaning. For Marxists, however, "old line imperialists" like the phrase "superpowers"—in vogue in Peking last year—appear as erratic and confusing shifts in political thinking.

A Soviet writer recently described the developing foreign policy of the Mao government as having "tactical peculiarities." It appears new terms are created in an effort to harmonize tactical shifts already made with Marxist-Leninist strategy.

What is that strategy? It is based on the premise that there are two contending forces in the world today: the movement of the working class represented by the forces of socialism and the reactionary forces of the exploiting classes represented by the forces of imperialism. The

continued on next page



strategic task is to bring about the ascendancy of the former over the latter.

In recent years each time there has been a tactical shift in the foreign policies of the Mao forces it has been away from the premises of the above strategy. One searches long and hard in Chinese publications for a discussion of the class division of the world only to find references to peculiar formulations about "Superpowers," "Big and medium sized nations," "The city and the countryside," "The eastwind and the westwind." Big-little, urban-rural, east-west, but next to nothing about the exploited and the expropriators. Nowhere is the practice of philological shifts to cover tactical maneuvers so apparent as in the now favorable Maoist view of peaceful co-existence. The leaders in Peking used to call it "connivance with imperialism." Maoists in this country used the words "peaceful co-existence," as if it was something not to be said in the presence of children.

It was not long ago that Chinese statesmen went about urging people in Asia, Africa and Latin America to move quickly toward revolution. Now China is taking steps to establish relations and expanded political contacts with some of the most

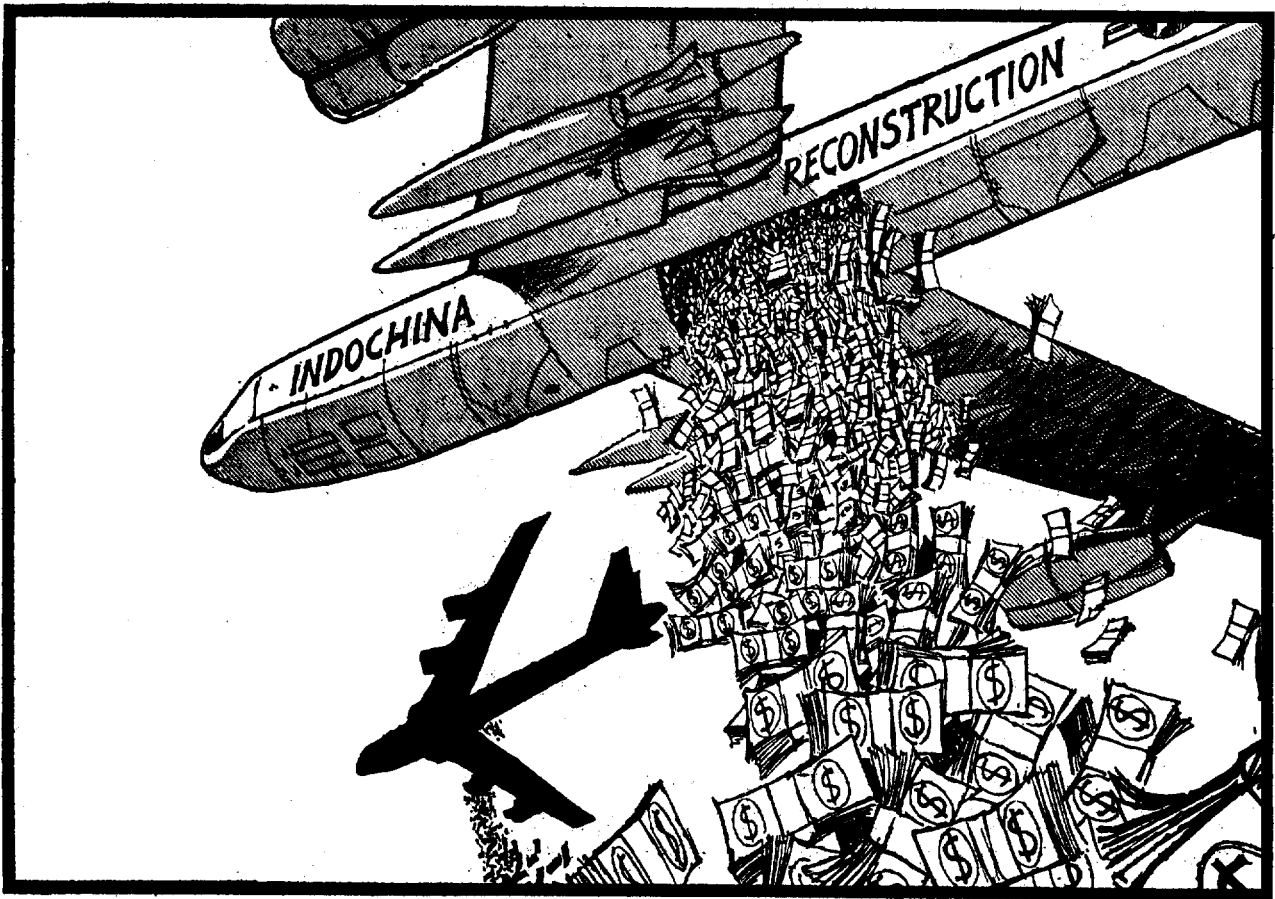
reactionary regimes on the continents of the "Third World."

Less than two years ago China was still rejecting "talks with imperialists."

Interestingly enough this year's slogans for May Day contained no call for support to the national liberation movements.

It was the French bourgeois statesman Andre Malraux who returned from Peking to comment that "in China the Chinese come first." Malraux is not a Marxist and probably such words as "nationalist"—the term used by most of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world to describe the driving force behind Maoist foreign policy is not one he would use.

This week Chinese political terminology has gone almost full circle. Now the first country of socialism is "more deceitful" than the "old line imperialist countries." Perhaps when the full text becomes available it will be possible to determine whether the Soviet Union is more deceitful than the new line imperialists—and whether the country that is destroying the countryside of socialist Vietnam is more deceitful than the country which is supplying the liberation forces in Indochina with most of their military equipment.



Wright In The Miami News

"Aid" = Profits, Influence and Death

# Communist Doctor vs. Racist Krugman

## On Nazi 'Experimentation' at Willowbrook

(The following are excerpts of a symposium on **Ethical Issues In Human Experimentation: The Case Of Willowbrook State Hospital Research**, May 4, 1972, sponsored by the Student Council of New York University School of Medicine. The opposing arguments were presented by Dr. Saul Krugman, in charge of experimentation on children at Willowbrook Hospital in Staten Island, N.Y. and Dr. Ellen Isaacs, then a resident in medicine at Bellevue Hospital, and a member of the Progressive Labor Party.)

### Dr. Krugman:

Dr. Rosen, fellow panelists, and Mr. Biller, I should like to thank the student council for giving us this opportunity to have this panel discussion. I should like in the time limited to this discussion to share with you my experience at the Willowbrook State School. I arrived there in 1954, approximately 18 years ago, as a Consultant in Pediatrics and in Infectious Diseases. The need for consultation was based on the well-known observation that infectious diseases are very prevalent in institutions for mentally retarded children. During the year 1954-55, my colleagues and I had an opportunity to carry out Epidemiological studies. It soon became apparent that the following infectious diseases were highly prevalent in this institution: hepatitis, measles, shigellosis (dysentery), parasitic infections and respiratory infections. This situation is not unique in Willowbrook; it occurs in many other large institutions of this type in the United States and other parts of the world. My colleagues and I had an interest and expertise in certain virus infections and so we dealt with these problems. Dr. Meir Yoeli of our Department of Preventive Medicine was the consultant for parasitic diseases.

I plan to limit my remarks chiefly to the problem of hepatitis in this institution. Why was it so prevalent here, in contrast with New York City and many other cities where it did not appear to be a problem. It is important to emphasize that hepatitis spreads from person to person by intimate contact. When hepatitis occurs in a child or an adult in New York City, it is usually contained within the family unit. There are approximately 2,900,000 family units in New York City, and when a case of hepatitis occurs in a family

unit it usually stays localized there because of the mode of transmission of the infection. Occasionally, hepatitis may spread to another family, but this event is very unusual because it requires intimate and close contact. In contrast, the 5,200 residents of the Willowbrook State School live in 26 buildings with facilities for 200 individuals in each building. Therefore, the population of Willowbrook lives in the equivalent of 26 "family units." When hepatitis occurred in a building in Willowbrook, it was spread to a family of 200, not just to a family of 2 or 3. Under these conditions it was difficult and almost impossible to prevent the spread of infection.

Of the 5,200 residents in Willowbrook, 3,800 are severely retarded, with I.Q.'s of less than 20. In addition, at least 3,000 children are not toilet trained. Thus, various excretions containing hepatitis virus are readily spread from person to person.

It is important to document the state of knowledge about hepatitis in 1955 when we first arrived at the Willowbrook State School. It was known that infectious hepatitis was an extremely mild disease in children as compared with adults. As a matter of fact, during my childhood, the disease was not called "infectious hepatitis," it was known as "acute catarrhal jaundice." At that time, most physicians regarded it a mild ailment, such as a gastrointestinal upset or an upper respiratory infection. It is also important to emphasize that studies reported in the 1940's revealed that an attack of infectious hepatitis was followed by immunity to this disease. It also was obvious in 1955 that newly admitted children would be destined to get infectious hepatitis after entry in the institution.

It was also known in 1955 that gamma globulin could modify or even prevent hepatitis, but this passive immunizing agent had a temporary effect. It was obvious that the infection could not be controlled with gamma globulin.

Therefore, we believed that the best hope for the solution of this problem was to propose passive-active or active immunizing procedures by employing a controlled exposure to the same Willowbrook virus that the children were destined to be exposed to anyhow. This procedure would be beneficial for the child, because immunity would be conferred. Moreover, it would provide us with valuable information about the natural history of the disease which could not be learned in any other way.

Unlike polio virus, or measles virus, or many other viruses, hepatitis virus at that time had not been cultivated in cell culture or propagated in animals. Therefore, these measures were not available for studies of the natural history of the disease. It was hoped that new information would help solve the problem. Controlling hepatitis in Willowbrook and elsewhere could perhaps lead to the development of a vaccine. These considerations were the basis for our proposal.

After convincing ourselves that the proposed studies were ethically and morally justified, we discussed it with various members of the scientific community. The group included the following physicians and scientists who had made outstanding contributions to knowledge of various infectious diseases: the late Doctors John R. Paul, Colin McLeod and Thomas Francis, as well as Doctors John Enders and Albert Sabin. They reviewed the proposal and approved it—the justification being 1) the high risk conditions that existed in this institution, 2) the evidence that it was a therapeutic procedure to provide immunity to infectious hepatitis, and 3) the probability that the new knowledge would help control the disease in the institution. Next, we discussed the proposal with the Executive Faculty of New York University School of Medicine (in 1955 we did not have a Committee on Human Experimentation). After their approval, it was presented to Dr. Harold Berman, Director of the Willowbrook State School. He referred the proposal to the State Department of Mental Hygiene. The State Department of Mental Hygiene approved the proposal after first receiving approval from the State Department of Health.

We then developed a set of guidelines. We believed, of course, that parental consent was essential. At that time, in 1955-56, a written form of parental consent was used by others for polio vaccine studies. It included a written description of the project, plus a form to be signed by a parent. This procedure was used for our hepatitis studies. The endemic nature of the disease in the institution was described. The plan of the study at that time was also described. Parents were told in the written form that we would plan to use passive-active or active immunization procedures using gamma globulin and the Willowbrook strain of hepatitis virus. If the consent form was signed, the children were admitted to our special unit; if the consent was not given, the children were admitted to one of the other buildings.

In 1956, the population of the Willowbrook State School was approximately 4,000. There was no

waiting list at that time, because all children were accepted if they were certified for admission. From 1956 until 1964, the census of this institution increased to extraordinary levels. By 1964, the census reached a peak level of 6,400; in that year, Dr. Jack Hammond was appointed Director of the Willowbrook State School. Dr. Hammond would not tolerate this situation, and he insisted that admissions be curtailed. He also insisted that patients be transferred to other institutions which were completed at that time. During this period of time when admissions to the institution were decreased, we became aware of the fact that the written form of consent was inadequate. A problem was created when the institution was temporarily closed for admissions. Just prior to the closure, letters describing our project had been mailed to various parents. This unfortunate circumstance made it appear as if we were using coercion to induce parents to admit their children to our unit. We promptly reviewed our method of obtaining consent and we decided to use a "group method." This procedure has been described in our publications. Approximately 10 or 15 parents of children accepted for future admission are invited to our special unit. The proposed studies are described in detail. All parents can hear the response to questions posed by the more articulate and more intelligent members of the group. Thus, the consent is more informed.

Now, how about statistics? The first group of children was admitted in 1956 and the last group was admitted in December, 1971. Since 1956, there have been approximately 10,000 admissions to the Willowbrook State School. During that same period, we have admitted approximately 12 to 15 children to our unit four times a year. Therefore, during the past 15 years, about 750 to 800 children have been admitted—7.5 to 8 per cent of the 10,000 admissions.

Now, in response to the question of how children are admitted, I think I should detail this very quickly because it is important. They are admitted by the institution after being accepted by the State Department of Mental Hygiene. After the administration accepts a child for admission to the institution, the parents are told by the social worker that their child can be considered for admission either to the institution at large or to the special hepatitis unit. Interested parents are then invited to Willowbrook to participate in the group meeting. If they sign consent, their children are admitted to the hepatitis unit; if not, they are admitted to the general institution.

The time interval between administrative acceptance and admission to Willowbrook has been 18 months for children admitted to the institution at large, and it has been 19 months for the unit. Now that doesn't mean that there were not exceptional cases of earlier admission to the institution and to our unit, but in general, the waiting time was essentially the same. During the period 1956 to 1967, we believed that we were dealing with a problem of infectious hepatitis at this institution; but new knowledge became available in 1967. We

began to observe that there were some children who were getting hepatitis not once, but twice. This observation was summarized in one of our publications in which we demonstrated that there were two types of hepatitis in Willowbrook—(MS-1) which was typical infectious hepatitis and the other (MS-2) which resembled serum hepatitis.

By 1969, when Dr. Blumberg and his colleagues discovered the Australia antigen, we had acquired new technology to identify the Willowbrook MS-2 strain as hepatitis B or serum hepatitis. It then became apparent in 1969, 13 years after our studies were initiated, that our MS-1 strain was infectious hepatitis and our MS-2 strain was serum hepatitis. We then quickly removed many serum specimens from the deep freeze. After testing these sera, it became obvious that the two types of hepatitis had been endemic in the institution since 1956. It was also apparent that serum hepatitis, like infectious hepatitis in the Willowbrook children, was generally a mild and inapparent infection. Most cases could not be recognized clinically. A retrospective diagnosis was made by testing the sera for the presence of Australia antigen and abnormal serum transaminase values.

During the course of this new survey, we found that 30% of the children in this institution (and this is true of other institutions, too) were carriers of the hepatitis B antigen. I don't know how many people we have in this audience, but if there were 1,000 people here, the chances of finding hepatitis B antigen in this group would range anywhere from one to five per thousand. On the other hand, in the Willowbrook State School, and in other institutions like it, the incidence of chronic antigen carriers is about 30 per cent. Since approximately 40 per cent of the children had antibodies, it was obvious that serum hepatitis was very prevalent and it was inevitable that newly admitted children would be as intensely exposed to serum hepatitis as infectious hepatitis.

When this new background information was presented to our various scientific peers, they agreed that the studies should be continued because of the conditions existing in this setting. This decision was made in 1969. What have been our accomplishments? As many of you know, last year we reported preliminary data describing the development of an inactivated Hepatitis B vaccine. Since that time, we have successfully confirmed these observations. Other accomplishments include the eradication of measles at the Willowbrook State School in the wake of our measles vaccine studies. To comment about it briefly, measles is a very serious epidemic disease when it occurs in institutions for mentally retarded children. The mortality rate in the severely brain-damaged children is very high. During the 1960 epidemic, there were 600 cases and 60 children died.

Our use of the live attenuated measles virus vaccine, developed by Dr. John Enders and his colleagues, provided conclusive evidence that it was effective for the prevention of the disease. At Willowbrook, all children who received vac-

cine were protected during the 1960 epidemic. Thereafter, the live attenuated measles vaccine was used for the protection of all susceptible children. Since 1963, there has not been a single case of measles in the Willowbrook State School. Measles has occurred in New York City and in other parts of the country. Another accomplishment stemmed from our gamma globulin studies. These inoculations were very helpful for the children at the Willowbrook School because we were able to determine the appropriate dose for attenuation of the disease after admission to the institution. It was not only helpful for the children, but also for many employees who were exposed to them. The use of gamma globulin for the employees enabled us to reduce the incidence of infectious hepatitis with jaundice. The dosage schedule for the use of gamma globulin at Willowbrook has also been used by the State Department, by the Peace Corps, and by persons who travel to foreign countries.

Another accomplishment of our Willowbrook hepatitis studies is represented by the addition of new knowledge of the natural history of the disease, defining the period of infectivity of both serum hepatitis and infectious hepatitis and by proving that relative immunity does follow serum hepatitis infection. Another accomplishment is represented by the dividends of this research which have improved the health and welfare of the children and employees of the Willowbrook State School.

In closing, I would like to say that it was a century ago that Claude Bernard defined the limits of human experimentation. He stated that, "It is our duty and our right to perform an experiment on man whenever it can save life, cure him or gain him some potential benefit. The principle of medical and surgical morality, therefore consists in never performing on man an experiment which might be harmful to him to any extent, even though the result may be highly advantageous to science or to the health of others. But performing experiments in operations exclusively from the point of view of the patient's own advantage does not prevent their turning out profitably to science." My Colleague, Dr. Joan Giles, expressed it so beautifully and so succinctly in her letter to *The Lancet*, published May 29, 1971, in which she said, "A farmer may pull up corn seedlings to destroy them or he may pull them up to set them in better hills for better growing. How then does one judge the deed without the motive?"

This describes the motivation for our work at the Willowbrook State School. We have received much encouragement in many messages sent by our colleagues and our friends. In 1967, when Senator Thaler criticized our studies, the parents of the Willowbrook State School sent the following telegram to one of the local television reporters who had stated that we were using children at Willowbrook as "human guinea pigs." This telegram dated January 19, 1967 stated: "The parents of the children who reside at the Willowbrook State School do not feel that their children are human guinea pigs. We are proud that our children can

be an important part of society by helping in the research and development of much needed vaccines and to eliminate infectious diseases." On the 13th of May in that year, more than 2,000 Willowbrook parents honored us at a luncheon which was held at the New York Hilton Hotel. The benevolent Society of Retarded Children, Willowbrook Chapter, presented a plaque on which they described our work as "distinguished," pioneering, humanitarian research in the prevention of infectious diseases and the resultant complications in children everywhere, born and unborn."

**Dr. Rosen:**

Our second panelist, Dr. Ellen Isaacs, a second year resident in medicine at Bellevue, has long been interested in this general area of ethics and human experimentation. I take pleasure in introducing Dr. Isaacs.

**Dr. Isaacs:**

Thank you. I'm glad to be at this forum today which I think is very significant not only for the fact that we are discussing these issues, but also because it has come to pass only after months of agitation and discussion by doctors, medical students, other health workers, and Willowbrook parents, and especially by the Medical Committee for Human Rights. We raise the question of human experimentation in Dr. Krugman's work in particular not only because we think these experiments should be stopped, but because we feel that they exemplify several pervasive attitudes of American society and the American medical profession which are in sore need of examination.

What in essence has Dr. Krugman done? He has performed experiments which, in the words of the World Medical Association, are not for the benefit of the subjects of the experiment, but solely for the acquiring of knowledge. He actively injected a virus into human beings in a dose titrated to produce a more significant disease than naturally occurs in this setting, and he has withheld from many of them (his control patients) not only experimental therapy, but known prophylactic measures such as gamma globulin. He has justified himself on the basis of informed consent and by the fact that the disease is prevalent at Willowbrook and cannot be prevented. Although these arguments sound very correct on the surface, I believe they are dangerously misleading.

First, I would like to speak about the matter of consent. All medical codes of the last twenty-five years are pretty clear on this issue and I would like to quote a few. The Draft code on Ethics of Human Experimentation of the World Medical Association from 1961 states: "1) The nature of the reason and the risk of the experimentation are fully explained to the subject, who should have complete freedom to decide whether or not to take part in it. 2) Children in institutions . . . should not be the subjects of human experimentation. With respect to experiments for knowledge it is forbidden to use mental patients or mental defectives or persons in any other institutions."

The Nuremberg code states: "Voluntary consent means that persons involved should have legal capacity to give consent, should be so situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress or other ulterior form of constraint or coercion."

The AMA code requires that, "Consent in writing containing a reasonable explanation of the nature of the procedure to be used and the risk to be expected (informed consent) be obtained."

I would like to read to you part of a letter sent to a parent in 1958, by the then director of Willowbrook in reference to Dr. Krugman's experiments: "Virus is introduced and gamma globulin given later to some so that either no attack or a minor attack of hepatitis is expected to follow. This may give the child immunity to this disease for life. We should like to give your child this new form of prevention with the hope that it will afford protection. If you wish to have your child given the benefit of this new preventative, so signify by signing the form." I cannot be convinced that inoculation of active hepatitis virus is a preventative of the same disease.

Recently, some of you attended another forum at NYU where you heard another parent, whose child is currently on Dr. Krugman's ward, testify that despite the new or more elaborate mechanism of obtaining consent, her child was admitted to the hepatitis study only because she was in desperate need of some hospitalization. She was informed that even though her child was classified as an emergency case, the waiting list for emergencies at Willowbrook was from three to four years, and a letter from the social work department advised that admission to Dr. Krugman's study was immediate. She would never have consented otherwise. She was led to believe that her child would receive immunity from the disease. Six other parents she questioned had the same experiences and feelings. So I feel that basically we are faced with the deception of hundreds of parents who are forced by circumstances to get their children into Willowbrook as soon as possible. Aside from claiming freely given consent, Dr. Krugman mainly justified himself by saying that the patients would be sick anyway and thus it is all right to give the same disease. In discussion with my colleagues I have found this argument to be the one we always come down to. But does this justify the experiment?

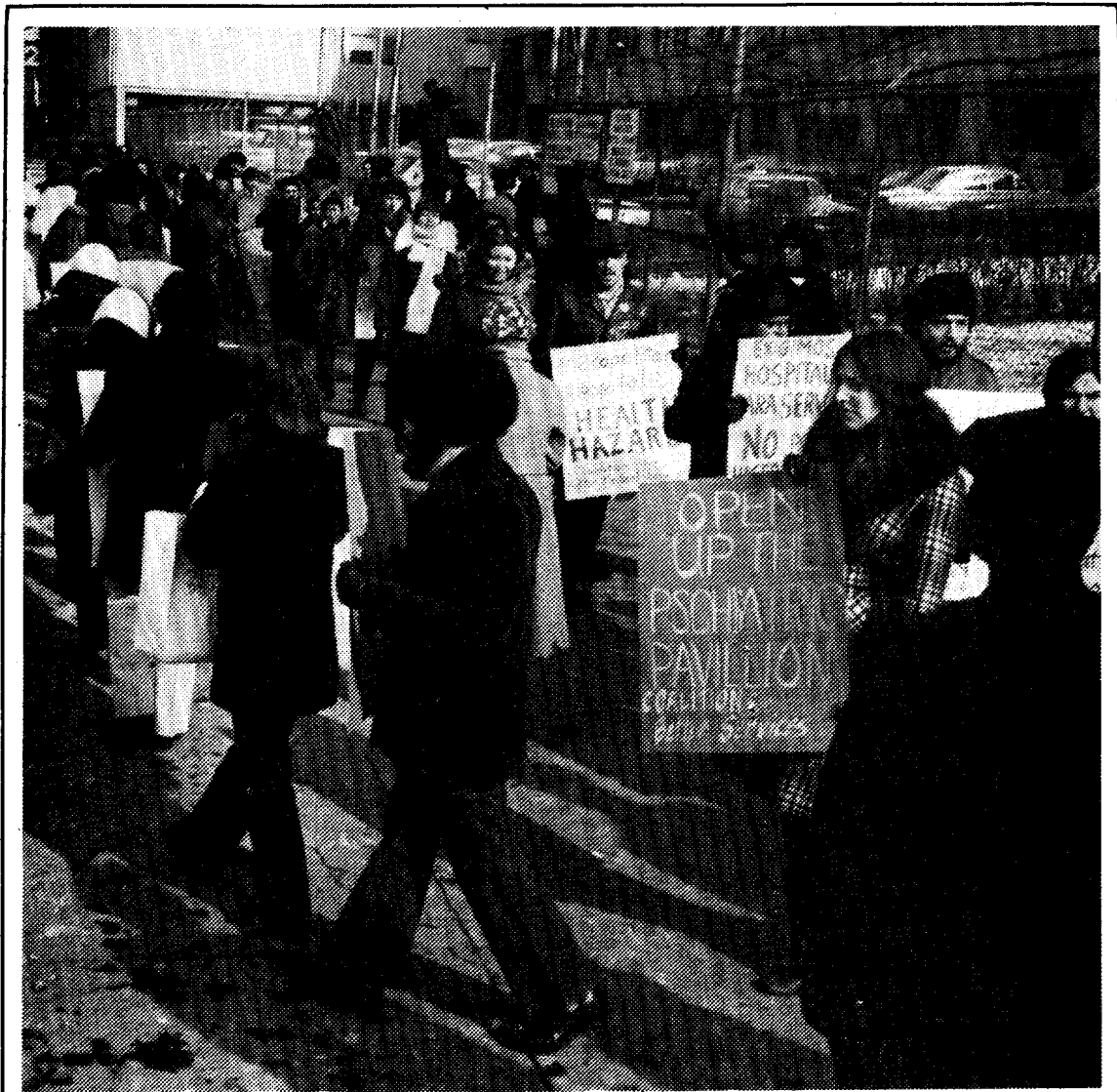
Although there was no clinical hepatitis at Willowbrook before 1953, and the incidence figure was 2-1/2 percent new cases per year in 1955 when the experiments began, this tells us little about the prevalence of the disease. There is little doubt that nearly all children there get infectious hepatitis within six to twelve months of admission. According to Dr. Prince, 20 to 30% get hepatitis within 1 to 3 years. Dr. Krugman states that eventually they all get it, so let's accept the fact that they all will get the disease. Does this justify Dr. Krugman? I say emphatically, no. We must ask who ends up at Willowbrook, why is hepa-

titis an epidemic, and what should a doctor do about it?

I think it is obvious to all of us who watch television and to all the parents of Willowbrook patients, that Willowbrook is a hell-hole. No child ends up there unless driven by economic necessity or rejection by other institutions. In other words, just as we see by looking at the contrast between Bellevue and University Hospital, Mount Sinai and Metropolitan, Lincoln and Einstein, King's County and Downstate, working class patients end up in these ill-kept, understaffed, crowded hospitals, where students and house staff come to learn and study. They have no other choice. We ourselves, our friends and our children continue to use the voluntary facilities up the street. None of us would send any child for whom we cared one iota to Willowbrook unless we had no

other choice.

Why do so many of us see these contrasts and in spite of initial feelings of shock and outrage early in medical school, do so little, become so quickly numbed and come to look upon such settings as convenient medical laboratories? Speaking now as a member of the Progressive Labor Party, I think that very deeply ingrained anti-working class feelings and racism are in large part responsible. By this, I don't mean outright prejudice and discrimination or the inability to break the barriers with a few individuals. I mean something that is much more subtle and institutionalized. We must face the fact that in the United States today nearly all Black and Latin people are of the working class, and they are the poorest and most oppressed workers of all. In our own medical center, a black patient at the University Hospital is an oddity and a white patient at Belle-



Metropolitan Hospital, N.Y.C.—We get what we fight for.

vue is probably an alcoholic or an accident case.

With reference to mental hospitals, I would like to read part of a **New York Times** article of January 20th, 1972. It quotes the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. "We found that voluntary agencies tend to discriminate against black and Puerto Rican children, forcing the court to place 76% of the black and 66% of the Puerto Rican children in training schools and public shelters. In sharp contrast, 78% of the white children are provided care by private and publicly funded agencies."

Thus, it should be clear that by the very nature of class society in America, our state institutions, ghettos, welfare rolls, etc., are made up largely and disproportionately of Blacks and Latins. Conversely the ideology of racism justifies and reinforces this phenomenon. Our life is filled with notions that people on welfare are lazy, people who show up desperately sick in our emergency rooms haven't been interested in taking care of themselves, or those who are not very sick are stupid to bother to come at all. I think that if we look honestly and deeply into ourselves, even those of us who call ourselves liberal or radical, we will find that we endow those of a different color or a "lower" social class with slightly less humanity than we do ourselves.

With this in mind, the argument that bad conditions at Willowbrook justify experiments there becomes very insidious. These conditions are not inevitable, but they are the lot of working class patients in the United States today. And hepatitis is not inevitable. It did not exist at Willowbrook before 1953. It does not exist at many other institutions for the mentally retarded. For a doctor to take the attitude that one may enter such a setting and instead of fighting with all one's power to change it, see it as a laboratory for studying disease and see it as correct to label these patients, because they are reduced to the condition of animals, as fit for guinea pigs, is nothing more than actively carrying out the anti-working class, racist attitudes that created Willowbrook in the first place. I would like to point how similar such policies are to those of outright fascism several decades ago. The preface to the Nuremberg Code notes how "medical experiments were performed in Nazi Germany on 'asocial' persons ... They were not isolated acts of individual doctors, but were the product of coordinated policy making and planning at Government levels and were sanctioned or approved by persons in positions of authority, who under all principles of law had the duty to know about these things and to take steps to terminate them."

Do we wish to perform or sanction experimentation on so-called asocial groups? This means that some segment of our society decides that another is not profitable or necessary to the existence of society except perhaps to try things out on. It is this attitude that sanctions the sterilization of welfare mothers in Indiana, lobotomies on prisoners in California, large dosages of radiation to black patients in Cincinnati, placebos

instead of birth control pills to Mexican-American women in San Antonio, and injection of hepatitis to mentally retarded children at Willowbrook. Perhaps we should recall that the Nazis' first victims were the mentally retarded.

I have heard Dr. Krugman defended as a doctor by those who would condemn him as a citizen. This attitude of professionalism, that one's skill, training, and research divorces one from the setting in which one's skill is practiced and carried out, is a dangerous idea perpetuated in our training. We are each only one person, white coat on or off. Otherwise, we are merely tools of any system that might use us; and perhaps the American medical system as it now stands is not such a good master.

We in MCHR call for NYU and Dr. Krugman to stop these experiments immediately and for the reshaping of medical priorities to put the care and rights of each individual patient foremost, and training and research second. I don't think that the latter will suffer if we do.

#### DISCUSSION FROM THE AUDIENCE

**Q.** What was the mortality and morbidity of hepatitis in the children that were in the hepatitis unit as compared with the mortality and morbidity of hepatitis in the institution at large?

**Dr. Krugman:**

The morbidity of the disease appeared to be related to the dose of hepatitis virus. In our hepatitis unit we could control and limit the dose. In the institution children were exposed for prolonged periods of time because it has been shown that infectious hepatitis virus is excreted as early as two to three weeks before the onset of jaundice, and for one week after onset of jaundice. Therefore, there may be continuous exposure for approximately one month.

In our studies we could limit the dose of virus as well as isolate our children from other infectious diseases which were endemic in the institution. Children who received a controlled dose of virus were more prone to develop inapparent infection. Deaths due to hepatitis are rare in adults and even more rare in children. Unlike measles, hepatitis has not been the primary cause of deaths in Willowbrook children. We have not had any deaths in our unit. Deaths which occur in children in the institution are usually caused by an unrelated condition, such as aspiration in a child with a seizure disorder, severe dehydration secondary to shigellosis and other conditions. A question was raised about so-called "control and non-control groups." When the inactivated hepatitis B vaccine was given, the so-called "control group" received gamma globulin. Therefore, the so-called control group had a more benign exposure than the children in the institution. Although we knew that standard gamma-globulin was not effective for the prevention of serum hepatitis, we learned from a retrospective survey in Willowbrook that gamma-globulin did attenuate the disease.

I should like to clarify an important issue related to the ethical aspects of these studies. Our studies were not conducted at Willowbrook because the children were mentally retarded. We were in Willowbrook because hepatitis was a problem in the children who were residents there. If their I.Q.'s were 150 instead of 20 and hepatitis were a problem, we would propose the same studies.

Dr. Isaacs has stated that there was no clinical hepatitis in Willowbrook before 1953. The reason is obvious; the institution was opened in 1947 with only thirty patients. Thereafter, the population increased substantially, and by 1953 the hepatitis problem was becoming apparent.

**Q.** Dr. Krugman, when Dr. Wilkins and Mrs. Lee were fired recently focusing public attention on the conditions at Willowbrook, did you as chairman of the Department of Pediatrics at New York University and as self-appointed saint of medical practice, take any steps in their defense?

**A.** I don't know why Dr. Wilkins was fired. Your statement implies that he was fired because he arranged for television coverage of conditions at Willowbrook. That may or may not be true. I think it would be important to learn all of the information about this. I do know, however, that the television and news media have had access to Willowbrook for many, many years. In 1967, when Senator Thaler criticized us for "using children as human guinea pigs," television cameras came to Willowbrook. Members of the communications media in the city of New York can visit Willowbrook any time. The administration has never denied the existence of the serious overcrowding conditions. Since 1964 Dr. Jack Hammond, Director of Willowbrook State School, has submitted many reports at public meetings, to the State Department of Mental Hygiene, and to members of the New York State Legislature. The conditions were well documented and known for a long time.

**Q.** Dr. Isaacs—As I recall you indicated in your talk that the conditions in Willowbrook in general, and the epidemic of hepatitis in particular, were secondary to the broader conditions of overcrowding and the lack of personnel. You also said there was a similarity between the two-class systems with racial aspects, between a man at Bellevue and one at University Hospital. Could you be a little more explicit in what you expect the physician or the scientist who finds himself in that position to do?

**Dr. Isaacs:**

**A.** I think that there are many ways to go about this. Certainly one way is that we as professionals have a certain amount of influence. Certainly those in an influential position, such as the one that Dr. Krugman holds, can use that position to make public the conditions and the necessity for change. I think it is also important to realize that we are a small group and that we cannot change these conditions by ourselves. It is important that we unite with other concerned groups, such as the

parents of Willowbrook, hospital workers, and patient and community groups to take whatever actions may be necessary. Whether through publicity, protest techniques, or being very meticulous on our jobs, treating patients with the type of procedures which we are all willing to perform and doing the kind of research that we are willing to engage in.

I do not think we can divorce our activities of learning on patients, learning about disease in hospitals, and practicing medicine, from the conditions in which the patients are found. In order to be doctors in the full sense of the world or citizens, we must at all times be equally as active and do everything in our power as professionals and citizens to change these conditions.

**Dr. Krugman:**

I think that it is extremely important to document the course of events which were first initiated in 1965. I believe that I can describe it briefly. In the wake of various reports by politicians, the communications media, associations for retarded children and directors of state institutions, a committee was formed to plan for a comprehensive mental retardation program in New York State. There were many representatives on this committee and finally in July, 1965 a seven volume report was submitted to Governor Rockefeller. I should like to read three small paragraphs from that report. The report recommended at that time that a community mental retardation center, consisting of an integrated complex of services, be located at each of thirty easily accessible points throughout the state, with no center servicing a population in excess of 750,000.

The second point stressed in the report was the creation of the entire network of community centers within ten years by the scheduled establishment of at least three centers each year. Each community center was to develop and embrace a range of specialized facilities and programs, including the state school and residential unit, having close coordination with general community services, such as education, health and social welfare. The plan in 1965 was to ultimately eliminate institutions like Willowbrook. The plan is to try to decrease the population of Willowbrook and to have institutions with no more than 100 or 200 beds, plus out-patient facilities.

This report was published in 1965. I think it would be a very important subject for a future conference to invite representatives of the State Department of Mental Hygiene to a meeting here to tell us exactly what has happened since 1965. I think that many members of this audience will realize then that there have been exciting developments in spite of the recent publicity about Willowbrook. Three units will open later this year. In January 1972, long before all the adverse publicity, the State Department of Mental Hygiene closed all admissions to the Willowbrook State School in an attempt to alleviate the crowded conditions. The opening of three new units in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Manhattan should improve



conditions at Willowbrook.

**Dr. Tendler:**

I notice that some of the discussion left the factual and went into the less factual aspect of social history. I think that it would be a great disturbance for me not to express my personal amazement at the manner on which some of the students and one of our speakers presented themselves in the defense of ethics. It is a banner of communism which has been the single most destructive force of the ethical system in the world.

**Dr. Isaacs:**

I would like to reply to that. I think that it is significant to remember that hatred of communism has been the last refuge of those who would fight against improving conditions for the working class in this country for hundreds of years.

**Comment from audience:**

In behalf of the faculty of this Medical School, of which I am a member, we welcome colleagues here whether communist or fascist. The meeting today is on human experimentation and not on the values of communism.

**Audience Question to Dr. Isaacs:**

You stated that at a symposium held at Bellevue a while ago, a mother came whose daughter was at Willowbrook School. The inducement was that there was no space in the general ward. I believe that this might be true. I asked this mother, "Now that your daughter is in Dr. Krugman's work, why don't you ask that your child be removed to the general hospital?" She stated that though she felt her human rights were being violated, conditions for her daughter were better than in the general institution. Her daughter was not ill at all.

I cannot judge people's morality, at least in cases where experiments do not hurt the children to the point that the mother was not even aware that her daughter was a control or a normal (or treated child).

**Dr. Isaacs:**

In terms of withdrawing from these experiments, I think that we should remember that in giving hepatitis it is basically irreversible; and once given, to withdraw from the experiment becomes rather an academic point. You made the point that her daughter was still in Dr. Krugman's unit because of the overcrowding in the rest of the institution and she was unable to get out of it.

**Dr. Krugman:**

I would like to emphasize a point here. If the mother to whom you are referring was coerced, that was wrong and I do not condone it, and it shouldn't have been done. As I indicated earlier, there have been approximately 750 to 800 children admitted to the unit during the past fifteen years. It is possible that with one, two, three, I don't know, five out of this group, perhaps there was some element of coercion. We don't condone

it. I would like to emphasize that I would have to be convinced that coercion did indeed occur. It would be important to determine the true facts. We have heard the mother's alleged statement, but additional data will be needed before we reach a final conclusion.

**Dr. Katz:**

That is just the problem. We have heard from Dr. Isaacs. She says we need to go out and get the community involved and we then hear about protesting parents. But we know that these protests won't get us very far unless out of this protest some sort of ordering of human experiment process emerges. This is really what is urgently needed. I agree with Dr. Isaacs that human experimentation cannot be left up to the medical profession, just as we really shouldn't leave wars only to our generals. The public needs to be involved, as do other segments of society in the human experiment process; and I propose, for example, formulation of a policy that this be one of the stages of the human experimentation process. We have to have much more representation; we have to figure out to what extent children should be used in experimentation. Should they only be used once we have exhausted all resources in the adult community, even if the investigation is more harmful to adults than children? Shouldn't we prefer to use adults rather than children? I don't know the answers but the questions must be posed.

We need better review mechanisms for assessing what is going on, so that a woman who has some feelings about what is being done to her child can have access to some kind of report in order to press her case and have the situation reviewed. But in respect to this one subject—population as a whole, if she has a good case it probably is not only an issue with respect to this one child but with respect to other children as well, and the entire procedure will have to be re-evaluated.

**Audience Comment:**

Dr. Krugman gave children hepatitis without giving what was a medically accepted ameliorative of the disease, gamma-globulin, as was done in the early and late 1950's; Dr. Krugman gave children serum hepatitis. Certainly we should all be clear that the bad effects of serum hepatitis—the long-term effects which have been suggested—aren't proved, but strongly suggested chronic active hepatitis. It is not at all known that effects will be just as prevalent with his so-called vaccine as with the disease itself. These require a great deal of study to determine if, as he points out, that it is a mild disease. It is quite conceivable that giving this vaccine is as bad as the disease itself if the bad effects of the disease relates to its problem. That is the reason this so-called vaccine has not been jumped on, because of this question of the long-term effect. I am sure that he will study that. Finally, I would like to make a point. Children on Dr. Krugman's ward are better off than the children in Willowbrook at

large.

**Q:** How does Dr. Krugman justify giving serum hepatitis to a child?

**A.** I would have hoped that you would have listened to me during my introductory remarks. I tried to tell you that in 1956, when we began our studies, we believed that we were dealing with infectious hepatitis. It was not known until 1969, 13 years later, that both infectious and serum hepatitis had been endemic not only in Willowbrook but in other institutions for mentally retarded children. Our retrospective evaluation of serum specimens revealed that both infections occurred in the institution and in our unit. Your comments about hepatitis should be up-dated. When we learned that serum hepatitis was endemic in Willowbrook, our prospective observations revealed that it was mild as well as highly prevalent. In adults, of course, the disease was more severe. The new knowledge of the natural history of hepatitis has become available within the last two to three years. You should not discuss the Willowbrook developments of the past 15 years out of context.

**Q:** Dr. Isaacs, I think everyone here agrees that the conditions of Willowbrook are despicable and that it is the duty of every doctor to try and change them. I also think that Dr. Krugman, from what he said, has shown that he has tried to change the conditions at Willowbrook. He introduced the report that he read from. Though all doctors have a duty to give time to the community, I would like to know whether she thinks everyone who has graduated from here should spend full time trying to change things. Who's done more to try to change conditions at Willowbrook, Dr. Krugman in committees and his participation in these reports, or you? I would like to know what you have done?

**Dr. Isaacs:**

I think that we must talk here about the difference between sins of omissions and sins of commission. I think while it is true that conditions are bad at Willowbrook, and it may be true that Dr. Krugman has as an individual written particular letters to try and change them, I don't really know too much about this. They don't seem to have been too public or too effective. But this in no way justifies going into these conditions; and because they are there and because one does not at an instant and as an individual have the power of totally reversing them, this does not justify taking advantage of them, using them as a laboratory and disseminating the disease even further into the institution. I think this was brought up in some of the questions before.

The fact remains that although the general population of Willowbrook is inoculated with gamma-globulin to protect them from hepatitis, patients in the control used in Dr. Krugman's experiments have been given a disease and denied protection, so that others may learn from them—so that this group in society may be taken advantage

of so that others in the society may benefit. You cannot, just because you as an individual cannot change the world at a particular moment, go about disseminating the same conditions that one should be changing. If Dr. Krugman has shown that conditions can be even just an iota better by the use of public health measures in a part of the institution, then he has proven that they can be better in the rest of the institution; and the argument that things cannot be changed, that he is simply walking into an inept situation and making no difference, falls apart by his own admission.

**Q.** Dr. Meislin, Department of Pediatrics:—Dr. Isaacs, in view of the recent changes in attitudes among the experts on small-pox vaccination, what is the official view of the Labor Party regarding vaccinating individual children?

**Dr. Isaacs:**

I don't know that we've taken an official view as a party, but I see no reason to dispute the fact that if it is estimated that more children benefit by **not** being vaccinated than by being vaccinated, then these procedures (should) be changed. Unless I am missing some point.

**Q.** I wonder whether my failure to be a member of the medical community officially makes it impossible for me to understand what Dr. Krugman has said, at least insofar as how Dr. Isaacs interprets it. I thought Dr. Krugman clearly stated that no one was subjected to an experiment during which the proper treatment was withheld. I understood Dr. Krugman to say that gamma-globulin was administered to all members of his research crew.

**Dr. Krugman:**

There are two answers to this question. All children admitted to the Willowbrook State School received gamma-globulin. It is extremely important to emphasize that gamma-globulin is not effective for the prevention of serum hepatitis. The administration of gamma-globulin will not prevent serum hepatitis, both in the unit and in the rest of the institution. The value of gamma-globulin is for the prevention or **modification** of infectious hepatitis. That was done. The problem is with serum hepatitis, and these two points have been confused. You cannot prevent serum hepatitis with gamma-globulin. As I said before, we did learn that gamma-globulin, however, can **attenuate** the disease. In our unit we know exactly when the child will be exposed, therefore gamma-globulin can be given shortly thereafter. The timing can be controlled. In the institution at large it is impossible to determine the precise time of exposure. It may occur after intervals ranging from one week to five months. Gamma-globulin is most valuable if it is given shortly after exposure.

**Dr. Rosen:**

It occurs to me, as moderator, that clearly the Student Council of our medical school has made

an immense contribution by sponsoring this program. Mr. Biller, perhaps you and your colleagues would want to consider what follow-up program you might want to develop based on this symposium. In my Department of Urban Health Affairs we would like to consider this possibility, too. Obviously, we have opened up tonight a very profound subject. Now in consultation with Mr. Biller, I find we have time only for two more questions and to give each panelist a minute or two to summarize.

#### COMMENT FROM AUDIENCE

**Q.** I have a question for the audience: I would preface it by two remarks; one, the basic underlining issues seem to be that there are these conditions that we should be upset with. The question that goes beyond that is: Who is going to do something about it? When I look inside myself, I wonder whether I can spend time at Willowbrook trying to do something about it. Dr. Krugman has made extensive efforts to try and get people to work at Willowbrook, so my question to the audience is this: Is there anyone in this audience who will stand up and say that he is willing to spend one year at Willowbrook trying to do something about these conditions?

**Dr. Rosen:**

Do you want a show of hands? How many would want to spend a year? Two people.

**Q.** Dr. Krugman, about gamma-globulin. In your paper in the New England Journal of Medicine, February 27, 1958, you said that when the difference between serum or infectious hepatitis was not known (that came later), you performed experiments that confirmed the protective value of gamma-globulin to reduce the occurrence of infectious hepatitis and jaundice at Willowbrook. You go on in the same paper and attempt to induce passive-active immunity by feeding virus under carefully selected conditions and in greater dosages to persons protected by gamma-globulin. Your words, Dr. Krugman; 1958. But what you actually do is give one group only virus and no gamma-globulin. Now how do you explain withholding gamma-globulin when you have just confirmed its protective value?

(Dr. Krugman interjects: It was not confirmed until that experiment was finished.)

(Question continued): In the 1967 paper with Dr. Giles and Dr. Hammond, you give MS1 and MS2 as reported. There are a number of experimental subjects to whom you give MS1 and there is no mention of their receiving gamma-globulin. In cases where gamma-globulin is given, it is mentioned.

**Dr. Krugman:**

You will have to read the article more carefully. Our paper in 1967 included studies that were carried out between 1956 and 1967. As we learned more about the natural history of hepatitis in

Willowbrook we modified our procedures in accordance with the new information. Our MS1 strain of infectious hepatitis was so mild that it was unnecessary to use gamma globulin for this type of hepatitis. On the other hand, when we learned that gamma globulin had an attenuating effect on serum hepatitis, we used it routinely for this purpose **after that time.**

**Q.** Maybe you don't understand my question. The 1967 paper states that in 1964, children were given infectious hepatitis but not gamma globulin. You yourself have shown that gamma-globulin attenuates infections. In fact, the Department of Mental Hygiene, has reported publicly that the incidence of infectious hepatitis as clinically detectable at Willowbrook has declined by 85% **because** of the gamma globulin. In 1964 all the children at Willowbrook were receiving gamma-globulin for protection, except those you were treating with infectious hepatitis. You knew the best time to give them gamma-globulin.

**Dr. Krugman:**

The question cannot be answered because it contains a series of statements out of context. It ignores that fact that there are two types of hepatitis and the value of gamma-globulin is not the same for each type. I would be pleased to clarify these issues in an extended discussion of the present knowledge of the natural history and prevention of both types of hepatitis.

**Q.** Since we are not going to get the answer to that question for fairly good reasons, I would like to know, Dr. Krugman, Dr. Giles said in an interview with reporters from Channel 13, when asked about using chimpanzees for the continuation of these experiments. "Chimpanzees are very expensive." I would like to know in the light of that comment, would you determine to use chimpanzees or are you going to continue to use a virus that produces chronic active hepatitis and many unknowns on children or only on chimpanzees in the future?

**A.** You are making a statement which is completely out of context and you cannot support it. I would like to inform you that approximately two or three weeks ago an article in the Journal of Infectious Diseases described the first successful transmission of hepatitis B virus to **rhesus monkeys**, not chimpanzees.

**Dr. Isaacs:**

Dr. Krugman, do you plan to continue these experiments on human beings, given that some monkey species may be able to be infected with hepatitis B virus?

**Dr. Krugman:**

If in 1956 there had been a susceptible experimental animal, obviously these procedures would have been employed. Many outstanding investigators have tried to adapt hepatitis virus to cell cultures or propagate it in animals during the 15-year period from 1941-1956; all failed. The

reason that the studies were carried on in Willowbrook, was because hepatitis was a problem there, and the studies were justified because of the endemic nature of the disease, the mildness of the infection and the acquisition of immunity.

**Dr. Katz:**

I would like to make two final statements: Protest may be useful, but please don't stop at protest alone. Also sit down and get back to your desk and figure out what you want to do. Don't just say "Stop Willowbrook." Also answer the questions, "Why and if stopped, under what conditions can it be resumed? What alternatives do you propose? If you want this type of experiment stopped altogether, what are the implications?" This is hard work and I hope that you will address yourself to them.

Second, in her earlier remarks, Dr. Isaacs referred to codes of ethics. I've studied these codes of ethics. They do not make much sense if you analyze them carefully. I've called them on a number of occasions pious exercises in futility. In terms of rules of conduct, the only rule I like is one that comes from the Talmud, "What is hateful to yourself, do not do to your fellowman." But then it goes on to say, "This is the whole of Torah. Go and learn it." My next question is where can it be learned? At Yale, courses on human experimentation are attended by medical students, but they are given at the Law School and not at the Medical School. So implement that rule, because unless we begin to examine these problems, you will only come back again and again and protest but nothing very much will change.

**Dr. Isaacs:**

I think that there are certain basic facts that

we have to remember in all of the discussion that is going on. These are: that these experiments do not benefit the subject directly and they do incorporate risk—the long term risks of serum hepatitis and infectious hepatitis; gamma-globulin was withheld from control patients although Dr. Krugman's first studies showed an 80% reduction rate of clinical hepatitis; and the consent that was obtained was coercive. Patients were forced by circumstance to seek to get into Willowbrook quickly and thus were routed onto Dr. Krugman's wards. All the concrete evidence and all the parents we have spoken to have borne this out. The experiments have been justified by the bad conditions in the institution, and they have been justified by stating that the end justifies the means.

It is important to criticize these experiments and stop them, because they are not isolated and because the **conditions** in which they take place are not isolated. This type of experimentation is taking place all over this country. Dr. Beecher, in an article of the *New England Journal* in 1966, found 186 examples without much trouble. I think that if we look around Bellevue we can find questionable cardiac catheterizations, biopsies, and studies on large groups of patients—things that go on day-by-day. We, as doctors, are not limited to study, to a passive manner towards the bad conditions that are around. Nor do we have to volunteer to go to another institution for a year where conditions may be slightly worse than they are here. They are rotten at Bellevue. There are not enough nurses, translators, or equipment; and I can list many, many ways in which patients are killed by the bad conditions here. **This** is where we are. We can fight right here on the job to prevent exploitation of the already bad conditions by our teachers and our colleagues.



**Farah dissidents' poster:**

**"Long live the strike!"**

# Socialized Medicine—

## Socialist Health Care

### *What Are They? How Do We Get There?*

*(Note: This discussion article was sent to us by a medical professional.)*

#### I. Introduction

“Socialized medicine” is a term that’s been around for some time. It means many things to many people. To some it refers to any type of government intervention in the private practice of medicine—under capitalism, socialism or what have you. To others, it refers to specific forms of government intervention in the health care system under capitalism, such as the British National Health Service, in which the government is involved in running things as well as paying for them. To others, it means medicine under socialism.

Health care systems in general have received little serious attention from Marxist-Leninists beyond descriptions of what is wrong with them in capitalist countries and what is right with them in socialist or once-socialist countries. Such efforts are important, to be sure, but it will also be helpful in advancing struggle to apply rigorously the tools of Marxist-Leninist analysis to health care systems. This paper is offered as a beginning effort in this area. It is hoped that discussion, constructive criticism and further work will be stimulated by it, that the level of Marxist-Leninist understanding of the world will be raised and that our struggle for socialist revolution will be advanced.

#### II. Some Definitions

##### A. Socialism and Capitalism

Socialism is a system for the organization of human society. A variety of definitions, both explicit and implicit, have been offered by Marxist-Leninists, both well-known and little-known, over the years. The following definition, distillation of the work of many others, is offered as a working one for the purposes of this paper. Socialism has the following characteristics.

1. The **political** system is one in which state power is in the hands of the working class, represented by a communist party exercising that power for the working class. The political system may take a

- variety of specific forms, not to be spelled out here.
2. The **economic** system is one in which the ownership of the means of production and distribution is in the hands of the workers’ state, and in which production is for use.
3. The **ideology** is based on the theories of dialectical and historical materialism and they are used as the means for interpreting all social, political, economic and natural phenomenae.
4. The **motivating forces** behind all human activity are collectivism, interdependence, and egalitarianism.

**THUS, A SOCIALIST SOCIETY DIFFERS FROM** a capitalist one in many essential aspects. Under capitalism, again in a working definition, the means of production and exchange are in the hands of a small owning class. Production is primarily for profit. State power is in the hands of the small owning class and the political forms reflect that narrow concentration of power. The ideology is based on Platonic-Freudian idealism, the Protestant Ethic and Lockean-Millsian bourgeois individualism. The motivating forces are individualism and self-aggrandizement.

##### B. Medicine and Health

Medicine may be defined as that body of knowledge which concerns the prevention and treatment of disease or states of lack of health, and the rehabilitation of individuals who have been diseased in one way or another.<sup>1</sup> This definition is broader than the usual functional one used in the United States which defines medicine as the body of knowledge which physicians have and use in treating sick people. Thus, this definition of medicine has a more general applicability and is not physician-centered. It includes the knowledge used by other health professionals, refers to prevention and rehabilitation as well as disease-treatment, and includes community health services such as sewage disposal as well as personal

health services such as appendectomy.

Health has been defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as a state of physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease.<sup>2</sup> A health care system, then, is an organization of services which attempts to aid in creating and maintaining a state of health in a population by delivering medicine, as defined above, to it. It is obvious, if one uses the WHO definition of health, which is very broad, that other disciplines in addition to medicine are needed in order to create and maintain health.

The term "socialized medicine" presents some difficulties in definition, one reason being that it means different things to different people. The defenders of the *status quo* in the United States, such as the American Medical Association, and, further to its right, the American Association of Physicians and Surgeons and the Council of Medical Staffs, use the term to refer to any system of health care in which, at a minimum, financing and mechanism of payment of physicians is controlled by the government, regardless of whether or not there is a socialist state. Thus, reactionary physicians and their political allies have for many years used the term "socialized medicine" as an epithet to hurl at health care systems as different from one another as are the Soviet Health care system, (completely state-operated, with salaried physicians), the British National Health Service, (partially state-operated, with physicians as independent contractors), and the proposals for American National Health Insurance, (government-sponsored financing of the existing health care system.)

#### DEFINITION OF HEALTH CARE

Ideologues of capitalist medicine<sup>3</sup> have defined it as "collectivized medicine aimed at bringing the greatest good to the greatest number," and further as a system in which "there must be some curtailment of individual freedoms of both doctors and patients... and (in which) individual, adult responsibilities and freedoms of decision and choice in respect of personal medical care have been abrogated from a society whose members are otherwise subject to full constitutional entitlement."

It would seem to be fair to conclude that such definitions are somewhat loaded, to say the least, and are intended to be used primarily for attacking any health care system in which the status of physicians as private, independent, petit-bourgeois entrepreneurs is limited or eliminated. Further, we have seen that as far as the **delivery** of health care services is concerned, the term **health care system** is more precise than is the term **medicine**, which really refers to a body of knowledge rather than a delivery system. Finally, **socialized** is a mongrel word; **socialist**, as derived from **socialism**, defined above, is more precise. Thus we arrive at what we really will be talking about in this article: **socialist health care**. But before we consider socialist health care in detail, we must determine the place of health care systems in any society.

#### III. The Health Care System as Part of the State Apparatus

In analyzing any component part or institution of a particular society, it is useful in the first instance to determine in which segment of that society does the component belong. Is it part of the economic base? Of the state apparatus? Is it a ruling class organ, like the press? Is it a working-class organ, like some trade unions or parts of trade unions? It would appear that, although it serves a variety of functions, the health care system of any known capitalist or socialist society is part of the state apparatus. Thus, unless one could postulate that part of a capitalist state apparatus could be in fact socialist, a seeming logical impossibility, under capitalism a health care system, no matter what its organizational features, **cannot possibly be socialist**.

Engels defined that state as "a power seemingly standing above society... for the purpose of moderating the conflict (between classes), of keeping it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly alienating itself from it—is the state."<sup>4</sup> Further, Engels pointed out that, "it is, as a rule, that state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class."<sup>5</sup>

Lenin elaborated upon Engels' theory of the state in **The State and Revolution**,<sup>6</sup> using contributions from Marx as well. Lenin concludes that the state is always an agency of the class in power for the oppression of its opponent class, that it is necessarily produced by class antagonisms and that it functions in the first instance through special bodies of armed men.

The English Marxist scholar, G.D.H. Cole, offered the following as Marx' view of the state. "The State is, in his view, the political embodiment of a certain form of class-domination, corresponding to a certain set of economic relationships, which in turn arise out of a certain stage in the development of the powers of production. Accordingly, the State is, in Marx's theory, neither an association of citizens bound together in pursuance of a common purpose, nor a body of subjects owing allegiance to a common sovereign, but essentially a coercive instrument, standing for the power of the ruling class to punish all offences which threaten the established system of class relations. Any State has, of course, other functions besides these; but the other functions are, in Marx's view, secondary."<sup>7</sup>

A contemporary English Marxist scholar, Ralph Miliband, has analyzed the component parts of the modern capitalist state.<sup>8</sup> In Miliband's view there are five of them: the government, central, regional and local; the administrative bureaucracy; the military and police; the courts and prisons; and parliamentary assemblies. Using this scheme of the state, we can proceed to demonstrate that the health care system of a country is indeed part of its state apparatus.

**IN ANALYZING ANY HEALTH CARE SYSTEM,** it is convenient to divide it like all Gaul, into three parts: community health services, personal health services and services which have aspects of both, which we shall call intermediate health services for lack of a better term. Community health services are provided to population groups, while personal health services are provided to individuals. The provision of a pure water supply and sanitary sewage disposal are thus community health services, while doctors' office services and surgery in hospital are personal health services. Immunization against polio is an intermediate service; the individual inoculated gets protection and the population at large is helped too as immunized individuals become incapable of harboring infection.

In all countries, the bulk of community health services are provided directly by the state. Using the Miliband schema; the central, regional and local governments are all involved, in varying proportions from country to country, there is an administrative bureaucracy responsible for the services, and the parliamentary assemblies make the laws governing the services.

There are certain limited exceptions to this rule. For example, in many parts of the United States, solid waste is collected by private carters. However, they are regulated by the state and usually dump the refuse in state owned and/or designated areas. In some sections, water is supplied by private companies, but again, in those instances, the companies are licensed and regulated by the state. In medical education, only Japan and the United States have significant participation by private medical schools, and only in Japan do the private schools exist without heavy infusions of state funds. Medical research too, another community health service, is directly run and/or funded to a large degree by the state in most capitalist countries.

#### **GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT**

**IN ALL INDUSTRIALIZED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES,** the state is heavily involved in the provision of personal health services, although again there is a great deal of variation in degree of involvement. The United States has the least direct state involvement in the provision of personal health services of any of the industrialized capitalist countries, but even here it is increasing at a rapid rate. In fact, the U.S., with a lesser degree of state involvement and Great Britain and Sweden with a higher degree, are the only exceptions to the general rule among capitalist countries. Although there are detail differences, countries such as Austria, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Canada, Israel and South Africa follow the same general pattern.

There is a Ministry of Health in the government (except in the U.S.), which either directly operates the financing system or closely supervises one or more private, non-profit agencies which do so. The financing system is usually referred to as National Health Insurance. (This

happens to be a misnomer, because the insurance principle, financial protection against the occurrence of a relatively rare event, does not apply to health care, which is something that most people need at fairly regular intervals.) In the U.S., there is no National Health Insurance, although it is on the horizon and there are bits and pieces of it in the Medicare and Medicaid programs. What health insurance there is, is provided primarily to employed workers and their families on a so-called "voluntary" basis by the "non-profit" Blue Cross/Blue Shield companies and the profit-making commercial insurers. But even here the state is heavily involved through rate-setting, legal requirements and administrative regulation.

Hospitals may or may not be owned by the state, but in all capitalist countries, at least some of the hospitals are state-owned. There is always a state-owned and operated system of local general hospitals for persons not covered for one reason or another, by health insurance: the poor, the old, the unemployed. In the U.S., of course, with its limited health insurance system, this state-owned system is quite extensive. With the exception of Japan, mental and tuberculosis hospitals are, for the most part, state-owned and operated in this group of countries. In Great Britain and Sweden, almost all hospitals of any type are state-owned and operated.

In most of these countries, the clinics and emergency rooms of the state-owned hospitals provide a significant proportion of the out-patient



**Health care under capitalism—a continuous battle for survival.**

care. Furthermore, in all of these countries, including the United States, all hospitals are licensed and regulated by the state, and they are required to meet certain minimum standards, (which, of course, often become **maximum** standards). Planning, development and control of new programs and new construction are often in the hands of the state. One other important aspect of the State's involvement in the health care system is the interlocking-directorate aspect of the relationships between government and administrative bureaucracy health care agencies, either direct provider or regulatory, and the hospital/medical school sector. Individual high- and middle-level employees are continually moving around among the several sectors, and sometimes even end up in the parliamentary assemblies.

**THE ELEMENT OF THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM** which is the least direct part of the state is the medical profession. In most of the advanced capitalist countries, the medical profession at one and the same time constitutes one of the last remaining medieval guilds, (controlling entry and standards, maintaining elitism and keeping up income), while it is also one of the most powerful, successful and richest elements of the petit-bourgeois, private entrepreneurial, small-business sector. In a way, the medical profession demonstrates the success, in terms of income, which can be achieved when certain monopoly practices are applied to the small business sector. Even in Great Britain, where most physicians are indeed on the direct government payroll, the guild aspects of the profession work to keep their incomes up. On the other hand, in the United States, which has the most independent medical profession, about one-quarter of the physicians work directly for the state, in Federal service, mental and TB hospitals, municipal and country hospitals and health departments. In other capitalist countries, the proportions working directly for the government are higher.

#### **ONCE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MAINTAIN SOME FORMS OF SOCIALIZED MEDICINE**

In all of the listed countries the medical professions are closer to the state apparatus than they would like to be. They are licensed and to some extent regulated by the state. Furthermore, in most countries they are paid by the state, even if on a fee-for-service basis, by the insurance plan. This enmeshes doctors in the state; one only has to look at the gyrations doctors have undergone in country after country in the attempt to avoid being enmeshed to know that it is a very real phenomenon. The guildism acts to keep income up, but, being paid by the state, doctors are really becoming part of the state.

In the few countries in the world which once were socialist and still maintain some socialist forms, the position of the total health care system as part of the state is very apparent. In the Soviet Union, for example, the state operates each and every segment of the health care system and makes no bones about it.

Thus, it really can be fairly concluded that the

health care system, both its personal and community sectors, are part of the state, even if some pieces of the system are more directly part of the state than are others, and even if not all sectors recognize themselves as part of the state. Objective reality, after all, is primary while subjective reality, although important, is only secondary. Since the health care system is part of the state, and since under capitalism that state is capitalist, it follows that under capitalism it is not possible to have anything other than a capitalist health care system.

#### **IV. The functioning of the Health Care System Under Capitalism.**

Capitalist health care has a variety of characteristics which are found in the systems observed in the advanced capitalist countries listed in the previous section. Not all characteristics are seen to the same extent in all countries. Certain capitalist ruling classes, such as the British and Swedish ones, seem to have decided that it would be a good thing for the maintenance of their rule if their health care systems were generally better than those found in other capitalist countries. Indeed, they are, particularly in the area of providing virtually complete financial security against the cost of severe illness. Nevertheless, even these characteristics do not make their systems socialist, merely more efficient capitalist ones. Thus, what we have to say below, while not applying equally to all capitalist countries, is essentially true about capitalist health care in general.

We should begin by pointing out that, at this point in time, it is not possible to use measures of health status in populations as comparative indicators of the quality of **health care systems**. The indices which we have available now, such as mortality (death) rate, infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate, life expectancy and disease-specific mortality and morbidity (sickness) rates simply reflect too many other aspects of a society or parts thereof, besides its health care system, to be of use in evaluating a health care system.

It is well-known, for example, that the relatively high infant mortality rate (IMR) of the United States, compared with those of a number of European countries, is often used in an attempt to demonstrate the poor ranking of the U.S. health care system. The fact is that the IMR in the U.S. varies widely by social class and race and that middle-income whites have rates very comparable to those found in the low-rate Scandinavian countries. The health care system does play a **part** in this, but only a part. Also involved are such things as maternal nutrition, education, transportation, maternal age, housing and racism. The health care system in the U.S. is poor, no doubt, but the relatively high IMR is not a good indicator of this fact.

**MUCH BETTER INDICATORS OF HEALTH** care problems in the U.S. are such observed characteristics of the system itself as: illness-connected financial disasters; poorly-distributed health care manpower and facilities; over-utilized





Fighting Hitlerite racism at a New York hospital.

and completely inadequate services in working-class areas, particularly black and Latin areas; immense problems in doctor-patient communications, even in the private sector; very poor emergency services; fragmentation of services such that patients are forced to use several different clinics in order to get complete care, not being able to find it in one place; duplication, poor planning and slow response to demands; and the perpetuation of individualism, racism, male chauvinism and elitism among health professionals, especially physicians. These are the problems of the U.S. health care. They are plain to see and one does not need health indices in order to confirm them.

Turning to capitalist health care in general, the following characteristics and functions, as opposed to specific deficiencies, can be observed:

1. Many elements of the capitalist state are frankly and positively oppressive to the working class, in a way that is consciously intended to be oppressive: the police and other armed forces; the courts and prisons; the bureaucracy which administers the so-called "social" services, unemployment insurance, welfare, housing services received by the working class, all of which are intentionally designed to be administered in a punitive way, as openly-stated and documentable policy.

Capitalist health care services for many workers have an oppressive element to them: they are often inadequate, inconvenient, fragmented, provided after long waits, in over-crowded facilities, by health care providers who are indifferent to the needs of most of their patients, at costs which are at times overwhelming. They are ob-

jectively oppressive and repressive. However, it is likely that this results much more from a policy of "benign neglect" and unconscious racism and ruling-class ideology than from a conscious plan of oppression as in the police system, say. (Objectively, this fact means little in terms of result to the contemporary worker, but will be important when the time comes for consideration of which elements of the capitalist state are to be smashed completely and which are rather to be transformed to serve the new socialist state.)

2. Capitalist health care, at best, seems to do the bare minimum required for species survival, in relation to the technological stage of advancement of the society, i.e., more urbanization and industrialization does require more complex environmental health services. But capitalist health services rarely seem to be "over-achievers," as it were, except in isolated circumstances, and often don't even provide the bare minimum.

3. Capitalist health care permits the survival and self-perpetuation of a professional, especially medical, elite. This produces high incomes for physicians as well as opportunities for many of them to fulfill professional goals and aims, (rare disease research, complicated operations), for which they receive professional status rewards as well as financial rewards, achievements relating little to the needs of the people in general.

4. Personal health services for members of the ruling class, their professional technicians, and their upper-level managers are rather good, although even in this group, few people are actively involved in their own health maintenance relating to diet, exercise, etc., and thus it is a passive

system.

5. Capitalist health care provides good opportunities for high profits to health-related industries: pharmaceuticals, hospital supplies, health facility design and construction.

6. Bourgeois ideology is maintained. The stress within capitalist health care systems is on one-to-one relationships between providers and patients and on individualism, elitism and male-chauvinism within and between provider groups. Not only are these attitudes maintained within the health care system, but their very maintenance and the open advertising of them helps to maintain them in society in general. Bourgeois psychotherapy, widely practiced only in the U.S. and Canada, especially deals with enhancing individualism while teaching individuals to adjust to a bad society rather than getting involved in struggles to change it.

7. Fostering the use of drugs, both prescription and especially over-the-counter ones, for dealing with social and personal problems: "take two Alka-Seltzers"; "use Sominex and sleep, sleep"; "tired blood? use Geritol."

8. Finally, under capitalism there is no national health goal setting that has any meaning and, of course, no rational health care planning.

These characteristics and functions produce the state of health care described above for the United States. They are entirely consistent with capitalism as we know it, of course, and offer no surprises.

## V. What is Socialist Health Care?

Socialism, medicine and health care have been defined. The Marxist concept of the state has been reviewed. The place of the health care system in the state has been illustrated. The role and function of the health care system under capitalism has been outlined. Thus, a definition of socialist health care, consistent with all that has gone before, can now be offered:

1. Socialist health care requires socialism for its existence. It cannot exist under capitalism, even though small bits and pieces of socialist-like health care can be found in isolated circumstances in certain capitalist health care systems, usually produced by people who regard themselves as socialists.

2. There is socialist state ownership of the means of production: hospitals, clinics, other health care facilities, pharmaceutical and hospital

supply industries, water and sanitation systems.

3. Salaried service for all health workers, with the complete elimination of private entrepreneurship. Elimination of salary differentials between different categories of health workers.

4. Elimination of guildism, elitism, male-chauvinism, racism and individualism within and between the health professions.

5. Multi-disciplinary group practice: collective practice with shared patient-care responsibility.

6. Societal responsibility for the costs of service with no financial barriers to health care.

7. National goal-setting for health and health-care, with rational planning to achieve goals. This will produce, among other things, adequate distribution of health manpower and facilities, and the appropriate focusing of education, service and research designed to meet the primary needs of the vast majority of the people.

8. Last, but perhaps most important, is the introduction of the mass line in health care: "The health of the people is primarily the responsibility of the people themselves." It may sound simple but it is extremely complicated for it cannot be implemented except under socialism. Furthermore, it is the key to the whole structure of socialist health care. Under capitalism, health care, such as it is, is provided by the health care system to the people, who receive it, passively. Under socialism, the people are actively involved in their own health care. They can communicate with the health-care providers, who in turn can communicate with them. They can thus be involved in the decision-making process in their care, will understand why such and such a course of therapy is important and will follow through on it. In sum, the health care system and the people will become a unity; the state, or this portion of it, will indeed wither away.

## VI. Epilogue

Socialist health care is something worth achieving. Even in countries where it has been only partially achieved, the Soviet Union and China, it has produced some quite marvelous results. However, it has been demonstrated that it is not achievable under capitalism, even in a limited way. Thus for those who want socialist health care, the message is clear—the fight for socialism itself must be the first priority.

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# *The Racist Thought of Christopher Jencks:*

## **"Luck and Personality" Explains All**

**WOULD YOU BELIEVE THAT THE CARNEGIE** and Guggenheim Foundations gave a team of Harvard professors over \$500,000 to study the problem of "inequality", that the study concludes "nothing less than socialism" can overcome the "failures" of the 1960s; and that the authors of this research are now being lauded in the bosses' press and wine and dined at the Waldorf?

Are the billionaire bankers who own the U.S. about to cave in and give the workers socialism for Christmas? We hardly think so. **Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America**, by Christopher Jencks and others (Basic Books, Inc., New York), deserves a closer look, for it is probably the slickest "scholarly" attempt in recent years to pull the wool over workers' eyes about the causes of wealth and poverty.

Capitalism functions most efficiently when it can disguise itself as "democracy" run by all the people in everyone's interest. Therefore, it constantly needs to cook up reasons that justify the existence of classes and the enormous gap that separates the owners from the exploited. Historically, the most tried-and-true of these justifications is the doctrine of "inferiority." In the past hundred years, the rulers of every imperialist nation in the world have found academic apologists who attempted to wipe the blood-stains off their profits with some kind of "master-race" theory.

### **'INEQUALITY IS HERE TO STAY' !**

In the U.S. and England, this "theory" is again making its way into the foreground of "scholarly" discussions. Arthur Jensen, Richard Herrnstein, H.J. Eysenck, & Co. all assure us that wealth is the result of intelligence, that the poorest minority workers must therefore be the least intelligent; and that the working class as a whole can never hope to attain the genetic "excellence" of the bosses. This is nothing more than a spruced-up version of the old Nazi line and, as such, it is currently in vogue among the government brain-trusters who herald each new phase of the wage-freeze with the announcement that "inequality is here to stay." (See articles by Daniel Bell, Daniel P. Moynihan, and S.M. Lipset in Fall 1972 issue of **Public Interest**.)

**HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH JENSENITE RACISM** admirably serves the imperialists' purposes, by itself, it is insufficient. In addition to a line that brazenly attacks oppressed people as "inferior" or "subhuman," they also need a line that creates illusions about the possibility of eliminating economic inequality without eliminating the system. This is where Jencks & Co. come in: their book purports to show that more capitalism is the best cure for the evils of capitalism.

They begin by observing that the "reforms" of the 1960s failed to make a dent in the problem of inequality. What were these "reforms?" According to Jencks, the Kennedy and Johnson administrations thought inequality could be overcome by equalizing educational opportunities and facilities and that therefore they spent massive sums on desegregation, compensatory education, pre-school programs, and the improvement of school facilities.

### **INADEQUATE EDUCATION FACILITIES**

In passing, it should be noted that Jencks implicitly considers the money spent on education during the 1960s as "adequate." Nothing could be further from the truth. Central Harlem is still waiting for its first high school. The Open Admissions program in New York's City University is a farce because of overcrowding, antiquated facilities, and understaffing. These are not isolated cases: they are merely two telling examples of a general pattern.

Furthermore, Jencks "naively" fails to mention the massive upsurge of working-class rebellion in the factories and ghettos that characterized the 1960s and that forced JFK, LBJ, and the rulers they served to cough up a tiny amount of their profits in an unsuccessful attempt at class appeasement. However, this "omission" is negligible compared to what follows.

**JENCKS' ASSERTS THE REFORMS OF THE** 1960s failed because they were founded on the incorrect assumption that improving the schools could decrease inequality. The bulk of the study is devoted to proving this assertion. Jencks indicates six types of inequality: inequality in the schools, inequality in "cognitive skills," in-

equality in education attainment, inequality in occupational status, income inequality and inequality in job satisfaction.

He admits that inequality exists in the schools and claims to favor its elimination—although he says this will not do much more than improve the internal life of the schools. In one sense, it is hard to disagree with this conclusion: anyone who has the slightest contact with reality understands that hiring more teachers, reducing class size, improving facilities, etc. will not *per se* raise wages, lower rents and food prices, or provide better medical care for workers.

But this is a case of logical overkill. The main impression one gets from **Inequality**—despite Jencks' occasional protests to the contrary—is that additional expenditures on public schooling are worthless. Therefore, the book can provide the rulers with a "left" cover for their continued cuts in education budgets.

In addition, Jencks "misses" the main point about the schools and what they **do** teach, for even the worst, most overcrowded schools teach **something**. "America is a democracy;" "Strikes hurt everyone;" "Communism is your enemy;" "The U.S. is in Vietnam to fight aggression;" "blacks and whites are basically antagonistic to each other;" "the policeman is your friend;" etc. etc. **ad nauseam**. Haven't we all at one time or another "learned" these ideas in school? Whatever else they may or may not do, the schools serve the ruling class by teaching racism, anti-communism, and pro-imperialism.

These ideas contribute to economic inequality, because they act concretely to intensify the oppression of the working class. Jencks pretends to favor improving the schools in the spirit of "fairness," yet he says nothing about defeating ruling class ideology within the schools. What better reform could workers and their children achieve than to force racist textbooks out of the curriculum?

Jencks says that giving every student "an equal claim on educational resources, desirable classmates, and interesting subject matter" will not, however, do very much to overcome "cognitive inequality." Cognitive skills, as defined by **Inequality**, include "the ability to manipulate words and numbers, assimilate information, and make logical inferences." Jencks cites what he considers gross discrepancies in these "skills" among school children and proceeds to evaluate the cause.

**HIS EVALUATION EXPOSES HIM AS A CLOSET** Jensenist for, although he does not ascribe much importance to "genetic inequality," he insists that it does exist, and although he disagrees with Jensen & Co. on the **degree** to which heredity determines intelligence, he says that the "(heredity) argument is undeniably correct." The Jencks team has its own evaluation of the heredity-environment determinants of IQ:

*Our best estimate is that genes explain about 45 percent of the variance in Americans' test scores, that environment explains about 35 percent, and that the tendency of environmentally advantaged families*

*to have genetically advantaged children explains the remaining 20 percent.*

Lest we try to pin him down too much, the elusive Jencks hastens to add that the "heritability" figure of 45 percent for intelligence test scores could be "off by as much as 20 percent either way."

This is not the place to refute the latest versions of the arguments for "genetic inferiority." That task has been accomplished in print by numerous scholars and, more significantly, in life by the workers who smashed the "master race's" Wehrmacht at Stalingrad, the Vietnamese people, and the Attica rebels, among countless others. Jencks, however, seems more concerned with scholarly "objectivity" about racist theories than with overturning the oppression caused by racism:

*Since genetic inequality explains only a fraction of all cognitive inequality, and since cognitive inequality in turn explains only a small fraction of social and economic inequality among adults, it is wrong to argue that genetic inequality dictates a hierarchical society. However, it is equally wrong to argue that genetic inequality does not exist, or that those who admit its existence must be racists. (emphasis ours, Ed.)*

In other words, according to Jencks, **Jensen is basically right**, although "it doesn't matter very much," because "cognitive skill" doesn't determine earning power. Jencks is right on this last point at least: the ability to make sense of the mumbo-jumbo that passes for "intelligence tests" has nothing to do with whether or not the ruling class decides it needs a wage freeze to shore up its sagging profits, just as it has nothing to do with whether or not the workers succeed in organizing to defeat the wage freeze. The rebels at Attica and the 1970 postal strikers, many of whom doubtless would have received "inferior" grades on the **Stanford-Binet "IQ"** test, carried out prodigious organizational feats and demonstrated remarkable collective "ability to manipulate words and numbers, assimilate information, and make logical inferences." Intelligence is fundamentally a **class** question: the laboratory for testing it is the class struggle, not the library.

**THE CHAPTERS ON "INEQUALITY IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT"** and "Inequality in Occupational Status" claim that the most important determinant of school credentials is "family background" rather than the quality of the schools, that the secondary determinant is the "cognitive skill" a student brings into school, that high "occupational status" depends on getting a lot of schooling and several degrees, that "cognitive differences" accounted for "no more than half the occupational gap between blacks and whites" in 1962—but that, like inequality in the schools, none of the above matters very much in determining the fundamental cause of inequality in society, which Jencks ascertains to be the unequal distribution of income.

Our "socialist" and his colleagues now examine the premise that inequality is caused primarily by economic factors. The point sounds correct as



Pure skill and plenty of working class personality—East Harlem parents attack N.Y.C. school bosses during district-wide boycott against budget cuts.

far as it goes, but lest anyone accuse Jencks & Co. of Marxist-Leninist thought, it should be added that their study of “economic inequality” deliberately fails to account for the existence and the wealth of the ruling class:

*We have... ignored extreme cases. In looking at economic inequality... we have virtually nothing to say about the very rich (those with, say capital assets in excess of \$10,000,000). Such people do not show up in most surveys, and their incomes have a negligible effect on statistical analyses of income distribution. This does not mean they are unimportant. It simply means that their contribution to inequality in America is more political than economic.*

Here Jencks’ reasoning falls to the level of infantilism. If the primary source of inequality is economic, how can the very wealthiest class, the class that rules society, contribute to “political inequality” if it is not at the same time the major cause of economic inequality?

This “oversight” has two effects. In the first place, it makes an objective assessment of economic equality impossible by eliminating the source of inequality from the discussion. In the second place, by so doing, it focuses on a secondary problem: the economic inequality that exists **within** the working class—and implicitly shifts the blame for this inequality on the workers themselves.

**IF INCOME DEPENDS ONLY MARGINALLY** on “family background, cognitive skill, educa-

tional attainment, (or) occupational status,” and if it doesn’t depend on the maximum wage the boss will agree to pay without a fight, just what determines it? Jencks’ computers lead him to the “scientific” conclusion that income depends primarily on “**competence**”:

*the ability to hit a ball thrown at high speed, the ability to type a letter quickly and accurately, the ability to persuade a customer that he wants a larger car than he thought he wanted, the ability to look a man in the eye without seeming to stare, and so forth*

and “**luck**”:

*chance acquaintances who steer you to one line of work rather than another, the range of jobs that happen to be available in a particular community when you are job hunting, the amount of overtime work in your particular plant, whether bad weather destroys your strawberry crop, whether the new superhighway has an exit near your restaurant, and a hundred other unpredictable accidents.*

This is pure fantasy, but fantastic conclusions always result from a view that takes no account of classes and class struggle. “Competence” or “personality,” which Jencks uses elsewhere interchangeably for it, are impossibly nebulous terms as he defines them. If we ignore the rare jobs which require extraordinary physical ability (such as professional athletics, singing, etc., all of which involve a tiny percentage of the U.S. working population), most people—given the proper training and experience—have more or less equal abilities to perform the tasks that keep

society functioning. No "statistics" are needed to prove this point. Cars, roads, and buildings are built; the trains and communications are kept running; food is produced and packaged—all by "ordinary" working people who have been completely "competent" to carry out these and other jobs ever since work has had to be performed.

### RACISM HELPS CAPITALISM FUNCTION

**GIVEN CAPITALISM, SOME PEOPLE WILL** always win out in the competition to amass more money than others. Their "competence" or "personality" may play a tiny role in their "success—" but the primary factor is the system itself.

Various subjective and objective factors may influence the selection of the handful who make their way into the ruling class at any given point in history—but the overriding factor is capitalism, which requires a ruling class of exploiters who in turn pick, choose—and suitably reward—a class of well-paid flunkies who serve them in politics, ideology, and technology.

Does a man become a foreman at an auto plant because he is more "competent" than other workers on the assembly line? Hardly. He may even be less "competent," but the bosses make him a foreman because they like his class outlook and need him or someone like him to keep the workers in line.

Both Jencks' definition of "luck" and his evaluation of its importance are equally absurd. If "luck" is so significant, how does he explain the difference between the "chance acquaintances" one can make at Harvard (like JFK or Kissinger) and the "chance acquaintances" one can make at a public high school in the Bronx (the sons and daughters of other workers)? Is it "luck" that influences the range of jobs in a particular community, or the bosses and bankers who decide when to lay off and when to set up shop in another state or country? Does Jencks really expect us to believe that "luck" (and not the bosses' profit rate) determines the availability of overtime? If so, why doesn't he give up his computers, openly embrace the philosophy of the Middle Ages, and explain the wage freeze and racism as the inevitable consequences of God's "divine will?"

**Inequality** is a mystification. Jencks & Co. pose as "egalitarians," but the real purpose of their book is to help U.S. capitalism function more efficiently. Jencks claims that the "richest 5 percent of all families have incomes 25 times as large as the poorest 5 five percent." (Obviously billionaires "don't count.") He feels the system would run better if this gap were reduced.

Suppose this were done, and the families who made \$25,000 a year were taxed so that they earned less and families who earned \$1,500 were the direct "beneficiaries" of this taxation. This has nothing to do with "socialism," as Jencks pretends. In reality, his plan calls for a slight readjustment of relative deprivation within the ranks of the working class—in other words, keep the workers fighting each other for a handful of

crumbs. Jencks admits this: "The net effect would be to make those with the most competence and luck subsidize those with the least competence and luck to a far greater extent than they do today."

**MEANWHILE, THE ROCKEFELLERS, MORGANS,** and DuPonts—not to mention the Carnegies and Guggenheims—would continue to rake in the profits, because according to Jencks' scenario, they wouldn't be doing any of the "subsidizing." Jencks' strategy for "reform" is in fact the exact opposite of the strategy that can eventually lead to socialism: instead of pitting workers against each other by telling the lowest-paid to take money from the highest-paid, communists fight for all workers' wages to be raised, with the lowest-paid being raised proportionately higher, for an end to unemployment, speed-up, layoffs, and the wage freeze—in a word, for 30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay (with a big pay boost) throughout the working class.

The money must come from the rulers' pockets, not from a juggling act that pits worker against worker. The rulers inevitably try to reverse this loss through taxation, frozen (i.e. rolled-back) wages, speedup, and other schemes. This is the law of class struggle—the law that will bring about the annihilation of the capitalist state and the establishment of workers' power.

Jencks, on the other hand, wants the same state of affairs the Kennedy-liberals have been trying to bring about for years: more "political control over the economic institutions that shape our society." Nowhere does he call for the elimination of these institutions. He calls merely for a more concentrated form of capitalist political rule over them. Lest anyone doubt what he means, he calls elsewhere for "direct legislative control over wages," as a way to achieve "long-term" egalitarian effects. In other words, he wants us to believe that a permanent wage freeze will bring about socialism!

If it were put into practice, Jencks' plan to "reduce inequality," for all its pretensions, would not differ appreciably from the present **status quo**. We already have seen increased government intervention in the economy and are doubtless likely to get more. Jencks and other liberals seem eventually to want a form of state capitalism in the U.S. They may be "right": from the standpoint of U.S. rulers, more emphasis on the "public sector" might improve their competitive position vis-a-vis the more efficient Japanese and Soviet imperialists.

### CAPITALISM IS STILL CAPITALISM

**BUT CAPITALISM, WHETHER OF THE STATE** variety or the good old American private enterprise variety, is capitalism, and Jencks' book is no better than a glib apology for it in the name of reducing inequality. Jencks begins by saying that inequality can be overcome only if society as a whole changes. However, he distorts the nature of inequality; his rhetoric provides a hiding place for the ruling class; and his solution is a disguise

for "more of the same."

His book can even serve as a back-door apology for the present budget cuts in the schools. Although he protests that he opposes the further dilapidation of public school facilities, he takes such pains to show the insignificance of school experience that his argument can easily be turned into a plea for less school funding. The Carnegie Foundation can consider its \$500,000 well-spent.

The working class will not be suckered by a theory of inequality that ignores the big bosses

any more than it will fall for the out-and-out Hitler-Jensen theory of "genetic inequality" that makes them out to be supermen. The rulers need both a "hard" and a "soft" ideological line to justify their system, just as they need the carrot and stick to keep it running. The workers, on the other hand, need to get rid of the system and ALL its "inequalities." As the class struggle develops and widens, more and more will come to see that this—and nothing else—is what socialism is all about.



Univ. of Connecticut SDS'ers at Jan. 20, 1973 Washington, D.C. indictment of U.S. government genocide.

"No man can successfully disguise from himself that all men are not born equal in mind or in body. Were they born so, there would be no need (for eugenics), as there would be no possibility of racial improvement by selection and heredity. No more than there is equality between man and man of the same nation is there equality between race and race. This differentiation of men in physique and mentality has led to the slow but still imperfect development of occupational castes within all civilized communities. We may not admit these castes, but they exist nevertheless, and probably in a perfectly efficient society, there would always be castes suited to specialized careers—the engineer, the ploughman, the mathematician, the navy, the statesman, the actor and the craftsman. Even now we are progressing slowly towards tests for occupational fitness, and eventually that fitness should be intensified by marriage within the caste. In precisely the same way there is relative fitness of nations, their

racial history, their environment, and their traditions fit them best for defined forms of work. Each nation has its own eugenics problems. The best type of man for Germany may not wholly be the same as the best type of man for Great Britain . . . Many races have hardly yet found their true place and function in the community of nations. Science will not flinch from the conclusion, if such be inevitable, that some of these nations scarce serve in the modern world any other purpose than to provide material for the history of man. Other races still await their fitting role . . . The fit race is not always on the fit spot, nor doing its fit work. The great migrations of man have been haphazard and not consciously directed for the benefit of mankind as a whole and still more often have not been for the good of the transferred people. One of the great problems of eugenics is concerned with the limits of immigration and these limits must be settled in different ways for different nations." 1

# Eugenics: The Survival of the Bosses

# Revolution: The Survival of the Workers

## INTRODUCTION

This statement was published in 1925 by the Sir Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics in London, England. It sums up the "science" of eugenics, its goals and its inherent racism. Eugenics is the "science" that not only attempts to apply the principles of genetics to human beings but also attempts to breed out "undesirable" traits in a population and breed in "desirable" traits.

**WHAT WAS "UNDESIRABLE" TO EUGENICISTS?** To some well meaning scientists, this meant severe physical deformities, organic damage to the brain, hemophilia and other deformities. Some eugenicists merely concerned themselves with these birth defects and tried to find out which ones were hereditary. To other eugenicists, perhaps the majority of them, the word "undesirable" meant "immigrant," "criminal," "Jew," "pauper," "alien," "Negro," "Eastern and Southern European," "Latin" or a host of other classifications. To these men the "science"

of eugenics was to be the great solver of problems such as class struggle, poverty, crime, slums, alcoholism, prostitution and so on. Essentially any social problem was assumed to have a genetic basis and, therefore, could be solved by "scientific" means: sterilization, immigration laws, segregation and education.

In this paper the following points will be proved:

1) The main theme of the bourgeois social sciences from the turn of the century to World War II was "nativism," the idea that what occurs in society is due to "innate" causes within people rather than the structure of society (capitalism or socialism). Slums exist because "deficient" people live there, and so on. Eugenics was the crown jewel of the nativist outlook.

2) The theories of race inferiority were initiated directly by the ruling class. Some of the top ruling class families were involved in eugenics through funding, by starting eugenics organizations and so on. Today the rulers are again backing racist theorists like Jensen.

3) The ruling class initiated these theories



(and their brutal consequences) in response to working class rebellion all around the world. The Russian Revolution and the growth of the Communist International caused the rulers to intensify their efforts.

4) These racist ideas were pushed in every capitalist country in Europe as well as in the US. Until Hitler took power, Germany was way behind the US.

5) The theories of Jensen and Co. are substantially the same as those of this earlier period. Furthermore, they are the same as those of Hitler.

6) The role of the communists in fighting these theories was unfortunately too little, too late.

7) When World War II broke out, the rulers of the US and England had to scrap the eugenics movement they so carefully built in order to defeat Hitler. "Environmentalism" was discovered by the bosses, and this became their darling. However, the bosses' "environmentalism" has nothing to do with class society. As a matter of fact, all bourgeois social science since Karl Marx, nativist or environmentalist, has been a vain attempt to refute Marx.

### RISE OF NATIVIST THEORIES

Around the turn of the century a shift in the outlook of the social sciences was gaining momentum. The discovery of some of the principles of genetics was causing many social scientists to look at society in a new way. Perhaps the source of mankind's problems was innate, rather than environmental. In biology, psychology and sociology the utility of the "genetic method" was becoming rapidly accepted. Another factor that helped spur this movement was the rise of "social Darwinism." Social scientists began to apply Charles Darwin's theory of evolution to society. Perhaps the "survival of the fittest" notion would explain how society operated. A third factor that was to shape social thought for a long time to come was Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic method. These three theories of the individual and society were to have profound implications for the bourgeois line on class struggle around the world. A whole generation of intellectuals was won to a non-class outlook and viewed society with the notion that the solutions to social ills could come about by changing the individual, having him fit into capitalist society, rather than changing society itself. Many of them were also won to the notion that the individual could not be changed! So the only thing left was to study how good the rich were, how bad the poor were and how to limit the birth of the social "misfits."

### THE GENETIC METHOD

Edward Conklin was a professor of biology at Princeton University and a noted geneticist of his time. In 1914 he was invited to give a series of lectures at Northwestern University. These lectures were transcribed into a book called *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Man* and

were widely used as a eugenics text in many American colleges. Conklin noted the impact genetics and eugenics were having in the social and biological sciences:

Formerly very great importance was placed upon the influences of environment . . . . Many philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries taught that man was the product of environment and education and that all men were born equal and later became unequal through unequal opportunities . . . .

On the other hand modern studies in genetics are emphasizing the immense, the overwhelming importance of heredity . . . . Inherited variations appear in response to the environmental changes only. Belief in the omnipotence of the environment in the evolution of the species has steadily waned in recent years . . . .

The old view that men are chiefly the product of environment and training is completely reversed by recent studies in heredity. 2

Conklin states the situation very succinctly. Within a few years the genetic method in biology was generally accepted. In the next section we will see how the ruling class provided the money for this. For now we wish to prove the extent of these notions in the sciences.

The *Bibliography of Eugenics* published in 1924 is a compilation of all the articles and books written on eugenics in the US, Great Britain, Germany and other countries. Almost ten thousand articles and books had been published in this field. A sampling of the topics dealt with by eugenics reveals how many fields eugenics was beginning to overlap: Heredity and Evolution, Heredity of Human Traits, Inheritance of Insanity, Alcohol and Heredity, The Heredity Factor in Crime, The Heredity Factor in Delinquency, Prostitution, Pauperism and Vagrancy, The Inheritance of Mental Ability, Urban Selection and Industrial Development on Racial Heredity, Immigration and Emigration as Related to Racial Changes, Negative Eugenics, Sterilization and the Birth Rate. These were only a few of the topics covered by these "scientists." (Note the widespread use by these "scientists" of genetic explanations for varied social problems.)

Another indication of how widespread these genetic theories were is contained in the Report of the Committee on Formal Education of the American Eugenics Society, 1928. The purpose of the committee was to investigate how widespread the teachings of eugenics and genetics were at the college level in the US. A questionnaire was sent to all colleges in the US (527 in 1928) and the data was based on the number of responses (499).

**THIS REPORT SHOWED THAT 376 COLLEGES (75%) offered courses in eugenics and genetics and 20,000 students were enrolled in these courses each semester. At that time this was one student**

in every thirty. If this ratio were used today almost 250,000 students would be studying eugenics.

This, it can be readily seen, is a considerable number and indicates that about one in thirty of the total enrollment is being brought into contact with the genetic point of view which underlies improvement of the race by biological means.<sup>3</sup>

One of the questions used by the committee was "Should these subjects (genetics and eugenics) be required for the following students?":

	All Biology Students			Sociology			Medical		
	Y	N	I	Y	N	I	Y	N	I
Genetics	77	10	13	72	11	17	71	11	18
Eugenics	61	16	23	73	8	19	68	12	20
	Legal			All Students					
	Y	N	I	Y	N	I			
	44	19	37	22	37	41			
	53	16	31	26	32	42			

It is interesting to note that the feeling about students of sociology and medicine is just as strong as is that about biological students themselves. This will undoubtedly mean that as time goes on an increasing number will believe in the requirement of one or both of these subjects for law and all other students. Once the value of the genetic method of analysis is admitted in sociology and in medicine it is logically only a question of time and clear thinking before its value to all educated people is definitely recognized. The rate at which the percentage of those who believe in requiring genetics and eugenics for all students increases will be a fair measure of the progress of the scientific point of view in helping us to face our problems of higher education and race improvement. <sup>4</sup>

According to this committee the most popular textbook used in genetics and eugenics courses was Genetics and Eugenics by W.E. Castle of Harvard, professor of genetics and research associate at the Carnegie Institution for Experimental Evolution.

**THE FIRST THREE SECTIONS OF THIS BOOK** deal with some of the standard topics covered in genetics courses today: inheritance of eye color, color of fur of animals and so on. The fourth section of this book applies these principles to humans. On the first page of this section "Dr." Castle compares race horses (fast) to draft horses (strong) and points out that mating these two breeds leads to having horses that are neither

fast nor strong. At this point our distinguished "scientist" concludes:

For such reasons wide racial crosses among men seem on the whole undesirable. There is no question about the physical vigor of the offspring, provided the parents are free from disease. The statement is often made that mixed races are feeble, but if this is ever true it is not because they are mixed, but because the specimens that mix are feeble. Mating out of the race when mates within the race are available is *prima facie* evidence that the individual so mating is a social outcast. It is not surprising that the progeny of such individuals are sometimes feeble....

All this we as individuals learn from our mothers and fathers, or in the schools, the churches, the markets or in the courts of justice. Wide racial crosses unsettle the foundations of these agencies of enlightenment....

Such crosses, therefore, as of Europeans with Asiatics or Africans cannot be recommended as agencies for the improvement of the human race.<sup>5</sup>

In a later section of the book "Dr." Castle makes a Herrnsteinian analysis of intelligence:

A high order of intelligence is usually conceded on historical grounds to the Mongolian race in view of the advanced civilizations in China, Japan and Central America previous to contact with Europeans. The early civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt are claimed for the white races including in that category Sumerians, Semites and Hamites. The race charged with incompetency on the ground that its historic achievements in civilization are small is the negro....

The authors conclude that 'on the average the browns are intermediate in (physical) proportions and mental capacities between blacks and whites.' This suggests a blending (multiple factor) mode of intelligence as regards both physical and mental traits.<sup>6</sup>

These racist ideas, then, were very widespread within the academic community by the 1920's. Before we go into why these "theories" became dominant then and who started the ball rolling, we will briefly touch on the other factors affecting social thought—social Darwinism and the psychoanalytic method of Freud.

Briefly stated, social Darwinism is the application of the theories of Charles Darwin (evolution) to society. The survival of the fittest was one of the main theories of Darwin and when applied to society it turned out to be a vicious attack on working people.

If the least fit people were the poorest, suffered the most disease, had higher infant mortality rates, starved to death in famines, were unemployed and so on, then there's nothing to get upset about. After all, say the social Darwinists, that's the best they could do. And the ruling class, people like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, were on top because they were superior, the most fit. Furthermore, any attempt to interfere in this process, this "basic evolutionary process," would be detrimental to the "human race" (read: the ruling class) and hence should not be made. This may be a simplified version of social Darwinism, but that was the essence of this theory. It was used to justify whatever happened to working people—after all, it was "nature's way." Social Darwinism and the eugenic outlook had a great deal in common with each other—workers were "inferior" and the bosses were "superior."

**HERBERT SPENCER WAS ONE OF THE "giants" in this field.** He did his writing in the late 19th century but was generally viewed as one of the great social scientists in the Darwinist field. His devotion to this theory and his devotion to racism are abundantly clear in any of his works. He also had a strong inclination against "inter-marriage." He viewed this as detrimental to the "evolution of the species":

It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant evidence, alike furnished by the inter-marriages of human races and by the inter-breeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree, the result is invariably a bad one in the long run.... When of different varieties of sheep there is an inter-breeding of those which are widely unlike, the result, especially in the second generation, is a bad one; there arises an incalculable mixture of traits, and what may be called a chaotic constitution. And the same thing appears among human beings—the Eurasians in India and the half-breeds in America show this. The physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in the course of many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaptation to its particular form of life, and every other variety similarly acquires its own adaptation. The consequence is that, if you mix the constitutions of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a constitution which is adapted to the mode of life of neither—a constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatsoever. By all means, therefore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.<sup>7</sup>

The third aspect of nativist thinking was

Freudian psychoanalysis. Freud studied middle class and aristocratic families of turn-of-the-century Vienna and "discovered" a large number of bizarre behaviors. Instead of attributing this to the decadent morals and standards of the ruling class, Freud developed a "gigantic" theory of psychoanalysis. Freud contended that the environment was only the backdrop against which an individual's drives and conscience fought it out. He viewed human behavior essentially to be dominated by this interaction rather than by the conflict of classes in society. By reducing human behavior to a conflict of drives, Freud tried to turn oppressed people away from class struggle. He tried to explain the oppression women faced under capitalism as "penis envy." Women were emasculated men. Of course Freud was raised as a high priest of the social sciences. After all, he did come up with a new twist on how working people and intellectuals were responsible for their own oppression!

These theories in social science dominated the outlook of one of the working class' potential allies, the intellectuals. With Freud's theory, women were relegated to an inferior position. With the social Darwinists workers' misery was justified as the natural outcome of the survival of the fittest. Finally, the eugenics approach sought to explain and prove on "scientific" grounds that various races were inferior genetically. With intellectuals won to this, the workers' ability to fight the rulers was weakened considerably.

### RESPONSE TO CLASS STRUGGLE

We have seen in a general way what eugenics was and its general influence on the social sciences. We will show in this section that the thrust of eugenics teachings was directed against immigrants and minorities in the US and similar groups in other countries (Jews in Germany, immigrants in Great Britain). These theories, furthermore, were used as a "scientific" battering ram against the massive struggles workers were waging around the world. The leadership of these rebellions came in this country from the immigrant working class. Class-conscious workers from scores of countries were united time and again in bitter, bloody struggles in the mines, the steel mills and the garment factories of this country. The struggles led by the immigrant workers were in the interest of all working people. The bosses' strategy had to be to divide the bulk of the workers (US born) from the class leaders (foreign born).

**EUGENICS WAS THE CROWN JEWEL OF** these racist, anti-working class theories. Eugenics developed a nationalist approach, that people of one race or nation had to prevent inter-marriage and association with other races, otherwise "deterioration" would set in. The statement that opened this article indicated that eugenics was concerned with the limits of immigration. The eugenicists played on this point with a vengeance.



George Meany, boss of  
the AFL-CIO—  
Survival of the fittest?

By 1920 there were 13,000,000 immigrants who, along with their 30,000,000 children, formed the main force in coal, steel, clothing, metal mining, construction, marine and manufacture. Of these immigrants, 14,500,000 came to the US between 1901 and 1920, the rest being born here. In the **Abstract of the Report of Immigrants in Cities** (1911, United States Immigration Service) we find that male foreign workers made \$385/year; foreign-born women made \$219/year, whereas US-born workers made \$533/year and \$275/year respectively. Both the immigrants and the blacks were a source of super-profits for the ruling class. This source of profits for the rulers has always led them to spread racist theories to justify paying some people less than others for the same work. The eugenicists had this special role to play.

The 1905 Revolution in Russia, the "Boxer" Rebellion in China, the liberation movements in Cuba and the Phillipines leading to the Spanish-American War and other revolts around the world had the rulers scared. The influx of immigrants from Europe, Central America and Asia, many of them participants in struggles there, caused the bosses to take drastic measures. These immigrants organized the unions, supported their comrades overseas, and, generally, led the class struggle in the US.

An example of the leadership the immigrant workers gave to the class struggle comes from William Z. Foster's book, **American Trade**

#### Unionism:

In the big Lawrence textile strike of 1912 it was the immigrant workers, a score of different nationalities, who were the backbone of the great struggle. Likewise, in the packinghouse movement of 1917-21, the whole thing centered around the foreign born, mostly Slavs. They organized the unions in the first place (the Americans quite generally refusing to come in until after a settlement had been secured), and they were the ones who made the final desperate fight. The same experience was seen in the great 1918-1919 organizing campaign and strike in the steel industry. Although in some mills there were as many as 54 nationalities, they joined hands readily and formed trade unions . . . .

The majority of the membership of the United Mine Workers of America are foreign born. Indeed, one can search the world's labor movement in vain to find a union with a more valiant record. (1922)8

**From the 1880's to the 1920's, the history of the American working people was one of struggle. The unionization of the mines, the railroads, the packinghouses, steel and textile industries was a bloody chapter in workers' history. The IWW was formed in 1905 and many of the strikes it led were very violent. Many of the IWW-ers were executed by**

the bosses. When the US, Great Britain, France and other countries sent troops into Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, many workers refused to fight. Members of the British Parliament declared that if their troops weren't withdrawn from Russia, there would be a revolution in England. Working class solidarity was developing on an international scale. In 1919 the Seattle General Strike sent cries of "revolution" across the country and every immigrant was seen as a communist. Throughout all of this the bosses were laying the foundations for a tidal wave of racism and nationalism—much of it done in the name of science.

**THESE IDEAS WERE PUSHED IN A MILLION** different ways—the media, the schools, by "scientists" and by right-wing organizations. The Ku Klux Klan was revived in Atlanta in 1915. The American Legion was organized in Paris in 1919 by some generals and was funded by David Goodrich of the rubber family, by R.D. Patterson, radio executive, by Franklin D'Olier, insurance company official and by Devereau Milburn, wealthy aristocrat.<sup>9</sup> The "scientists" gave an air of legitimacy to this racist movement.

The rulers knew this. They knew it here. They knew it in Great Britain and Germany. How else could people be won to such things as the Palmer raids? Three thousand of the ten thousand people arrested in the raids were immigrants. How else could people allow the system of peonage (the practice where employees could not quit a company regardless of the wages and working conditions, otherwise they would be deported) to exist in **all but two states** in the US in 1910? How does a ruling class do this except by the careful build-up in every possible way of racist ideology among the masses?

The eugenicists had this role to play and they filled it well. We have already seen how extensive their teachings were in the US by the 1920's. But we haven't seen who started this, who funded these "theoreticians," and some of the direct consequences of their racist theories. The next section shows the direct intervention of the ruling class in the creation of the eugenics movement.

### **THE RULING CLASS STARTS THE BALL ROLLING**

In this section we will prove that the highest ruling class families directly participated in the organization of the eugenics movement. By 1914, the US was considered the world's leader in this movement.

### **THE CARNEGIE FAMILY**

In 1904 Andrew Carnegie, steel magnate (see table I for his holdings) organized the Carnegie Institution for Experimental Evolution in Washington, D.C. He placed Dr. C.B. Davenport in charge of this outfit. This was the first eugenics organization in the US. It conducted studies along

both the "birth deformities" line and the social problems line. An example of Davenport's attitude towards social problems is indicated by the following statement concerning intermarriage:

To sum up, then, miscegenation (intermarriage) commonly spells disharmony—disharmony of physical, mental and temperamental qualities, and this means also disharmony with the environment. A hybridized people are a badly put together people and a dissatisfied, restless, ineffective people. One wonders how much of the exceptionally high death rate in middle life in this country is due to such bodily maladjustments; and how much of our crime and insanity is due to mental and temperamental friction.<sup>10</sup>

**NOT A WORD ABOUT THE CRIMES AGAINST** workers committed by Carnegie and his goons. How many steelworkers were killed in the strike at Carnegie's Homestead Steel? Was that due to workers' genes or Carnegie's guns? Carnegie handpicked Davenport, a distinguished "scientist," to head up his Institute on Experimental Evolution. Davenport, from the earliest days of the Institute, pushed the theory that social problems were due to people's genes.

### **THE HARRIMAN FAMILY**

The next big step taken by the ruling class was in 1909. The infamous Eugenics Records Office at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, was organized. Mrs. E.H. Harriman (see table I for Harriman family holdings), the wife of the "human dynamo," Edward H. Harriman, funded the Eugenics Records Office from the start. The Records Office was one of the biggest centers of eugenics research in the world. It continued operations until 1953. During its 54 years of operations, the Eugenics Records Office was instrumental in getting sterilization laws on the books in many states. They helped build up these racist ideas around the world by holding international conferences. They published a journal, **The Eugenic News**, which carried research articles, announcements, appeals for more laws on sterilization and so on.

The effects of the Eugenics Records Office were felt especially in the field of sterilization. By 1930, 24 states had laws on the books calling for sterilization of criminals, "feeble-minded" (low IQ), insane and others. By Jan. 1, 1930, 10,877 people had been sterilized under these laws. All of them were supposedly "defective." Let's examine this more closely. (See table II for states having sterilization laws by 1930.)

The state of California by Jan. 1, 1927 had sterilized 3,951 people. Of these 61% came from immigrant families. (Table II) The basis for determining mental capability was the IQ test. Sounds familiar, doesn't it? The IQ test has been shown by many researchers to be a measure of social background rather than a measure of "innate" abilities. The theories proposed by Arthur

**Jensen and Richard Herrnstein lead straight to sterilization and worse for minorities.**

**THE EUGENICS RECORDS OFFICE IN 1917**  
was handed over to the Carnegie family:

On Dec. 14, the trustees of the Carnegie Institution of Washington accepted from Mrs. E. H. Harriman the gift of the Eugenics Records Office with its land, buildings and records, valued at over \$200,000 and a fund of \$300,000 of which the income will be available for the maintenance. By this wise and generous gift the future of the Eugenics Records Office becomes established. The relations of the Station for Experimental Evolution and the Eugenics Records Office, always close, become still more intimate. The name of Mrs. E.H. Harriman is to be always associated with that of the Office as its founder.<sup>12</sup>

#### **THE KELLOGG FAMILY**

Another ruling class family involved in the Eugenics movement was the Kellogg family of Battle Creek, Michigan. Dr. J.H. Kellogg founded The Race Betterment Foundation in 1913.<sup>13</sup> This foundation called the First National Conference on Race Betterment in 1914 at Battle Creek. According to the proceedings of that conference its purpose was "to assemble evidence as to the extent to which degenerative tendencies are actually at work in America and to promote agencies for Race Betterment."<sup>15</sup>

Among the topics discussed at this conference were the usual ones of birth defects and insanity. In addition a section of the conference was devoted to the relation between eugenics and immigration. From professor Robert Ward of Harvard, a participant in the conference, we find a statement concerning the need to watch out for the immigrants who were leading the class struggle in the US:

A policy of national eugenics, for the United States, as for every other nation, means the prevention of the breeding of the unfit native. But for us it means far more than that. For us it means, in addition, the prevention of the immigration of the unfit alien.<sup>16</sup>

To show just how much influence this movement was beginning to have in the United States we publish the officers and central committee of the Race Betterment Foundation. (See table V)

A scanning of this list of officers should be a lesson to us that these theories of race inferiority don't stay within the walls of the "academy" but potentially affect every one of us. How often do senators, governors, doctors, professors, teachers, religious leaders, judges, welfare bosses and civic leaders get together to discuss academic subjects? What influences over health care for immigrants and minorities did the Presi-

dent of the AMA have? The AMA licenses all of the medical schools in the US and usually lobbies in Congress against health care reform bills. What effects did this conference have on the State Board of Charities of New York or the Chicago Public Schools? The outlook of these people was that immigrants were inferior, that they probably shouldn't have been born! Can you imagine sending your kids to a school where the teachers thought you were so inferior you shouldn't have been born? The day-to-day oppression that immigrant and minority families faced was intensified by conferences of this type, conferences called directly by the ruling class.

**We are not exaggerating when we say that the outlook of these people was that the children of immigrants, minorities and poor workers in general should not have been born. Here is an example of that racist, anti-working class outlook. The following resolution was passed by the Association of Elementary Principals of New York State in their convention in December, 1934 (well after Hitler took power in Germany):**

**Whereas, we, as principals, endeavor to bring about a closer union between schools and local social service agencies and we study the effect of welfare work on the indigent child and do all within our power to preserve in him a healthy attitude of mind;**

**Be it resolved, that the secretary write our State and Federal legislators, urging them to give serious study to the matter of sterilization of criminals and low mentality classes with a view to future action.<sup>17</sup>**

#### **THE RULERS ALL JOIN IN**

According to the Eugenic News of 1916 the Eugenics Records Office formed the Committee of Eugenics of the National Committee on Prisons. One of its first meetings was held in the home of Mrs. E.H. Harriman. Included in this were Police Commissioner Arthur Woods of New York City and Dr. C.B. Davenport, representing the Carnegie interests. They decided to formulate a study that would prove a relationship exists between heredity and crime. This would be carried out through the Psychopathic Laboratory of the New York City Police Headquarters. The Harriman family agreed to fund the program at the start. Once this idea caught on, others in the ruling class joined in.

Funds have been subscribed by Andrew Carnegie, F.W. Vanderbilt, Daniel Guggenheim, Mortimer L. Schiff, William Rockefeller and Mrs. George B. Alexander for the support of the Psychopathic Laboratory at the NYC police headquarters, thus making it possible the continuance of this important work.<sup>18</sup>

These people represent some of the most powerful interests in the ruling class. William Rockefeller was the brother of John D. Rockefeller.

E.W. Vanderbilt was the son of Cornelius Vanderbilt, railroad magnate. Andrew Carnegie was the big steel baron who later sold his holdings to Morgan. Mortimer L. Schiff was a member of the Schiff family of New York, founders of the New York Post and partners in Kuhn, Loeb and Co., a big brokerage firm. Mrs. George B. Alexander's husband was on the board of trustees of New York University and several theological seminaries.

The top rulers in the US stepped in directly to fund a study whose sole goal was to prove that people who rebel against the system are genetically deficient. By this logic, all the people arrested in the Palmer raids in 1920 were crazy, genetic misfits. A very handy "theory" for the bosses!

Finally, in the previously mentioned report from the Committee on Formal Education of the American Eugenics Society, we find further ruling class involvement. A member of this committee was Anne Haven Morgan, daughter of J.P. Morgan. She was a member of several organizations at that time besides the American Eugenics Society: the National Civic Federation, American Women's Association, American Committee for a Devastated France.19

**THE DATA SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. THE** top ruling class families in the US—the Rockefellers, Morgans, Harrimans, Carnegies, Vanderbilts, Guggenheims, Schiffs and Kelloggs—directly launched the eugenics movement, funded the laboratories, influenced college education, helped publish journals and lent this racist pseudoscience an air of respectability. Their international contacts helped influence rulers in other countries also. This point should not be underestimated. Along with Great Britain, where a similar movement was developing, founded by Sir Francis Galton (an idol of Richard Herrnstein's), the US rulers helped call international conferences on eugenics. Germany, which we'll examine in some detail later in this article, was behind the US in the "science" of eugenics. The laws passed in the US, based to a large extent on eugenic justification, were all passed before other countries passed theirs. The US ruling class set the example for the rest of the world. Much of what happened in Nazi Germany in terms of the race inferiority theories is, ultimately, due to the US rulers. (See table I for holdings of the other ruling class families mentioned in this section.)

#### **THE INTERNATIONAL EUGENICS MOVEMENT**

We went into considerable detail in the last section about the status of the eugenics movement in the US. In this section we will indicate the scope of the eugenics movement around the world, concentrating on England and Germany. The US, Great Britain and Germany were considered the "big three" of eugenics research and practices. Hitler's rise to power was a ruling class' first full-blown attempt to prepare a nation for all-out imperialist war through race superiority propaganda.

#### **ENGLAND**

Almost a century ago, Sir Francis Galton of England was beginning to develop some theories of inheritance that were racially based. Galton's progress in this field went slowly and few people picked up on his "teachings" right away. As a matter of fact, the Royal Society of London (comparable to our modern day professional societies) as late as 1900 did not recognize eugenics as a valid scientific field of study. Undeterred, Galton and his followers struck out on their own and founded the Eugenics Education Society of London. Galton was the honorary president (he was almost 90 years old by then). By 1914 the Royal Society changed its line about genetic theories and in the statement that follows (given in an address to the Royal Society in 1914), we can see how extensive this movement had become. The speaker is Dr. C.W. Saleeby, a leader of the Eugenics Society in Great Britain:

The next record I want to refer to is the development of eugenics on its popular side. It is astonishing how many societies have been formed in many parts of the world. I do not say that the activities of these societies, or that all the things said in discussion at all the meetings of all those societies are invariably based upon the sound knowledge that would lead to desirable practice, but any rate the matter is being discussed. The first society to be founded for the service of race hygiene was in Germany, I believe (The German Society for Race Hygiene), but shortly thereafter the first society with the title of "eugenics" in the name was founded in England—the Eugenics Education Society—and after a period of characteristic caution Mr. Galton became its honorary president. . . There is now a society in Ireland, there is a society in New South Wales, in New Zealand, a very important body (to which I will refer to later) in the United States of America (Eugenics Records Office), the society I have already mentioned in Germany, the Societe Francaise d'Eugenique in Paris, societies or committees in Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, and in all quarters of the globe, north and south of the equator, there are bodies of persons who are interested in this matter. Some important publications are also to be had. In England we have the **Eugenics Review**, started in April, 1909. Sir Francis Galton contributed to its pages the last of his papers on this subject, which he had begun to discuss as far back as 1865 in his article in MacMillan's Magazine on the "Heredity of Ability." Then the French publish every month their journal **Eugenique**, which contains the reports of the meetings of their interesting society. The Eugenics Education Society inaugurated and carried through with remarkable success the First International Eugenics Congress in London in 1912. The

papers are to be obtained under the title of "Problems in Eugenics" . . . The second International Congress will be held in New York in September, 1915. 20

Saleeby summarizes the status of the movement by 1914. That was the same year that Kellogg called his Race Betterment Foundation conference in the US. In the same speech Saleeby gives his recognition to the "very important body in the US" and also tells us that the US had already taken the lead.

. . . but the time is coming when we shall have to endow Chairs of Human Genetics, for eugenic purposes, in Cambridge and elsewhere. The Americans have gone very rightly ahead in this respect; I suppose largely because they were unhampered by the development of the subject. They had known nothing of that personal allegiance to Galton which all of us must feel who have been in the presence and the confidence of that noble man, and, therefore, it was easy for them to make a fresh beginning and they did so on Mendelian lines. There already existed the American Eugenics Association which published the *Journal of Heredity* and founded in 1910 its Eugenics Records Office. In 1910 they set to work to study eugenics on Mendelian lines. A munificent lady, Mrs. Harriman, has given very large sums of money, and the work is done on a scale and with the resources which have no parallel whatever either in this country or in any other part of the world.<sup>21</sup>

By 1914 the eugenics movement had already encompassed all of Europe. The societies were still small, but their impact was starting to be felt. While the World War devastated most of Europe, the eugenics societies in the US and to a lesser extent in England, were able to forge ahead in their work. The European societies didn't pick up steam again until 1917-18 when the Bolshevik Revolution broke out, and the threat of revolution in Germany had brought the rulers of all the capitalist countries to see the need for this racist propaganda. So it was begun in earnest.

Throughout the 1920's and 30's the program of the eugenicists was very clear. They wanted to insure that their theories were taught in colleges all around the globe. We saw how that was carried out in the US. In England endowments were given to universities like Oxford and Cambridge for "Chairs" in eugenics. Curricula were set up under the direction of the "chair" and students began to study eugenics. In Germany a similar process was being carried out by the Race Hygiene group.

**The second part of the eugenicists' program was to get laws passed concerning sterilization of various "classes" of people—"defectives," "criminals," "low IQ's" and so on. To do this they decided to convince the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals of their racist, anti-working class**

propaganda. In addition to the college teachings, the eugenicists went on speaking tours to build support for their proposed laws. The Eugenics Society (formerly the Eugenics Education Society), for example, gave public lectures every couple days for a period of almost twenty years. In a typical year, Dec. 1934 to Dec. 1935, the Eugenics Society gave 192 public lectures to such groups as women's groups, nurses' groups, equivalents of PTA's, Labor party officials, doctors' groups, welfare workers, lawyers and so on. At approximately half of these meetings, the Eugenics Society persuaded the people to pass resolutions calling for the sterilization of various types of people. We saw an example of this in the US when the New York State Elementary Principals called for sterilization of "criminals and low mentality classes".<sup>22</sup> In addition to these lectures, the Eugenics Society of England also put up booths and displays at every possible fair and convention in England. In a typical year up to a million people came into contact with these eugenicists. After 20 years of public agitation around these racist anti-working class theories, the working class' ability to fight the rulers was considerably weakened.

## GERMANY

"In Germany the situation was pretty much the same as in England. We will touch briefly on the status of eugenics prior to 1933 and go into considerable detail of Hitler's programs, their parallels to the US then and their parallels to Jensen's and Herrnstein's theories.

Germany had a lot of catching up to do after World War I. Much of Germany had been devastated in the war. The Versailles Treaty handcuffed Germany's rulers for awhile. The threat of revolution was a constant danger to Krupp and Co. As in America and England, the German rulers gradually prepared the population for an attempt to "get back" what was "rightfully theirs." The population could be won to an imperialist war only if (1) the influence of the German Communist Party could be destroyed. A tidal wave of anti-communism was needed; (2) the working class and intellectuals could be won to something more than anti-communism. A divisive tactic was needed to divide people against themselves, to turn working people, small businessmen, and professionals away from class struggle, away from revolution and against their own real allies. Anti-Semitism in Germany was seized upon as the key ideological weapon in addition to anti-communism. The two were always intertwined by the ideologies of the German ruling class.

At the Nuremberg trials after World War II, much data were brought forward about how the Nazi Party was able to carry out such wide-scale racist, genocidal attacks on the Jews and, consequently, much of Europe. One point that was made over and over again was that German scholarship for well over a decade provided the ideas and techniques which justified the slaughter.



In addition to the Race Hygiene Society we mentioned before, there also existed in Germany the League for Race Betterment and Heredity Research. By 1931 these organizations had between them a couple of thousand members. In December of 1931 they merged to form the German Society for Race Hygiene (Eugenics). Many of the members of this organization went on to high positions in universities and the government after Hitler took power.

Scientists in other fields began flocking to Hitler's theories as early as 1924. Philipp Lenard (Nobel prize in physics) and Johannes Stark (Nobel prize in physics) were two scientists who joined Hitler's ranks. They published the following statement:

As recognized natural scientists we should like herewith announce in conformity with our innermost feeling that in Hitler and his comrades we discern the same spirit which we always looked for, strove toward, developed out of ourselves in our work that it might be deep going and successful; the spirit of clarity without residue, of honesty toward the outer world, and simultaneously of inner unity, the spirit which hates any compromise because of its insincerity. This is exactly the spirit which we early recognized in the

Faraday. We admire and adore it likewise in Hitler, Ludendorf and their comrades; we recognize in them our nearest relatives in spirit... It is clear, complete personalities... that we wish to have, just as Hitler has. He and his comrades in struggle appear to us like God's gifts out of a time that has long passed in which races still were purer, men were still greater, minds less deceived.<sup>23</sup>

In 1935 the Lenard Institute at the University of Heidelberg was founded in honor of this Hitler lover. At that founding ceremony, Stark, Leonard's co-worker, gave a long speech pointing out the differences between "Jewish" physics and "German" physics. In 1936 Leonard was awarded the State Science Prize by Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's chief ideologue.

**WERNER HEISENBERG, NOBEL PRIZE WINNER** in physics, was another famous scientist who sold out to Hitler. He was so sold on the master race drivel that he gladly headed up Hitler's atomic bomb project. Werner von Braun, now the big US missile man, was another scientist who then gladly sold his services to the "master" race.

Philosophers also joined the ranks. Martin Heidegger chimed in with his own praises of



One result of  
eugenics....

Hitler:

To know means to us: to have power over things in reason and to be ready to act. . . . The National Socialist revolution is not merely the taking over of an already existing power in the state by another party sufficiently large enough to do so, but this revolution means a complete revolution of our German existence . . . . Heil Hitler. 24

The list of professors in various fields who in the 20's and early 30's pushed Hitler's theories would fall into several chapters. These professors accelerated their racist propaganda in the early 30's. They did not limit themselves to talk. Nazi-led students clashed with communist students, Jews, liberal students and professors and anyone else who disagreed. Practically every day at the University of Berlin the Nazis busted up classes taught by Jews and leftist professors. By 1933 the Nazis and their backers had smashed most of the opposition on college campuses and the complete "Nazification" of the schools was begun.

Several groups were formed to take over all aspects of academic life. The National Socialist German Students Union, the National Socialist German University Instructors Union, the National Socialist Cultural Union, National Socialist Youth and other groups were organizations that propagated the race inferiority, ultra-nationalist theories.

The high priests of Nazi propaganda had been around a long time. Nazi theory was developed initially by a few "stars" such as Alfred Rosenberg, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Dietrich Eckhart and Hitler. These men, around the early 20's, first developed the core of Nazi theory which was picked up by the other professors mentioned above. Rosenberg was the kingpin for racist theory, and in 1934 he was appointed Commissioner of the Fuhrer for the supervision of the total intellectual and philosophical training of the National Socialist German Workers Party. All Party propaganda on race came through him.

The leading eugenicists of Germany were people like Eugen Fischer, Ernst Ruden and Otmar von Verschner. Von Verschner was appointed director of the Institute of Hereditary Biology and Race Relations at the University of Frankfurt. He declared Hitler the first statesman to recognize genetics as a necessity for the state. Ruden was a professor of Psychiatry at the University of Munich and author of "Genetics and Eugenics in the Folk State." He was a key man in developing the German laws on race segregation in jobs and laws on sterilization, marriage and so on. Fischer was the first Nazi rector of the University of Berlin and also an author on eugenics. Their textbooks were used widely for years both before and after Hitler's rise to power.

**THE EUGENICISTS OPENED UP BREEDING** institutes, heredity institutes and other departments within universities. By 1936, eugenics,

racism and anti-communism were so widespread that the **Eugenics Review** in England was forced to comment:

Present day Germany must be regarded as a vast laboratory which is the scene of a gigantic eugenics experiment. It would be quite wrong and quite unscientific to decry everything which is now going on in that country. There is, as a fact, much carried out in Germany which deserves our approbation. The authorities there are in the position of being able to carry out the advice of their scientific advisors. If Dr. Frick, the Minister of the Interior, with the approval of the Head of State, desires to enforce certain social legislation, he has only to issue the order and the thing is done. How different from us! Why some of us are not even dictators in our own houses! In Germany the most advanced eugenics legislation is carried through without difficulty.25

What was some of this social legislation?

- German Sterilization Law, 1935. In one year 56,000 people were sterilized.

- German Marriage Law, 1935. This law prohibited marriage between Aryans and Jews.

- Eugenic Qualification Law, 1933. Jews were excluded from state service jobs such as Post Office, State Bank, Railway and all civil services.

It is important to note again that the equivalents of these laws were on the books in the US (sterilization, inter-marriage). Also "legal discrimination" in the US kept blacks out of skilled and professional jobs. Furthermore, the segregation system, *de facto* or otherwise, was protected by law in the US. The ghettos of Nazi Germany have their counterparts today in the big cities of the US. For many years blacks were denied even voting privileges, just as the Jews were denied eventually in Germany. We should never forget that Germany and the US had a great many parallels in this racist propaganda. Dr. Saleeby said in 1914 that the US had the most "advanced" eugenics apparatus of any country in the world.

In summary, the eugenics movements in Germany after World War I supplied the Nazis with key ideological weapons. It wasn't second-rate scholars who joined in this either. The Nazis started out with their own group (Rosenberg, Chamberlain et al) but were joined by numbers of people of high academic repute (Lenard, Heidegger, Fisher, Ruden et al). As time went on the bulk of university scholars, all the scholarly journals and periodicals, all of the publishing houses were entirely "Nazified." No discipline of science that could be of use failed the Nazis: physicists, anthropologists, biologists, engineers, sociologists, psychiatrists and others joined Hitler's ranks.

**THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT** if a strong life and death battle had been waged world-wide against these racist theories back in

the period from Carnegie's Experimental Evolution lab through the 20's and 30's, then Hitler and the Nazis Party could have been stopped dead.

## BIRTH CONTROL AND POPULATION CONTROL

One aspect of this movement that was popular in the 1930's in the US and other countries was birth control. Birth control was pushed as an alternative to sterilization by some eugenicists. Its goal was the same as sterilization: limit the births of socially "undesirable" people.

The statistics used by eugenicists that pushed birth control were those that indicated that (a) the birth rate for socially "desirable" elements was declining and (b) the birth rate for socially "undesirable" elements was rising. A great deal of data was collected to show how different class birth rates were rising or falling. Propaganda was pushed decrying the "devaluation of the gene pool" as an excuse for more stringent birth control and sterilization.

In a "A Eugenics Program for the United States" published by the American Eugenics Society in Jan. 1936, we find:

What now must be learned is that a disproportionately low birthrate in socially adequate homes, and a disproportionately high birthrate in socially inadequate homes is an adverse social force, working against all other efforts to improve society, and that it is undoubtedly in many cases a force opposed to biological improvements as well.

...In the period of selective decline in population which we are now entering, the greatest effort of applied eugenics must be to increase the proportion of large families among people who provide homes fitted for the rearing of children.

...It would seem a truism that as few children as possible should be brought up in homes where there is a bad physical environment, improper parental care and interest, seriously retarded or handicapped parents, or other factors which make for an unhappy childhood and a poor development of the personality. The large families which often occur in such homes consist usually, after the first two or three, of unwanted children, the product of ignorance or of isolation, or of that hopelessness which is engendered by tenements or slums, whether urban or rural. 26

In previous issues of CHALLENGE and PL Magazine we have pointed out how the population control "experts" always pushed anti-people theories as a solution to the world's ills. Never have these "experts" condemned capitalism as the cause of misery. For them, it's all due to "too many" people. We agree only in one small way with these people: the world is overpopulated with

bosses. This menace can be eliminated!

The American Eugenics Society in the 1930's waged a national campaign to get Congress to adopt birth control legislation along the general lines outlined above. This movement was intertwined with their efforts to get laws passed on sterilization in the various states. Although this propaganda was pushed a lot it didn't gain the momentum needed to get national birth control laws passed. One reason for this was that at the time "science" had not yet come up with a reliable birth control device. Today science has made that a thing of the past. In the last section of this article we will see one of the "advances" modern science has come up with in this area.

## LESSONS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

What can we learn from the practice of the international communist movement in the struggle against racist ideology? What did the communist parties of these countries do in the fight against racist ideology?

The CP's of the large capitalist countries such as Germany and the US had built up quite a large following among the working class. In the US much of the organization of the CIO was done under the leadership of the CP. Everywhere the CP's were leading huge organizing drives throughout the 20's and 30's. The ruling class was very anxious about this fact and sought to destroy the communists and the working class movement they built. When the Depression hit, the workers and communists built even bigger struggles—many of them violent. Many workers died before the bosses' guns, and still the giant corporations like GM and US Steel were finally organized into unions. These were great victories for the working class.

But what of the fight against racism, both the ideology and the brutal consequences? This, it turns out, was a serious weakness in the communist movement. Racism was not seen as a key fight, the life and death fight it really was. Some examples from Communist literature of the time will show that, despite all of the good things the CP's did, this was one arena they did not fight in very sharply.

In June of 1935 in the theoretical journal of the CPUSA an analysis of fascism was made. For whatever its merits, the article pointed out eight aspects of fascism, only one of which even remotely resembled racism. Point #7 was stated as "the development of chauvinism to its highest expression, in other words, militarization to the highest degree in preparation for imperialist war."<sup>27</sup> When the author does talk about racism it was viewed as a secondary aspect of fascism since anti-Semitism did not make it very big in Italy.

In Dimitroff's speech to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International his analysis of fascism also touches only on the extreme form of nationalism that the fascists pushed.



'Ach-That's 100 less for the ovens...'

As late as 1938, five years after Hitler took power, the German Communist Party did not see anti-Semitism as a key struggle, given the serious position they found themselves in. In "An Analysis of the Situation" by the Central Committee of the German CP, there is no discussion of anti-Semitism despite the fact that many of their own members were Jews.<sup>28</sup>

**IT WASN'T UNTIL AROUND 1937-38 THAT THE CPUSA** began a struggle against racist ideology on the college campuses. Articles were written in their theoretical journal, *Communist*, exposing the racist use of IQ tests and how unscientific they were. Also at that time the CPUSA was just starting to organize professionals. Within a year of the start of this effort the CP forces managed to get many professional organizations to condemn the use of IQ tests, to condemn the treatment of the Jews in Germany and the treatment of blacks in this country. These victories were important but the problem is that the CP could have done this kind of work at least 10 years before that. If they had they might have built a movement to dump these racists in the academic trashcan.

More examples could be brought to bear in this article, but the essential point comes from understanding the role that nationalism played in the international communist movement and in the old

CPUSA. In the US the fight against racism was viewed for a long time as the "Negro Question." Black members of the CP organized separate black organizations when they felt it was necessary. This was especially true in the South. The CP's line was "self-determination for the Negro nation." Viewing the struggle against racism as a struggle separate, more or less, from the work of the rest of the Party led the CP into a blind alley. The membership of the CP was won to the view that the fight against racism was essentially up to black workers, and students and whites would play only a minor role.

This explains to some extent why these theories were not opposed on college campuses sooner by the CP. In the analysis of the student movement written by the CP in 1937 in *Communist* there is no mention of the struggle against racist ideology at all, even though there is a section on curriculum and the role of communists. The only section dealing with racism is the "Negro Student Movement." This movement was viewed as separate from the rest of the struggles on campuses. Black students were organized into separate organizations and the CP made no effort to unite the students into one student organization. Similarly in an article by William Z. Foster in 1938 in *Communist* there is little mention paid to this point. It was only towards the end of that year that the

**'CP began to shift into fighting racism on the campuses.29**

**IN OTHER ARTICLES WE HAVE POINTED** out some of the weaknesses of the CP and the international communist movement (PL Mag., vol. 8, #3; Road to Rev. III; the Great Flint Sit-Down Strike Against GM). This weakness in not fighting the ideological aspects of racism and other anti-working class theories should be included in our analysis.

The lesson we can draw from our comrades who went before us are that fighting for unity within the movement is critical, i.e. we must build integrated organizations of workers and students, and we cannot underestimate the power the bosses' racist ideology can have if it is not fought.

### **DISMANTLING THE EUGENICS MOVEMENT**

By the mid 1930's the rulers of the US and Great Britain realized that they were on a collision course with German imperialism and that an all out imperialist war was probable. Sooner or later the population would have to be mobilized for war. How best to do it?

The US rulers faced three choices in mobilizing the people against Hitler: (a) To be bigger and better racists than Hitler. The US rulers could try to push the race inferiority line even harder. (b) The rulers could claim that Hitler and fascism were an outgrowth of capitalism and imperialism, that the upcoming war was an imperialist war and that the only real solution was to destroy capitalism and establish socialism. (c) The rulers could claim that Hitler was against freedom, against the Jews, against democracy and "we" were for all these things. The first choice doesn't make sense. The second choice would be a disaster for the rulers. By elimination, the third alternative was seized upon.

Since Hitler's master race theories were not going to be defeated by more of the same, a systematic attack on eugenics and race inferiority theories would have to be launched.

The first attacks came when Harvard, originally a bastion for the eugenicists, started coming out with "environmentalist" theories. Professors published books attacking Nazi Germany and "master race" theories and generally stressing the fact that society plays the dominant role in human behavior.

As Harvard goes, so goes US bourgeois ideology. Gradually eugenics was no longer fashionable. Fewer and fewer books on this subject were published. Speakers were no longer requested by organizations. In England, when the war broke out in 1939, the Eugenics Society stopped all public lectures, most of its staff was let go and its journal, the Eugenics Review, became a shadow of its former self. Many of its pages were spent trying to attack Hitler on the one hand and defend eugenics from the environmentalists on the other. By 1940 most of its influence was gone.

**THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS EITHER CAME** up with new data or reanalyzed old data and came up with new conclusions. Ashley Montagu in his book **Race, Science and Humanity** discusses this trend. The illustration is useful because it again shows the rulers stepping in to change the course of social science. This is a brief summary of ch. 6 of the book:

A study was done in World War I on GIs, both black and white, from northern and southern states. All of them took the army's Alpha and Beta tests (roughly equivalent to IQ tests). The data, when analyzed in 1917, showed state for state that blacks were "inferior" to whites. Eugenicists used these tests to validate their theories.

In World War II when it was necessary to defeat Hitler, the rulers decided to roll back some of these theories. The Alfred Sloan Foundation (Alfred Sloan was the head of General Motors) financed a study to reanalyze the data. It was discovered that no one had bothered to compare the scores of northern blacks and southern whites. When this was done it was found that northern blacks were "superior" to southern whites. The second study concluded that the Alpha and Beta tests measured nothing but social background and opportunity and had nothing to do with innate factors. This sealed the fate for a lot of eugenicists. Either they would have to change their minds or they would be out of a job. The rulers were not going to fund this type of research any longer.

From the same data the rulers were able to draw two different conclusions depending upon what suited them at the time. The racists were no more scientific than Hitler. Today Jensen and Co. are veritable alchemists when it comes to juggling statistics, ignoring data that proves them wrong and so on. In the finest traditions of quackery, racism, and psuedoscience stand Jensen, Herrnstein and their followers.

By the end of World War II the once mighty, prestigious apparatus begun almost 50 years before by Galton, Carnegie, Harriman, Rockefeller, Morgan, Vanderbilt, Hitler, Krupp and Co. lay in the ashes of France, Germany, Italy, North Africa, Eastern Europe, Russia, China, Japan, Southeast Asia, the Philippines and other countries ravaged by imperialist armies. The Nuremberg Trials were "supposed" to prevent in the future any such occurrences. Genocide was officially "banned" by the United Nations. The rulers had gone to a lot of effort to discredit these theories.

In the next section we will show that the rulers are again building a new eugenics movement.

### **US RULERS LAUNCH A NEW EUGENICS MOVEMENT**

As most people know, Harvard is the educational bastion of the ruling class. It is the most prestigious school in North America and the names of its alumni reads like a Who's Who in the US. Many of the early eugenicists called Harvard their home. Today Harvard has helped the

homes' new racist movement.

First of all, the board of overseers includes some of the richest people in the US. Many of them are directly tied to the ruling class families that are educated at Harvard. (In the last issue of **PL Magazine**, vol. 8, #6, in the article "Who Rules America - II" we see that sitting on the board of overseers of Harvard are directors from the Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie and Brookings Foundations. The role of such foundations in influencing schools is explained in that article.)

One of their publications is the **Harvard Educational Review**, the most prestigious journal in the US in this field. The top journal in each field sets the "tone" for its respective field. Most of these journals get foundation money to stay afloat, since none carry any advertising. If Jensen's article had appeared in **Psychology Today** or some lesser journal, chances are that he would not have been elevated to the heights he has been already. Another fact to consider is that he wrote the longest article ever published in the **Review**. Furthermore this article was solicited by the **Review** editors.

Soon after publication a healthy storm of protest went up around Jensen's article. Who should interview him? **The New York Times**, of course. The nation's most influential newspaper (owned by the Morgan group,<sup>30</sup>) gave Jensen a big in-depth interview in which he further expounded his racist ideology. Then **Life Magazine**, biggest of the "picture" magazines, sought to create the image of Jensen as a tortured, dedicated scientist agonizing over a complex, explosive social issue. Pictures of Jensen playing his violin and such are enough to make you sick. **Life** is owned by the Rockefeller clan and is useful in spreading the bosses' ideology.<sup>31</sup>

The next step occurred when Harvard elevated **Richard Herrnstein** to chairman of the **Psychology Department**. Herrnstein's main contribution in life prior to this was training pigeons for use by the armed forces in Vietnam. Herrnstein is a pigeon man. Once he became chairman, he decided he was an expert on IQ. It seems that these pigeons went to his head. **Atlantic Monthly** published his article entitled "IQ." **Atlantic** is aimed at teachers, welfare workers, educators, college students, professionals and other intellectuals. A great many of the rulers' flunkies turn in articles to **Atlantic** (and journals like **Harper's**, **Saturday Review**) to explain to white collar workers and professionals what the ruling class is up to.

**SIMULTANEOUSLY, ANOTHER OF THE ILK** from Harvard began to achieve notoriety—**Edward Banfield**. He surfaced as an advisor to President Nixon on Urban Affairs. This was his reward for writing one of the most blatantly reactionary books on urban affairs since World War II. Banfield and his friends in the government, all of whom were picked by the ruling class, started to create the programs that Jensen's theories justify. As a matter of fact, Banfield is just one in a long line of government advisors who attack blacks for

their own oppression. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** from Harvard, of course, and **James Coleman** from Johns Hopkins University, wrote reports in the mid-60's that attacked the blacks for their own oppression. Banfield's thesis is that blacks and all "lower" class people are not "future-oriented," hence their poverty; Moynihan claimed it was black "matriarchal" family structure that was the cause; Coleman claimed the cultural surroundings of the home rather than lousy schools, were responsible for black children performing "poorly" in schools). All of these "scholars," we must repeat, came from top ruling class schools and were hand-picked for advisory roles in the government. Harvard was the key school, producing **Herrnstein**, **Banfield**, **Moynihan**, publishing **Jensen** and generally lending its prestige to them.

In addition to the advisors above, the government is starting to wade into this movement with alarming speed.

Forced labor programs for people on welfare and sterilization of welfare recipients have been proposed. The "scientific" underpinnings for this now, as in the past, come from the theories of race inferiority. All the laws on sterilization in the past required eugenic justification. **Jensen** and **Herrnstein** and their followers are filling that role today.

**David Rosenthal**, chairman of the **National Institute of Mental Health**, endorsed the state's statement signed by **Jensen** and **Herrnstein** in the **American Psychologist**, which called for their theories to be taught, funded, researched and believed! **NIMH** provides the funds for a lot of this research.

Prison systems have been used as a source of "guinea pigs" for Hitlerite experiments—lobotomies at **Vacaville State Prison** in California, for example. As in the early part of the century when **Rockefeller** and his associates in the eugenics movement tried to establish a link between heredity and crime, the rulers today seek to establish that prison rebels are freaks, psychopaths, monsters, nuts and homosexuals. **Rockefeller's** savage assault on **Attica State Prison** last year is an example of how the rulers treat rebels. Theories of race inferiority can only justify this kind of slaughter. The lobotomy programs are supported by such schools as **UCLA** and **UC San Francisco**. Both schools are state and federally supported.

**Saul Krugman** at **Willowbrook State Hospital** in **New York** has been injecting "mentally retarded" black, Puerto-Rican and white children with hepatitis to study the effects of the disease. He was voted "Doctor of the Year" by the **AMA**. His experiments rank alongside **Hitler's** in their brutality and racism.

The recently exposed syphilis experiments at **Tuskegee Institute** are actually remnants from the earlier period when eugenic experimentation was in vogue. No one has been indicted yet. Even though **Kennedy** plans to hold hearings on this, chances are no one will be sent to prison.

Senator **Edward Kennedy**, taking a different tack from the eugenicists, claims that minorities

are culturally "deprived." Kennedy wrote the forward to the book **Poverty and Mental Retardation, A Causal Relationship** by Rodger Hurley. He believes that culturally deprived people are retarded and that this can be changed by certain programs. The important point is that Kennedy does believe that blacks are inferior.

While it may be true that Jensen and Herrnstein were on the retreat due to the efforts of SDS and PLP across the country on college campuses and in professional societies, the rulers gave them time to regroup. We've had a misestimate of how extensive this retreat was. In the last PL Magazine we assumed they were on a retreat and that the rulers had made a slight tactical shift. We said that the bosses were now going to try pushing Christopher Jencks of Harvard as their new savior. It is true that the bosses will use Jencks, but to be realistic, theories that say it was all luck if a person is rich or poor will not bail the bosses out of hot water. Jencks stands on the fringe of the real movement that the bosses will be building up. Furthermore we misread Fortune Magazine (owned by Rockefeller) when we based our position on this. In the article in the Oct. 1972 issue of Fortune called "The Social Engineers Retreat Under Fire," they categorically state that the people retreating under fire are the social reformers of the 60's and the fire is coming from Jensen and Co. Fortune makes the following four points:

- 1) Efforts at social reform in the 60's have failed.
- 2) The reason for this failure was "the basic intractability of human nature."<sup>32</sup>
- 3) The correct theories of human behavior are those that subscribe to nativist thinking.
- 4) Jensen, Herrnstein, Banfield et al. represent the wave of the future in social science.

We should not be confused on this point. The rulers were giving these racists a chance to regroup after we had exposed them across the country. The statement in **American Psychologist** contains many prestigious names: Rosenthal of NIMH; Crick and Kendrew, Nobel prize winners in biochemistry; editors of two journals (**British Journal of Psychiatry** and **Journal of Clinical Psychology**); professors from 28 schools; chairmen of several departments on college campuses; and scholars from the US, Great Britain, France and Canada. This is an attempt to build a stronger movement. When Galton met opposition almost 70 years ago from the established professional organizations, he started his own eugenics group. If Jensen and his friends do not get more backing from professional groups and journals then they will set up their own organization to "study" this racist garbage. They have enough backing from the rulers to do it. The foundations can supply the money to do whatever they want. Since Rockefeller's foundation and holdings have been involved in this from the start that's one place to look for future steps.

Another ruling class trap is being laid for us in the field of sterilization. In the same issue of **Fortune** that talks about Jensen, there is an article on the Salk Institute of La Jolla, California. SI is a world renowned research institute and has several Nobel prize winners on its staff. It enjoys a close working relationship with the San Diego campus of the University of California which has outstanding departments in biology, chemistry and medicine. One of the research projects at SI is the permanent sterilization pill. Take one pill and you are sterilized for life. We can look to see this pill being tested on poor people somewhere in the world. India is one of the favorite places to try out such devices. Puerto Rico is another. Big city slums are a third. Since this pill acts on the pituitary gland, other risks in the experiment will probably be great.

With all the "talent" lying around at Salk why don't they make something more useful than sterilization pills? Well, sitting on the board of directors at SI are Dr. Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum and Edgar Bronfman, president of Distillers Corp. Seagram's Limited. Hammer has given over \$5 million to SI. These men are interested in this program as well as cancer research. Cancer is one of the last ruling class diseases that remains to be conquered by science. The cure will probably be too expensive for working people.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to the geneticists and the government advisors who are arguing about why blacks are inferior, there is another crew of cutthroats around that we had better watch for.

Paul Ehrlich and his **Zero Population Growth** movement are reminiscent of the eugenicists efforts in the 30's. A reading of any of Ehrlich's books shows his racism. In **Population Bomb**, ZPG's bible, Ehrlich goes into some detail about how disgusted he felt with so many people around him in India. He never shows any disgust for capitalism.

**OTHER CRIMINALS THAT WORKERS AND** students have to look out for are the Desmond Morris, Robert Ardrey types. Their view is that man is innately aggressive, and that war is inevitable as long as man is around. They have popularized a favorite ruling class theme: the people are to blame. Their books have sold in the millions and their influence cannot be underestimated. At some colleges their books are used more than Jensen and Banfield. This pseudoscientific junk should be exposed thoroughly.

#### WHY NOW?

Today the rulers of this country have just come through a very rough period of worldwide rebellion. Such heroic struggles as France in 1968. People's war in Vietnam, the Cultural Revolution in China, the strike wave in the capitalists countries, the worldwide anti-imperialist student movement, massive rebellions in US cities led by

black workers, growth of guerrilla movements in the Middle East, armed struggle in India, various wars of national liberation—this and much more rocked the capitalists. Things have cooled off a little bit. And even though class struggle always continues (Southern U. struggle, auto strikes) a temporary decline in its intensity has allowed the rulers an opportunity to regroup. The bosses will try to consolidate as much as they can in this period.

After World War II, when the rulers had dismantled their eugenics machinery, they couldn't go back to it right away. The war against Hitler had been too costly. People didn't want to hear those theories then. In the US the civil rights movement was starting to build up steam in the 1950's. Slowly but surely some concessions were won. Some of the old laws and customs in the south were beaten back. To be sure, this movement had a lot of weaknesses, but it did gain some victories against racism. By 1964 the black liberation movement had broken out into full scale rebellion in Harlem, soon to be followed by rebellions that could be stopped only by the US Army—and even there the bosses had a hard time.

This was more than the rulers could tolerate. Many students were being won to an anti-racist position—the exact opposite of 40 years ago when students were studying eugenics. A new attack had to be launched.

In one of the first reports of the Johnson administration on the black rebellions, Moynihan made his famous claim about black family structure. He was the first of the "new wave." Once a mood was created for this kind of attack, Jensen and Co. appeared on the scene with the real "scientific" explanation. There is every reason to believe that the rulers will not stop here, but plan to intensify this development. The threat of

**imperialist war, the possibility of another world-wide revolt and the growth of a new communist movement out of the ashes of the old one are factors that the rulers weigh heavily. Whether or not the bosses resort to fascism, racism will be the battering ram which loves to smash the working class and communists.**

**WE MUST LEARN FROM HISTORY, FROM OUR predecessors in the international communist movement. We must see these "theories" as a necessary ideological prop of imperialism. Nationalism feeds on the notion that one nation is "better" than another. Communists can't fight nationalism with more nationalism—it won't work. The key is the fight for unity among workers and students, unity among workers of all nations and races. We must defeat the anti-communist, anti-working class notion that people who rebel are "retarded," "genetically deficient" and a host of other classifications. People who revolt against tyranny, against oppression, against the capitalist class are the most class conscious people around—the most intelligent!**

If we and our allies raise the ante in this battle and continue to fight, we have the opportunity to smash this ruling class to bits. Through our efforts and the efforts of millions of class conscious workers we can throw off the crippling chains the ruling class has thrown on us: drugs, war, exploitation, nationalism, unemployment, terror, Nazi-like experimentation and a host of other crimes. Only a violent revolution that sees the dictatorship of one class, the working class, as its goal can junk racism. The Rockefellers and Co. can try all of their tricks and terror, but we in PLP and the working class are going to build the movement that dumps Rocky and racism into that famous trash heap of history.

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TABLE I

**Holdings of Ruling Class Families Involved in Eugenics (partial list)**

Rockefeller Family
Standard Oil
National City Bank
Anaconda Copper
Union Pacific Railroad
Harvard National Bank
/ dozens of other banks, industries and railroads
Harriman Family
National City Bank
Equitable Trust Co.
Union Pacific Railroad
Western Union Telegraph Co.
B&O Railroad
/ at least two dozen railroads and securities
Carnegie Family
Homestead Steel and other steel companies that formed US Steel
Carnegie Institutes of Pittsburgh and Washington
Schiff Family
Kuhn, Loeb and Co.
National City Bank
Union Pacific Railroad
Western Union
US Mortgage and Trust
New York Post
Morgan Family
US Steel
J.P. Morgan and Co.
AT&T
General Electric
Electric Bond and Share
United Power
Vanderbilt Family
New York Central Railroad
Chicago and Northwestern Railroad
/ several other railroads
Guggenheim Family
Chile Copper Co.
Kennecott Copper Co.
Utah Copper Co.
American Smelting and Refining Co.
Kellogg Family
Kellogg Food Co.
Sanitary Supply Co.
Battle Creek College
/ several health journals and food companies

TABLE II

**States Having Sterilization Laws by Jan. 1, 1930 and the Number of People Sterilized**

State	#Males	#Females	Total
Alabama	32	12	44
Arizona	0	0	0
California	3,636	3,151	6,787
Connecticut	7	193	200
Delaware	171	107	278
Idaho	0	0	0

Iowa	43	14	57
Indiana	120	3	123
Kansas	414	243	657
Maine	4	8	12
Michigan	62	326	388
Mississippi	0	0	0
Montana	27	33	60
Nebraska	109	199	308
New Hampshire	4	57	61
North Carolina	2	1	3
North Dakota	22	17	39
Oregon	257	393	650
South Dakota	19	42	61
Utah	43	36	79
Virginia	94	274	368
Washington	1	8	9
West Virginia	0	0	0
Wisconsin	35	270	305
24 states	5,134	5,743	10,877

Note that southern states do not lead this list. California is the champion sterilizer and its use of sterilization against immigrants has already been shown in this article. Also we should not think that this is all of the people sterilized. For example, North Carolina is listed in 1930 as having sterilized 3 people. By 1968, 6,851 people had been sterilized under the supervision of the Eugenics Board of North Carolina. The available statistics indicate that approximately two-thirds of the sterilized were black, although blacks make up only 25% of the population in North Carolina.(33)

TABLE III

**MISCEGENATION LAWS**

The following states had laws providing restrictions between marriage between whites and various minorities. This table lists the states and the restrictions and what year the law was enacted.(34)

State	Year Passed	Groups Prohibited from Marrying Whites
Alabama	1923	"Negro or descendent of a Negro to the 3rd generation inclusive"
Arizona	1928	"Negroes, Mongolians, Indians, Hindus or members of the Malay race."
Arkansas	?	"Negroes and Mulattoes"
California	1929	"Negroes, Mongolians, Mulattoes or members of the Malay race."
Colorado	1921	"Negroes or Mulattoes"
Delaware	1915	"Negro or Mulattoe"
Florida	1920	"Any negro (person having one-eighth or more of negro blood)"
Georgia	1926	"Persons of African descent," "all negroes, mulattoes, mestozos and their descendants having any ascertainable trace of either negro or African, West Indian or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins," "Mongolians"
Idaho	1919	"Mongolians, negroes or Mulattoes"
Indiana	1926	"Persons having one-eighth or more of negro blood"

Kentucky	1922	"Negro or Mulatto"
Louisiana	1926	"Persons of color"
Maryland	1924	"Negro or person of Negro descent to the third generation or a member of the Malay race"
Mississippi	1930	"Negro or Mulatto or Mongolian"
Missouri	1929	"Persons having one-eighth or more Negro blood," "Mongolians"
Montana	1921	"Negro or a person of negro blood or in part negro," "Chinese person," "Japanese person"
Nebraska	1922	"Person having one-eighth or more negro, Japanese or Chinese blood"
Nevada	1929	"Any person of the Ethiopian or black race, Malay or brown race, Mongolian or yellow race"
North Carolina	1919	"Negro or Indian," "or person of negro or Indian descent to the third generation inclusive"
North Dakota	1913	"Negro"
Oklahoma	1921	"Any person of African descent"
Oregon	1930	"Any negro, Chinese or any person having one-fourth or more negro, Chinese or Kanaka blood, or more than one-half Indian"
South Carolina	1929	"Any Indian or negro"
South Dakota	1929	"Any person belonging to the African, Corean, Malayan or Mongolian race"
Tennessee	1917	"Africans or the descendants of Africans to the third generation inclusive"
Texas	1925	"Negro or Mongolian"
Utah	1927	"Negro or Mongolian"
Virginia	1930	"Colored persons"
West Virginia	1923	"Negro"
Wyoming	1920	"Negroes, Mulattoes, Mongolians or Malays"

TABLE IV

**States having both Sterilization and Miscegenation Laws**

Alabama	Nebraska
Arizona	North Carolina
California	North Dakota
Delaware	Oregon
Idaho	South Dakota
Indiana	Utah
Mississippi	Virginia
Montana	West Virginia

TABLE V

**The Officers and Central Committee of the Race Betterment Foundation**

President:	Stephen Smith, v.p. of the State Board of Charities, N.Y.
Hon. Pres.	Hon. Woodbridge M. Ferris, Governor of Michigan - Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Juvenile

Court, Denver - Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, ex-Minister of Agriculture, Ireland.

Vice Pres.

Hon. Robert L. Owen, US Senator from Oklahoma - J.N. Hurty, Commissioner of Health, State of Indiana - Irving Fisher, Prof. of Political Economy, Yale - Rev. Newell D. Hillis, Pastor, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn.

Central Comm.

C.B. Davenport, Carnegie Institute for Experimental Evolution, Washington and Cold Spring Harbor.  
 Victor C. Vaughan, Pres. elect. AMA; Pres. Michigan State Board of Health.  
 J.N. McCormack, Secretary, State Board of Health, Kentucky  
 Charles Eliot, Pres. emeritus, Harvard  
 Gifford Hinchot, Conservationist, Washington, D.C.  
 Harvey Wiley, Director, Bureau of Foods, Sanitation and Health, Washington, D.C.  
 Hon. Jacob Riis, Henry Stuart Settlement, N.Y.  
 S. Adolphus Knopf, Prof. of Physio-Therapy, Post-graduate Medical School and Hospital Kentucky.  
 W.A. Evans, Medical Editor, **Chicago Tribune**; Northwestern Medical School.  
 D.A. Sargent, Director of Hemingway Gymnasium, Harvard  
 V. Rev. Walter Sumner, Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral, Chicago.  
 Charles Townsend, US Senator from Michigan.  
 Morriss Shepard, US Senator from Texas.  
 Oscar Rogers, Medical Director, New York Life Insurance.  
 Winfield Hall, Prof. of Physiology, Northwestern Medical School.  
 R.L. Dixon, Secretary, Michigan State Board of Health.  
 Mrs. Melvil Dewey, Honorable Chairman, Institute of Economics, American Home Economics Assoc.  
 Mrs. Ella Young, Superintendent of Public Schools, Chicago.  
 Rev. Caroline Crane, Kalamazoo.  
 R. Tait McKenzie, Prof. of Physical Educ., University of Pennsylvania.  
 John M. Coulter, Prof. of Botany, Univ. of Chicago.  
 S.S. McClure, President, the McClure Co., N.Y.  
 Ernest Hoag, Stanford University.  
 Frank Bruner, Board of Education, Chicago.  
 Graham Taylor, Pres., Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.  
 Hon. John Bailey, Mayor of Battle Creek.  
 J.H. Kellogg, Supt. Battle Creek Sanitarium, Board of Health, Michigan, Founder of the Race Betterment Foundation.  
 Rev. Charles C. Creegan, Pres. Fargo College, Fargo, N.D.

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# CHALLENGE

*The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper*

Vol. 9, No. 20, March 8

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JAILED TEACHERS STRIKE LEADERS, see p. 3

BOTTOM R.: BRITISH STUDENTS APPLY HEAT TO PRIME  
MINISTER HEATH WAGE FREEZE, see p. 4

# SOLIDARITY

