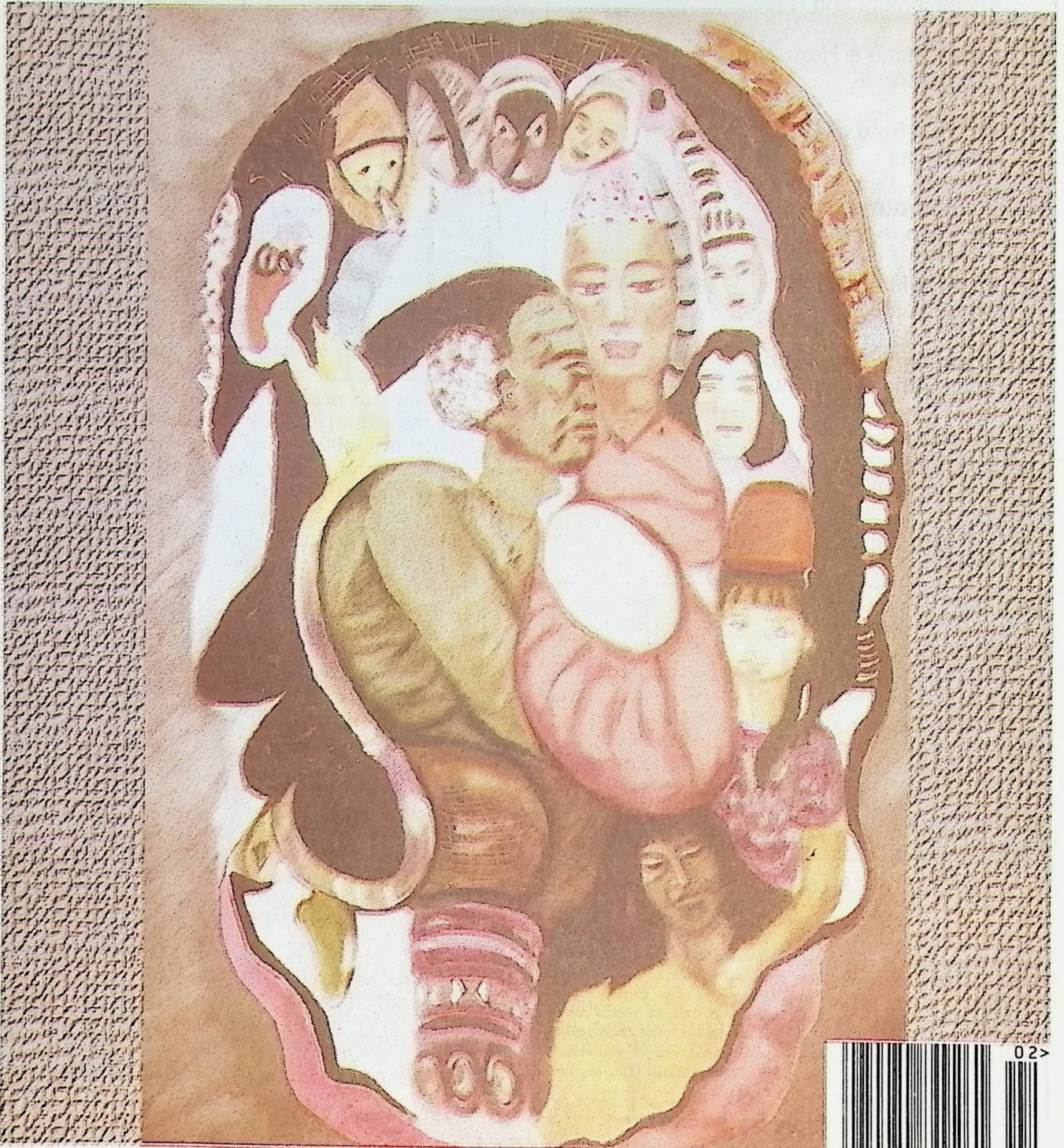


# *Political Affairs*

Theoretical Journal, Communist Party USA

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## The Death Penalty is Dead Wrong



Death row is home to over 3000 people awaiting execution in 38 states across the country. Since 1976 more than 150 men and women have been put to death. Most death row inmates are poor and working people – over 60 percent are African American. Many

are innocent. A majority are in the South. While each state with the death penalty averages 61 convicts on death row, in Texas 404 people await execution.

Today, the death penalty remains what it always has been – an anti-working-class and racist weapon wielded against the poor and defenseless.

In the United States racism continues to play a major role in determining who lives and who dies. Once the cold wheels of the criminal justice system are set in motion, the victims are all too often Black and Brown.

African Americans are 40 percent more likely to receive the death penalty, particularly in cases where the victim is not Black. And when African Americans are the victims of murder, the defendant is less likely to receive the death penalty.

The persistence of institutionalized racism in the criminal justice system is clearly the main cause of this gross imbalance. Such racism takes many forms. Prosecutors, who are responsible for determining whether or not the death penalty will be sought in capital cases, are usually white. In fact, in the 38 states that



Sacco and Vanzetti

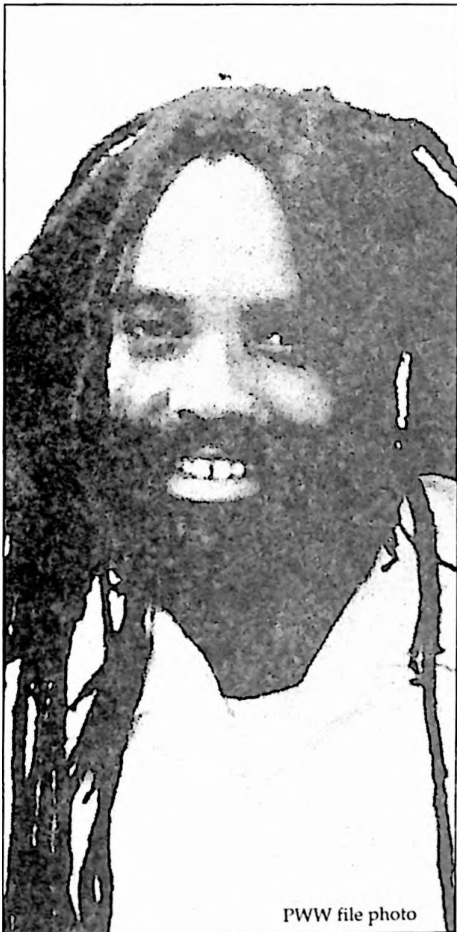
## The Scottsboro Defendants



PWW file photo

Far from being a deterrent to crime, the death penalty is itself a crime – a crime against humanity. Far from constituting justice it is the epitome of injustice. The death penalty is a punishment almost identical with revenge – it is a cruel and unusual relic from humankind's barbaric past, and like most relics should be surrendered and consigned to the museum of Human Atrocities like the knout, eye gougers, head pounders, and the rack.

At the January meeting of the CPUSA National Committee, National Chairman Gus Hall called for building a new movement to abolish the death penalty. Our experience has taught us that the death penalty is just plain



PWW file photo

enforce the death penalty only one percent of District Attorneys are African American or Latino. In addition in many cases Blacks and Latinos are still systematically excluded from juries responsible for making death penalty decisions.

Deepening ruling class racism and the unequal treatment of all poor and working-class people in the courts is reason enough for eliminating the death penalty.

The time has come to build a new movement to abolish the death penalty. Let us join forces together to silence forever the awful strains of the executioner's song.

wrong. There is no justification for it for any reason. The time has come for the world community to grapple with this problem.

In our opinion the position of Communists should be clear. The death penalty is uncivilized. It is not fit for a civilized society. In the modern world a measure of the standard of civilization ought be the abolition of this abominable practice. This is an issue that transcends social system, socialist or capitalist.

It is notable that helping lead the march of humanity along civilization's path in this regard is South Africa, whose recent constitution abolishes this atrocious practice so often used against freedom fighters in the battle against apartheid.

Not only does this happen in South Africa. In our country the death penalty has well-established history of racist, class, and political repression. Sacco and Vantezetti, the Scottsboro Defendants, Angelo Herndon, Emmett Till, the Rosenbergs, and the Angela Davis defense are well-known examples of use of the death penalty as an instrument of political repression.

Many innocent people have languished on death row as dramatically seen in the appearance of 29 of 35 living former death row inmates at a meeting to abolish the death penalty in Chicago. The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is another such example – a movement is growing across the country to grant him a new trial.

The time has come to build a new movement to abolish the death penalty. Let us join forces together to silence forever the awful strains of the executioner's song. □

## Racism and Impeachment

Last November the Republican Party suffered another serious defeat at the polls. The overwhelming vote against the Republicans by African Americans nationally played a big part in bringing about that defeat. An astounding 89 percent of African Americans who voted in House races voted against the Republicans. This was basically a



Maxine Waters

vote against racism and the anti-working class policies of the GOP. It has been a long uphill battle to wrest power from the hands of the extreme right. This nearly 20-year battle was fought in more than just the electoral arena. It was a struggle on all political fronts uniting all progressive forces and helped to pave the way for the 1998 victory.

In 1994 the Republicans made a big gain in Congress winning con-



Newly elected Congressional Black Caucus members get sworn in.

rol of both Houses. Shortly afterward Newt Gingrich became the most despised Speaker of the House ever. His "Contract on America" exposed the anti-people essence at the heart of Republican politics.

From 1996 through '98 the anti-

right-wing trend grew, resulting in serious losses for the Republicans at the polls. Their majority started shrinking.

African American voters, alarmed by the rise of racism and the extremist attacks on the social safety net, joined with labor and Latino voters and did real damage to the Republican cause at the polls. While success did not happen overnight this was one of the greatest anti-right-wing electoral fightback movements ever recorded in U.S. history.

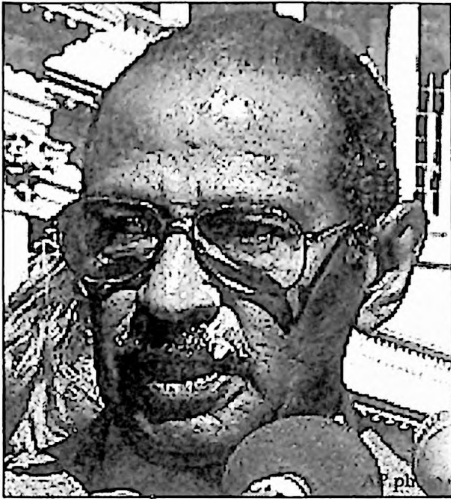
When the Republicans tried to use "Monicagate" to regain through impeachment what they were losing at the polls, the vast majority of Americans saw it for what it was, an attempt at a partisan parliamentary coup. Over 90 percent of African Americans rejected impeachment and removal. This was the highest anti-impeachment percentage of any section of the population.

Why such overwhelming opposition to the coup among

African Americans? Was it because Black folks like Clinton so much, as some commentators have been saying? Is it because African Americans have illusions about the Democratic Party?

Both reasons are dead wrong and miss the main point. The

African American vote was based on a high level of anti-racist and



John Conyers led the battle against impeachment.

anti-fascist consciousness. The actions of millions of African Americans showed that they understood what was at stake. They have been fighting the best way they can to stop the right-wing racist juggernaut.

Their motives went beyond the scope of the Democratic party, encompassing the ideals of American democracy: the need to defeat racism and be free from discrimination; the the right to a job with decent pay, the right to vote and to representation in government and justice in the courts. All of these things were threatened by the right-wing Republican program. The "Contract on America" heightened the fascist danger and was an attempt to codify a society completely under a corporate dictatorship.

The notion of "smaller government" has a racist double edge. A number of government programs are a lifeline for millions of African Americans. Over one-third of employed Blacks work in the public sector. Smaller government means massive job losses for African Americans.

Despite helping to elect and then reelect Clinton, African Americans still broke with him on many issues. While doing so they did not

lose sight of the ultra-right evil, understanding that nothing could go forward if the right-wing hold on government was not broken.

The Congressional Black Caucus, responding to the attitude of most African Americans, played a heroic role in this fight on the legislative front. They took Clinton on when he allied with the Republicans on welfare reform, the crime bill and NAFTA. But they were also on the frontline against the attempt to impeach him.

The understanding of African Americans, rooted deep in a history of oppression, proved to be correct. They understood that the forces against Clinton were ultimately the forces of bigotry.

Trent Lott, the Republican



majority leader of the U.S. Senate from Mississippi and Congressman Bob Barr (R. Ga.), a House manager in the impeachment trial, have a direct association with the notoriously racist Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC). Formally called the White Citizens Council in the past, the CCC has advocated race war, segregation and racist immigrant quotas.

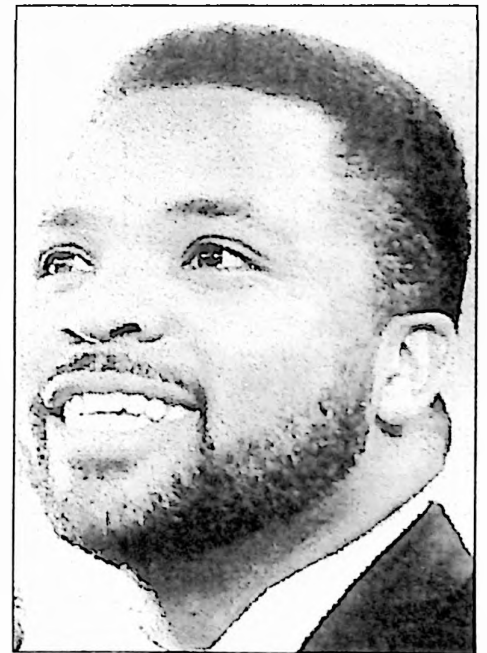
This is the open face of fascism. The right-wing currently holds the majority in all branches of the federal government except the executive. The majority of governors are now Republican. Increasingly Republicans are being elected mayors of our nations cities. Removing Clinton from the White House

would have set the stage to elect a Republican in 2000 or 2004 to take control of all three branches of the federal government and most state and local governing bodies. Thanks to the clear vision, courage, and fighting tradition of the majority, working-class African American people aligned with labor and other progressive forces a Republican takeover was avoided.

This vital struggle must continue.

In the recent past the Republicans have won elections by the use of extreme demagoguery and big corporate money. Recent elections show that the electorate, including some Republican voters, is not falling for this anymore. The GOP's impeachment drive may be their undoing.

The times call for a stepped-up struggle against racism and inequality, and a call for jobs and economic justice. It time to finance a new New Deal by cutting the military budget and taxing the rich. The masses of African American people have a vital role to play in this respect. Multi-racial class unity must be continually strengthened if the people are to win. And they will win. □



Jessie Jackson Jr.

# CLASS, RACE & HUMAN RIGHTS

A Short Study in Capitalist Hypocrisy

By Gerald Horne

**F**rom the time of their arrival on these shores, there has been a discernible trend toward internationalism among African Americans, which has included seeking allies abroad for our

struggles here. In the first half of the 18th century in colonial South Carolina, enslaved Africans – just-deported dissidents from Congo – rose up in rebellion and began marching toward then Spanish-occupied Florida for assistance. A turning point in the Revolutionary War of 1776 came when conservative Southern plantation owners decided to throw in their lot with those seeking to undermine British rule, in part because of their fear that London was moving against slavery. In turn, enslaved Africans heeded the call of Britain's Lord



Nat Turner

Dunsmore who offered freedom in return for their support; as it turned out, there were probably more Africans who fought with the British than their opponents.

As the century concluded Gabriel and his enslaved allies rose in rebellion in Virginia. Though the U.S. at that time was undergoing a difficult stretch of relations with France, there is some evidence to conclude that these rebels were

seeking to ally with the French against their slave masters. Black Abolitionists who were decisive in the effort to overthrow slavery in this country raised more money abroad than they did at home;

Frederick Douglass, for instance, spent long periods of time in London raising funds and forging solidarity.

This was all

well and good for many reasons. The slave South lost the Civil War was because it lost the diplomatic war. It was

expected that Britain would not be displeased with the breakup of a nation that was already shaping up to be a major rival and, after all, many of the mills there were

dependent on cotton from the Confederacy. However, British Labor in conjunction with the Abolitionists prevented this potentially disastrous alliance from taking place.

African Americans gained a form of U.S. citizenship after the war but it was evident that they were something less than second-class citizens. As a result, they often sought assistance and succor abroad. Jack Johnson, the heavy-weight boxing champion, attracted poisonous attention from white

supremacists because of his defeat of white fighters. Trumped-up charges were brought against him in an effort to send him to jail. Hence, he spent a good deal of his best years abroad in Mexico, Spain and elsewhere. W.E.B. Du Bois emigrated to Germany, Carter G. Woodson, the "father of Black History" and the founder of Black History



Harriet Tubman

Month, spent time in the Philippines, Shirley Graham Du Bois resided in France, and William Patterson took up residence in the Soviet Union. Whether studying or building a

Gerald Horne is a contributor to PA.



Claudia Jones



Ferdinand Smith

movement, these African-Americans and many, many more came to recognize that their lives and struggles should not be limited to the confines of the U.S. The African American community was constantly being replenished by streams of immigrants that helped to undergird this internationalism. Claudia Jones, born in Trinidad, became a leader of the Communist Party before being deported to Britain during the McCarthy era. There she founded a newspaper and became a leader of that nation's left and minority communities. Ferdinand Smith, also a Communist, was one of the highest ranking Blacks in the trade union movement, serving as Secretary-Treasurer of the National Maritime Union. He, too, was deported, and sent to Jamaica where he became a leader.

Sailors historically had been the backbone of internationalism among African-Americans and Smith represented a continuation of that trend. In the early 19th century Black sailors were a communications network bringing messages to the enslaved South about the successful rebellion in Haiti and wandering as far as Cape Town where many of them settled and

became leaders in the struggle against colonialism in South Africa. Ferdinand Smith was an extension of that trend.

**REACHING OUT** ■ After World War II, Du Bois drafted a petition to the United Nations calling on the UN to investigate human rights violations in the U.S. The National Negro Congress did the same.

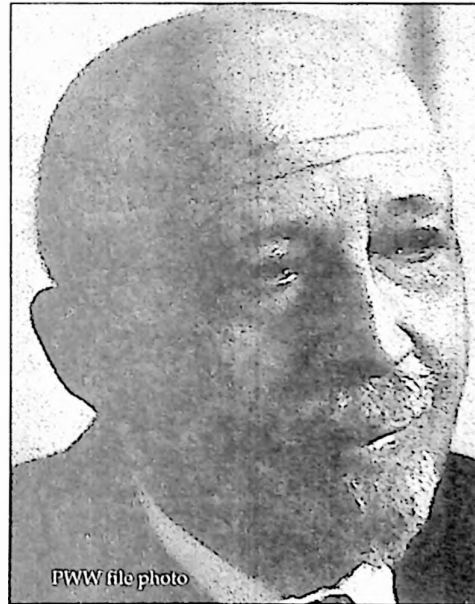
The most noteworthy effort in this regard was that launched by the Civil Rights Congress under the leadership of William Patterson. Its petition, *We Charge Genocide!*, was a stirring cry against the exploitation and white supremacy to which African Americans were subjected and called upon the international community to intervene on their behalf. This bold move shook up the U.S. ruling class. Patterson's passport was taken away – subsequently he was jailed. The U.S. found it difficult to

masquerade as the paragon of human rights virtue when African Americans were subjected to an atrocious Jim Crow policy. This contradiction created a dynamic leading to the evisceration of Jim Crow.

The attempt to marginalize Communists like Patterson did not lead to the total evaporation of internationalism among African-Americans. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s philosophy of non-violence was influenced profoundly by the independence movement in India. His staunch opposition to the war in Vietnam is well known. He recognized instinctively that addressing pressing domestic problems of homelessness and hunger could not be done while tax dollars were wasted on the battlefields of Southeast Asia.

Over the past decades African Americans have been in the forefront of protest against the ravages of U.S. imperialism. The Black Panther Party, for example, stood in solidarity with Cuba. The invasion of Grenada and Panama were met with stiff opposition from the Congressional Black Caucus particularly. When Nelson Mandela arrived

in the U.S. in 1990 he was greeted with warm appreciation by African Americans, most notably those who viewed him as a living symbol of opposition to apartheid and the Reagan-Bush policy of "constructive engagement."



W.E. B. Du Bois

This internationalism by African Americans has not been a one-way street. Just as the interna-

tional community played a pivotal role in the crusade against apartheid, the same thing happened during the Jim Crow era. When the March on Washington of 1963 took place, there were simultaneous demonstrations taking place at U.S. embassies from Copenhagen to Accra. The "Wilmington 10" political prisoners from North Carolina in the 1970s, received generous support from then socialist East Germany.

Even today one of the reasons why Pennsylvania has been unable to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther and prolific journalist, is the massive support

The NAACP, which has not been known for its internationalism since Du Bois was ousted in 1948, seems to be leaning in the direction that AI has outlined. This could provide a powerful new force profoundly affecting the domestic and, perhaps, the international correlation of forces. In the December 1998 edition of the *Crisis*, the Association's journal, the well-known international lawyer Gay McDougall wrote:

guarantee that international laws regarding racial equality have more than merely rhetorical value here in the U.S.

These words are quite timely. Though the U.S. preens as the "sole remaining superpower," the introduction of the euro, the common European currency, is just the latest evidence suggesting that the international correlation of forces may be shifting against U.S. imperialism. A crusade in the court of international public opinion highlighting human rights abuses here, thus, should be well received abroad.



PWW file photo



PWW file photo



PWW file photo

Above: Angelo Herndon

For over half a century William L. Patterson (above and left) led the movement against repression and the International Labor Defense.

he has received from abroad. It is in that context that we should consider Amnesty International's (AI) devastating indictment of the human rights situation in the U.S. AI is

launching a major campaign on human rights violations in the USA. The organization's members around the world will be working to promote international human rights standards, to stimulate debate about human rights in the U.S., and to publicize the organization's concerns as widely as possible.

As state and federal courts are becoming more hostile to affirmative action programs and to challenges to governmental actions that have a discriminatory impact on communities of color, the civil rights struggles may gain added value and momentum from a return to the court of international public opinion. U.S. civil rights groups should evoke international human rights norms in their advocacy campaigns and court challenges. We must become fully involved in the forums of the UN that have developed to respond to charges of human rights abuses to

If civil rights groups follow up on this, they will find AI's report to be handy ammunition. For in precise and pointed language they detail graphically how the USA has become a veritable graveyard for human rights. This unfortunate reality is witnessed most dramatically in the nation's prisons. The USA

now puts a higher percentage of its population behind bars than almost any other country on earth. The number of people in U.S. prisons tripled between 1980 and 1996 to more than 1.7 million. The number of women in prison has quadrupled



over the same period. Another 3.8 million people are on probation or parole...

This horrendous increase in the number of prisoners has led to the creation of what some are calling a "prison-industrial complex" that has come to rival the infamous "military-industrial complex." The mainstream press, which has not developed a reputation in recent years for its biting criticism of human rights in this nation, has been forced to take note of this situation. The December 1998 edition of *Atlantic Monthly* took up this question and underscored the pervasive racism that sustains this system. The number of African American men arrested for drug violations has tripled over the past two decades: the war on drugs has become a war on Black men and has been a major factor leading to their spiraling imprisonment rates. Although the prevalence of illegal drug use among white men is approximately the same as that among Black men, the latter are five times more likely to be arrested for a drug offense. As a result, a stunning 50 percent or more of those imprisoned in the U.S. are African American although they are a meager 12 percent of the nation's population. One out of every 14 Black men is now so confined. One out of every four Black men is likely to be imprisoned at some point during his lifetime. The number of women sentenced to a year or more of prison has grown twelvefold since 1970. Of the present 80,000 women imprisoned, about 70 percent are nonviolent offenders. About 75 percent have children.

A stunning 50 percent or more of those imprisoned in the U.S. are African American though they are a meager 12 percent of the nation's population. One out of every 14 Black men is now so confined. One out of every four Black men is likely to be imprisoned at some point during his lifetime.

Criminaliza-

Prisons have not only become a dumping ground for the victims of white supremacy. They have become repositories for numerous social problems. About 70 percent of prison inmates are illiterate. Perhaps 200,000 of the nation's inmates suffer from a serious mental illness. Almost 80 percent of the inmate population have a history of substance abuse, particularly alcohol. Yet the number of substance abuse treatment slots in prisons has declined by more than half since 1993. Drug treatment is now available to just one in ten of the inmates who need it. Prison construction has become another way to provide a boost for capitalism. Mario Cuomo, while governor of New York, turned the Urban Development Corporation into a rural development corporation that invested billions in prison construction in upstate New York despite that 80 percent of the

The U.S. now imprisons a half million more people than the much reviled China, whose population is about five times larger. Imagine the combined populations of Atlanta, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Des Moines and Miami behind bars and you begin to get an idea of the incomprehensible number of inmates in jails and prisons.

state's inmates hail from New York City and its suburbs. Needless to say, this has placed enormous strains on family relations as wives and children find it difficult to travel hundreds of miles to visit their loved ones behind bars.

Construction is just one part of the profitable equation that illuminates the political economy of incarceration. A pay phone at a prison can generate as much as \$15,000 a year or about five times the revenue of a typical pay phone on the street. It is estimated that inmate calls generate a billion dollars or more in revenue each year. MCI has been caught overcharging calls made by inmates. Both AT&T and Bell South have competing services.

The prison-industrial complex includes some of the nation's largest architecture and construction firms, with Wall Street investment banks that handle prison bond issues and invest in private prisons, plumbing supply companies, food-service companies, health-care companies, and companies that sell everything from bullet-resistant security cameras to padded cells. There are "violent prisoner chairs" for sale and a wide array of belts and shackles; there are "body orifice security scanners" and a line of razor wire with names like "Maze" and "Super-maze."

Today at least 27 states make use of privately-owned prisons and the trend line suggests a sharp increase in the near future. This especially bodes ill for African Americans. For just as an airline has a strong incentive not to take off with empty seats and a hotel wants to fill every bed, private prisons want to fill every cell. How? Arresting those most susceptible to harassment, e.g. African Americans, is one surefire way. This private prison boom is backed by such giants as All-State, Merrill Lynch, Shearson Lehman and American Express, and is becoming quite attractive to investors



AP photo

## In light of rash of police murders, community control of police is becoming a mass demand. Below Thousands Rally to protest the N.Y. police death squads and the murder of African immigrant Dialo.

who are not uncomfortable with the idea of profiting from racism.

Unfortunately, AI does not plumb carefully this financial aspect – yet its indictment is no less disturbing. They focus particularly on the predicate to imprisonment: police brutality. Officers have “beaten and shot unresisting suspects; they have misused batons, chemical sprays and electro-shock weapons; they have injured or killed people by placing them in dangerous restraint holds.” The Reagan administration accelerated the trend of halting the collecting

of key statistics in the name of “reducing government;” thus, “disturbingly, there is no accurate, national data on the number of people fatally shot or injured by police officers, data which is essential for meaningful policy-making at both national and local levels.”

Still, the reports trickling in from various jurisdictions are quite disturbing. A few years ago

in Philadelphia drug squad officers operating in a predominantly poor Black neighborhood were accused of systematically beating and robbing suspects, planting drugs and falsifying reports. Several officers were eventually jailed and hundreds of convictions based on the evidence of corrupt police officers were overturned. New Orleans has provided a similar example; there an officer was convicted of conspiring to murder a woman who had witnessed his beating a youth and had filed a brutality complaint against him. In this Louisiana metropolis where neo-fascist David Duke is headquartered, more than 30 officers have been arrested for crimes including extortion, murder and brutality.

“Driving while Black” is the sardonic term used to describe the “crime” with which African Americans are charged when they are stopped and harassed by police. In Maryland in 1997 a federal court found preliminary evidence of a “pattern and practice discrimination” in police stops of Black drivers along Interstate 95. In January 1997 Congressman John Conyers introduced the Traffic Stops Statistics Act into Congress, requiring

the Attorney General to acquire national data about traffic stops by law enforcement officers and to publish an annual summary. Rhode Island has already passed similar legislation and its example should be emulated by other states and localities.

**POLICE CONTROL BOARDS** ■ AI points correctly to the idea that independent civilian oversight of the police needs to be a mass demand. As of June 1998 there were 94 such bodies in the USA with authority to review complaints against the police, compared to just 13 in 1980. Yet, police in twelve major cities had no such oversight and, needless to say, officers there were running buck wild. There is also no independent civilian review of most federal police authorities like the FBI.

Certainly more oversight is needed of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. If the U.S. authorities treat their own citizens so horribly, just imagine how they treat Black and Brown immigrants. Haitian refugees in particular have been subjected to inhuman treatment. It is as if the U.S. has not forgiven that nation for having the audacity to overthrow the hated slave system two centuries ago engendering a raging fear in Southern slave owners that a similar fate awaited them.

How else to explain why Haitian immigrants, including children, have been detained in jails? Asylum seekers are frequently denied access to lawyers, interpreters and to representatives from non-governmental organizations and other caregivers. Some face obstacles in making telephone calls and receiving letters or information essential for them to support their asylum claim. There are repeated instances in INS facilities of overcrowding, lack of access to daylight, exercise and recreational facilities and, in some cases, verbal and physical abuse by staff.

Yet with all that, few are treat-

ed worse in the U.S. than those on death row; at this writing there are 3300 people waiting to die at the hands of the U.S. authorities, a disproportionate percentage of whom are African American. The U.S. is in the same league with Iran and Saudi Arabia when it comes to executing prisoners. Over 100 nations have dispensed altogether with this bestial penalty. Hangings and firing squads are still used in the U.S., though lethal injections, electrocutions and gas chambers are the methods of choice for killing inmates. These methods can lead to gruesome results. Flames shot from the facemask of Pedro Medina as he was being subjected to the electric chair's current. It was no accident that such a fate befell a minority for it is this group that too often faces the gallows. This has been the case historically. In Virginia, for example, although only 55 percent of those imprisoned for rape were Black, between 1908 and 1962 all those executed for this crime

were Black. The race of the murder victim is also not irrelevant for one is more likely to receive the ultimate sanction for killing a white person. Blacks and whites in this nation are the victims of murder in almost equal numbers. Yet 82 percent of prisoners executed since 1977 were convicted of the murder of a white person. In Kentucky, every death sentence up to March 1996 was for the murder of a white victim, despite over 1000 homicide victims in the state being Black.

To insure that this ghastly trend continues, prospective Black jurors are disproportionately removed from the jury pool by

prosecutors during jury selection.

Right-wing politicians continue to back the death penalty in the face of mounting evidence that the innocent can be executed. Think of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Sacco and Vanzetti or the Scottsboro "9" who faced execution. AI "has documented numerous cases of people who went to their deaths despite serious doubts about their guilt." Fortunately the movement against the death penalty is taking on mass

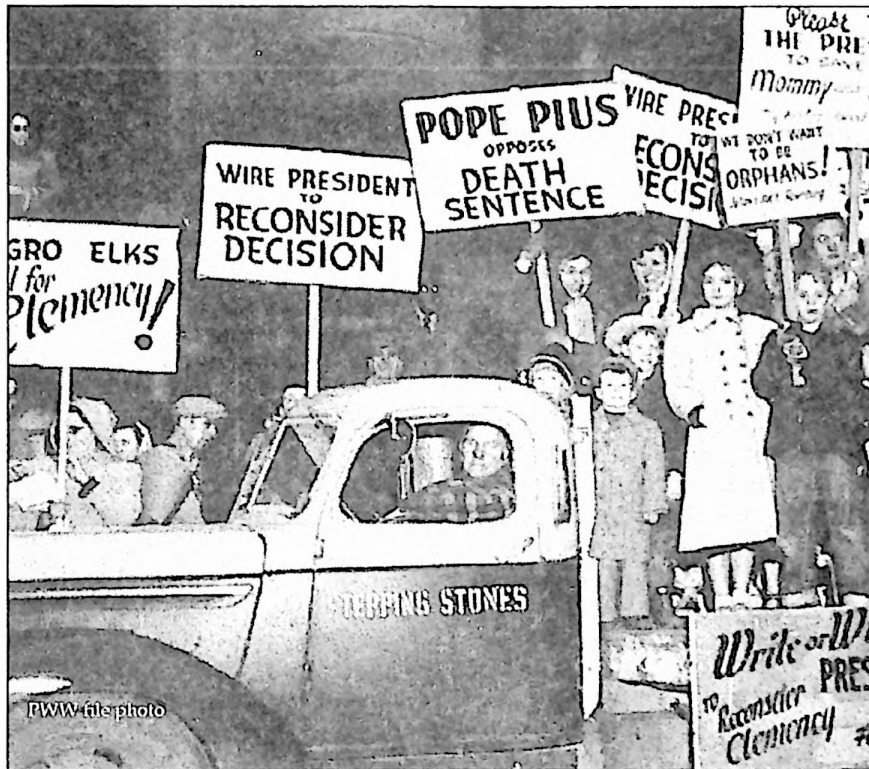
only a handful of countries that have not ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The U.S. took 28 years to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, after 133 other states had already ratified it. At least 71 other states ratified the Convention Against Torture before the USA.

This last instrument is particularly important because it speaks directly to the ghoulish treatment inflicted on Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in Brooklyn when he was sodomized with a toilet plunger by a police officer.

AI concludes by observing that "there is a persistent and widespread pattern of human rights violations in the USA" and African Americans are the disproportionate victim of this crime wave. Thus, the inevitable query arises: What is to be done?

The crusade by AI and its apparent backing by the

NAACP are worthy of endorsement. One thing African Americans have learned over the past centuries is that international solidarity is indispensable to the struggle for human rights in the USA. As the U.S. continually raises the question of human rights in China and elsewhere, they "open the door" to a systematic review of this question here at home. The international community should be welcomed, encouraged and invited to speak out, and investigate and pressure the U.S. to bring its human rights record into accord with that of civilized humanity. □



dimensions. There are organizations in numerous states and a web-site.

AI's international campaign to force the U.S. to observe human rights will focus on compelling Washington to adhere to prevailing global norms. For example, there are

only two countries in the world that have not ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. One is the collapsed state of Somalia which has no recognized government; the other is the USA. Despite the strengths and achievements of the U.S. women's movement, the USA is also one of

# Who was Afraid of Carol Mosley- Braun ?

How and why Illinois' first  
Black woman senator was  
defeated by the ultra right.

by Dee Myles

**T**rade union activists, at least a year before developments reached any momentum at all, were pushing us to become integrally involved in Election '98. The labor movement was mounting an offensive action. By August of '98, trade union activists were beating the drums sounding the alarm for anyone who would listen. The election results prove beyond a doubt that they were right.

The 1998 election challenged us to put out organizational energy where our mouths were – to not just talk the talk but to also walk the walk. The election results nationally reveal a complete defeat for the political right. The ultra-right right did not win the

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Dee Myles is a member of the National Board of the Communist Party.

authority to do what they wanted. They came face to face with the force that will continue to challenge their ability to turn all the resources of the country over to corporate America unimpeded. They came face to face with the force that will continue to challenge their ability to cut and gut social programs, give tax breaks to the already wealthy, and privatize public services for profit.

As a result of this election, the ultra-right knows that there is a force in this country with which it must contend, and that force is not just the nationally and racially oppressed – that force is also organized labor. Organized labor and the African American community along with the Latino community, youth, senior, and women won the day.

Pivotal, and a history lesson for all time, is when organized labor and the African American



community stand up together. Then the right can be forced to sit down in defeat.

Martin Luther King Jr. places the concept this way in *If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins*:

This unity of purpose is not a historical coincidence. Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs: decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community. That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor. That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and

anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth. The duality of interest of labor and Negroes makes any crisis which lacerates you a crisis from which we bleed.

In 1962, Martin Luther King had the foresight to embrace such a formulation. At the dawn of the 21st century, this concept remains true now more than ever.

In Illinois, labor and the African American community were in full swing. In Chicago, there were packed multi-racial labor rallies at the Steelworkers' and Teamster City union halls. Rainbow/PUSH, Reverend Jesse Jackson's organization, brought in Hillary Clinton for a rousing overflow rally which included a large delegation of white Teamsters in an otherwise largely African American audience.

The polls indicated that Carol Moseley-Braun

“Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been reasonable to expect that voters in general would have sense enough not to cast their ballot for Fitzgerald. But these were not ordinary circumstances.”



was in trouble from the beginning, but luck was on our side, or so we thought. Peter Fitzgerald had emerged the victor in the Republican primary. Because he was labeled a right-wing extremist by his own party, some thought all there was to do was ensure the turn out of the Black vote, and we would be home free. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been reasonable to expect that voters in general would have sense enough not to cast their ballot for Fitzgerald. But these were not ordinary circumstances. Nationally, the right's target included Carol Moseley-Braun.

The turn out of the Black vote in Chicago was beyond all expectations. Still Braun lost by a

little over 100,000 votes. She carried only 5 out of 102 counties in the state. How did the ultra-right banking heir Fitzgerald defeat the center-progressive lawyer Braun? While this is a \$15 million dollar question, money alone does not scientifically explain what really happened. However, while money alone does not explain it, Fitzgerald's personal wealth and the war chest of the national political right are factors that must be considered in assessing the depth and breadth of the spread of their filth.

Many in Illinois were late in realizing the national importance of the Braun reelection effort overall. Braun is the first African American woman to be elected to and was

the only African American in the U.S. Senate. The political pundits were saying in Chicago, the electorate was not and would not become fired up during this mid-term period because of a mass depression caused by the scandal in the White House. Nationally and in Illinois, the right was counting on that depression to win.

The ultra-right was counting on the electorate being beaten down into a state of manic depression which would leave them unable to stand up and fight back. But something changed. What changed was the perception of the people. That change in perception was a product of the influence of the movement which was spawned by labor and the African American community. There was a mass adoption of the perception of the Republican Party as the embodiment of the right at this particular moment, and, hence, a common target for defeat.

As a result of the influence of the national movement which emerged, in Chicago we became fired up as well. As we focused on turning out the vote, which was a successful effort, we, the conscious section of the movement, did not take heed to the dangerous

nature of the pollutant on which Fitzgerald was spending a sizable portion of his family fortune to effect a complete saturation of the political environment. While we winced as Fitzgerald's television commercials became more frequent and more vile, we did not move into action against its influence on the electorate, particularly outside of Chicago. In the absence of a strong Communist Party organization and labor movement downstate, Fitzgerald was able to pull off a hoax. He was able to convince a section of the electorate that he was more ethical than Braun. Fitzgerald painted a picture of Braun which is akin to that of a "welfare queen." His caricature had her gallivanting around the world partying with the likes of Abacha in Nigeria and spending money left and right. One commercial said she spent \$64,000 on clothing, \$24,000 on jewelry, and another obnoxious amount on unnecessary travel. This luxurious lifestyle Fitzgerald's commercials argued, was financed with taxpayer money and money taken from her elderly dying mother.

This history of Braun's excesses, as concocted by Fitzgerald, was then used to argue simply that he was more ethical. As a result, downstate voters in particular were duped into casting their ballot for this more "ethical" filthy rich ultra-right banking heir. Because of this Fitzgerald won. Pure

and simple racism, though in a disguised form, was the pollutant used to influence a section of the electorate to unite with Fitzgerald and vote against their own interests. The significance of the danger of this pollutant escaped us. When we did not respond and react to this specific angle of his challenge, our local movement in the state was taken down in defeat.

Illinoisians, particularly working people, even downstate could have been moved to see through the racist strategy of Fitzgerald. Can an ultra-right banking heir be more ethical than a person – any person – who must labor to live? In 1992, Braun won 58 out of the 102 counties in Illinois. In 1992, Braun carried many downstate counties, including Peoria, Champaign, and St. Claire, that she lost in 1998. Where the conscious movement, the Party and organized labor, had some strength, as was the case in Chicago, Braun carried three additional majority white working-class wards that she did not carry in 1992. Where the conscious movement was weak, even the Democratic Party organization and Republican women, many of whom voted for Braun in 1992, collapsed under the racist pressure of Fitzgerald and the right.

Though we glory in the national victory, the lesson of this loss must ensure our future vigilance.

Some argue that there

were weaknesses with Braun as a candidate and problems with her campaign organization. Such arguments attempt to cover an evasion of the real issue. Braun and Braun's campaign committee could not match the personal wealth of Fitzgerald who was using his money to slander her through viscous campaign commercials hour after hour and day after day. Braun and her campaign committee could not begin to conceptualize the kind of counter-offensive necessary to break the influence of racism enough to ensure that at least working class voters did not cast their ballot against their own interests.

Our defeat in this election proves beyond a doubt that we must build our movement, both the Communist Party and organized labor, where we are weak to ensure future victories, and we can never underestimate the danger racism poses when used as a weapon in the class struggle.

The class struggle is not just between capital and labor at the point of production. The class struggle was embodied in the 1998 election battle. Concrete and specific forms of racism unchallenged almost certainly ensures the victory of the enemy. With \$15 million and more from the national political right to Braun's \$5 million the differences in the war chests were astronomical. If money was the decisive factor, Fitzgerald should have won by a much greater margin. The fact

that he did not suggest we could have turned the results around on the basis of countering the penetration of Fitzgerald's racist assault within the working class, if we had tried.

*Racism: The Nation's Most Dangerous Pollutant*, written by Gus Hall in 1971, provides a scientific examination of this question. Hall argues,

White chauvinism... is the main obstacle to working-class unity, and therefore an obstacle to working-class victories. One the other hand, it is the main unifying element within the reactionary ultra-Right and fascist movements. What anti-Semitism was for German fascism, white chauvinism is for the fascist movements within the United States. It is a most critical ingredient within all anti-democratic movements. It is the ideological fog behind which capitalism prepares its forces for fascism.

Fitzgerald used the strategy of deceiving particularly downstate voters with a vicious racist caricature. If we had consciously gone after the white working-class element, if we had consciously fought to free them from the influence of racism, we could have won or made a damn good effort trying.

Our position leads us to have confidence in winning victories against racism. Because we have confidence in the working class, we have confidence in being able to win

against racism. ...There is a dialectical interchange of cause and effect relationship between the struggle against racism and the rise of class consciousness. Class consciousness has a built-in limitation unless it takes up the struggle against racism. The other side of this truth is that the struggle against racism has a built-in limitation if it is not related to struggles that give rise to class consciousness. (page 21)

The significance of this question would be of great concern to all class conscious forces.

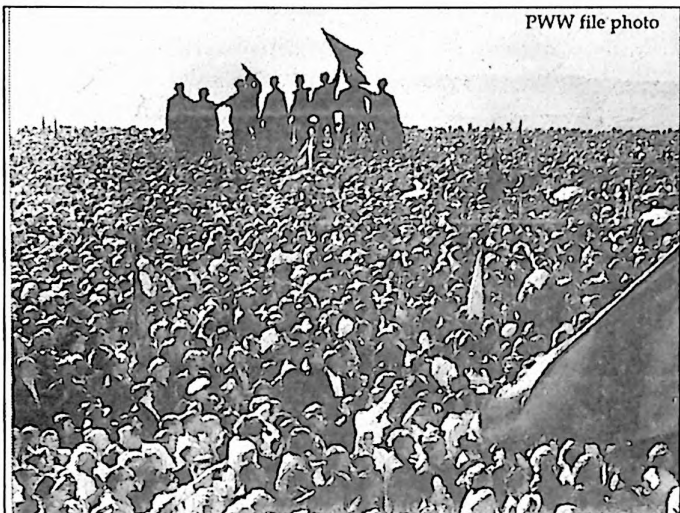
The quiet suggestion that white workers can choose or not choose to fight against racism is the impotent braggadocio of an idiot who is not truly of the working class, no matter what the image. Real working-class elements who are fully conscious are not that empty. Real working-class fully conscious forces know in their gut, that there cannot be a successful long-range struggle for democracy if it does not take on the struggle against the racist ideology of the anti-democratic forces. (page 22)

I am confident, based on the nature of the working class as a class, that we will wrestle these questions. As each emerges we will move closer to employing science as more of a guide to action in future challenges, and we will build our movement to ensure victory in the struggle for democracy and social progress. □

## Lessons of the 20th Century

## Who Really Won World War II

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**I**n an Elliot Roosevelt detective story I was reading, there was an incident dealing with the meeting in Washington between a Soviet delegation, headed by then Soviet foreign minister V. M. Molotov, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The purpose of the mission was to call upon the president to carry out the U.S. pledge to open a second front in Western Europe in 1942. The Soviet visit was followed by Winston Churchill's arrival to exert pressure against such a move at that time.

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### THE TRUTH WILL SET YOU FREE | Vic Perlo

I do not know how FDR actually received the Soviets, but events showed that he yielded to Churchill, postponing the second front until June 1944, when Churchill was afraid that the Red Army, rapidly approaching, would take over all of Germany.

Of course, much that occurred during World War II is familiar, in a general way, to older generations. But events of that era enrich our understanding and provide ammunition for combating the tide of anti-Soviet, anti-Russian, and anti-Communist propaganda that continues to flood our country.

The course of that war initiated the incredible developments of the past 50 years, and its outcome prevented unimaginable horrors from overtaking huge chunks of the world. The titanic battles of 1941-45 remain an inspiring triumph of the Soviet victory over Hitler's fascism.

The history of that era dramatizes two distinctly different phases — first, the diplomatic

gyrations of the period and second, the military campaigns on the Soviet front and all of their implications on post-war politics.

The 1930s was a period of rapid buildup of modern industry and collective agriculture in the USSR. Production multiplied several times over and living conditions of the population improved. Toward the end of the decade, as war clouds gathered, armament production accelerated, as did the development of improved weapons. The workweek increased and labor discipline tightened. Stalin's repressions marred the progress of, but could not decisively stop, this all-out movement led by the astute guidance of the Communist Party. By 1941, the Soviet Union was second only to the United States as an industrial power. Still, more time was needed to complete the planned defense buildup when Hitler struck, without warning or declaration of war.

Stalin's leadership,

as part of a collective high command, was an important factor in the conduct of the war and the ultimate Soviet victory.

Such a display of heroism by tens of millions of soldiers, partisans, workers, farmers, and intellectuals has never been approached in human history. There were the sacrifices of the entire population with countless civilians who gave their lives, multitudes killed by enemy bombs, and guerrillas outside of the indomitable armed forces whose exploits behind the lines were so crucial.

Of decisive importance was the unity of the Soviet people and the prestige of the Communist Party. During the early months, when conditions were most precarious, 1.6 million joined the Party, including 1.3 million Red Army men and women. By 1942,

despite occupation of the main industrial areas by the enemy – was the achievement of the Soviet Communist Party.

Hitler's army struck in the early morning of June 22, 1941, and at noon the same day, Molotov called the entire Soviet people into battle. The next day, a general headquarters under Stalin was set up, and by June 29th the State Defense Committee, headed by Stalin, was organized under the collective leadership of the Supreme Soviet, the Communist Party and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Yes, mistakes were made. Hitler's attack was expected, but not so soon. Intelligence reports and German border incidents indicated the danger of Nazi aggression starting June 22. But this information had to be balanced against provocative reports aiming

troops in 1940 and against Poland in 1939. (Similarly, the Japanese fascists caught the U.S. completely by surprise at Pearl Harbor, destroying the bulk of the American fleet. Japan fell far short of Germany's economic potential and in its inability to hit the American homeland).

During the German advance in the first months of the war, one-half of Soviet industrial and military production was knocked out; in the second half of 1941, steel production fell 67 percent as did military production.

It was written by historians of the time that losses of such magnitude would never have been tolerated by any capitalist nation; it indeed took the verve and commitment of a socialist society to survive such an onslaught.

Later documented and verified news reports described the Ger-

## Such a display of heroism by tens of millions ...

despite losses in battle, the Party had four million members, half of them in the armed services, an indication of the political cohesion of the Soviet people, the motivation for the superhuman efforts of millions.

Important contributions were made by artists, journalists, writers, musicians, poets, etc. The Shostakovich Seventh Symphony, composed in besieged Leningrad; the works of Sholkhov, Ehrenburg and thousands of other writers, and artists, inspired and fortified the people.

The collective leadership required to organize, mobilize, plan and lead – both in the military field and in reviving, maintaining and raising military production in the midst of war,

to precipitate Soviet action that would give Hitler a pretext to invade. The USSR needed to postpone the war as long as possible in order to strengthen defenses further. The warning to front line forces of imminent aggression was a day too late for adequate emergency preparation, such as getting aircraft under cover.

This contributed somewhat to the severe Soviet losses and rapid German advance during the early weeks of the war. The main factors, however, were the superiority of Germany's mobilized manpower and its major weaponry, the productive capacity of the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe, and Germany's experience with modern war gained from its successful forays against French and British

man troops' seizure of many highly strategic areas that forced the Red Army into retreat. Soviet troop embankments, often encircled, found themselves in compromising situations. Setbacks became the rule rather than the exception. As the Soviet army backed away from the battle lines, they were forced to abandon, with great remorse, many towns and villages. Despite the heroic efforts of the families left behind by the soldiers who had gone off to the front, the Soviets watched as the blockade closed off Leningrad, the "cradle of the revolution."

Despite Germany's advantage, Soviet resistance sapped Nazi strength. After offsetting tactical errors, the Soviet high command made vital strategic decisions.



Major reserve forces were deployed inland from the border region, leading to actions that foiled Hitler's hope of a rapid victory.

Since the start of the war in 1939, Hitler lost 300,000 ground troops in conquering nine countries. But 390,000 were lost in the first 53 days of war against the USSR. The German generals had expected a walkover; their schedule had been based on faulty assumptions. (As I recall, U.S. commentators, like Hanson Baldwin, expected the Nazis to cut through the Red Army "like a knife through butter," and take Moscow within weeks).

It was autumn 1941 before the Germans reached the approaches to Moscow. On September 30, Hitler ordered a massive offensive against the Soviet capital. He said: "At last, the stage has been set for

While the limited forces were defending Moscow, the Soviet high command was preparing a powerful strategy, and early in December 1941 the Red Army launched a large-scale offensive. The enemy was driven out of thousands of towns and villages and never again did the Germans get close to Moscow.

The three other most critical confrontations were (1) the siege of Leningrad; (2) the battle for Stalingrad; and (3) the turning point of the war, the Kursk offensive. All were prolonged, brutal actions that cost thousands of lives and gave rise to incredible acts of bravery.

For openers was the complete encirclement of Leningrad, cutting the city off from any communication or commerce with the outside world, that wreaked devastating hardships on the people – mainly

and its defense lasted many months. While in August the Soviets held most of the city, by November 18 the Red Army still had only a few hundred yards of the devastated city, totally destroyed and occupied by the enemy. But the Soviet command formulated a plan for turning the tide. Secretly forces were organized behind the lines and on November 19th they struck in a north-south pincer action, with coordinated timing and precision. The forces met as scheduled, closing a gigantic trap around the invading army and in six days surprised and overcame the Nazis. German attempts to relieve the 330,000 surrounded troops were blocked, and by January victory was assured. The Germans lost a million men in the Stalingrad campaign.

The forces that were left in the

has never been approached in human history.

the last powerful blow that will crush our foes before winter. Today is beginning the last great and decisive victory of the war."

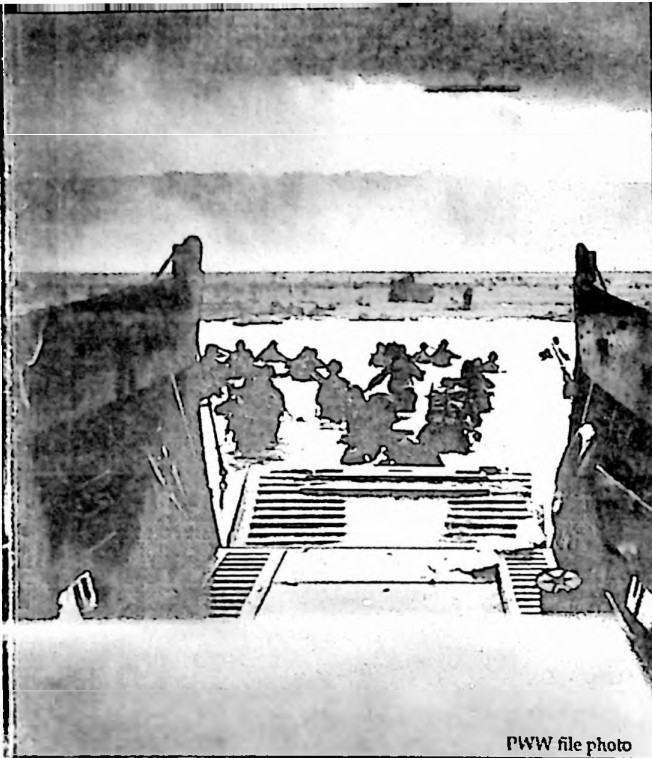
His plan was to annihilate Moscow's civilian population and to flood the city to form a deep lake.

Mass civilian participation and an effective anti-aircraft defense helped defeat that plan. Much of the population including the general staff – but not Stalin – moved underground to escape the bombs. On November 7, with the Nazis close to the city, the traditional military parade was held as "a symbol of faith in victory, of courage and tenacity. The troops marched from the parade past the Lenin mausoleum directly to the battle lines."

women, children and old folks – who, with courage and fortitude survived for years despite the death and destruction rained upon them. Leningrad truly earned its designation of "Hero City."

Secondly, in 1942, the Germans concentrated forces on the southern front; their aim was to cross the Volga and the Caucasus into Soviet Asia and on into India. On the long advance to the river and the foothills of the Caucasus, the Nazi army had 700,000 killed and/or wounded. It was of prime importance for the Russians to stop Hitler's hordes from crossing the Volga, and the critical encounter took place at Stalingrad, the important industrial city on the banks of the mighty river. The battle was prolonged and bloody,

Caucasus foothills were recalled, or they too would have met total defeat. I was in Stalingrad in 1960 and was escorted to the top of the hill overlooking the city – the highest point for miles around. Here, I was told there would be a monument to Stalingrad and to the bravery of all who defended it. From that viewpoint I was able to see the new city that had been built on the ruins of the old which had been bombarded into nothingness. One demolished factory with only a piece of wall and rubble that was being kept as a monument as a reminder of what had taken place remained. I still have the two fragments of rusted iron that I picked up amid the rubble. That hill is the site of the monumental statue of victory that was



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subsequently built. I hope it is still there!

Finally, the last attempt of the Germans to retain the initiative came during the summer of 1943 when they launched a powerful tank attack in the "Kursk salient" south of Moscow. Forewarned by intelligence sources, the well-prepared Red Army engaged the Nazis in the greatest tank battle ever fought. The Wehrmacht was forced to retreat and the Soviet advance, thereafter, gained momentum and accelerated until the defeat of the Germans and the occupation of Berlin in May 1945.

In any account of the Soviet response to the invasion of the USSR by the Nazi army, the role of the partisans cannot be omitted. By late 1943 in Byelorussia alone, there were 720 partisan groups totaling 122,600 men and women. A partisan headquarters was set up to provide armaments and material. The partisans wrecked German transport trains, blew up supplies, and assassinated their guards. In Poland, Czechoslovakia and France they reinforced local partisan movements and the scale of their activity ensured that Germany was unable to fully consolidate rule in occupied Soviet terri-

tory. Although just the beginning, it was enough to indicate their vital contribution to the final victory.

One other factor of importance was the ability of the Soviet Union to function and to provide food, arms and equipment to the armed forces while its territory was being invaded. The Soviets coped with this task, and industrial plants in endangered zones were moved before the Germans could reach them. Some 1,523 factories were moved to the Urals, Western Siberia, and Kazazistan; railroads more than doubled the transport of goods to the East, while moving soldiers to the western front. Production was restarted in evacuated factories even before roofs were put on to cover the new buildings. And while these efforts were underway, the Nazis used thousands of bombers to attack the railways in the attempt to destroy the trains and to kill the crews and passengers. But gradually Soviet production increased and by 1944 USSR military production exceeded that of Germany.

One accounting by Deborin noted: "An important factor of the Soviet war production growth was the marshaling of all available economic resources and centering them on that one aim. Consumer goods production was reduced." The motto was "Everything for the front. Everything for victory!"

Hardly any armaments were supplied to the Soviets by America and Great Britain, although U.S. production of planes, tanks and guns was far beyond possible use by U.S. armed forces. It was reliably reported in Washington at the time that when planes on aircraft carriers in the Pacific needed even minor repairs, they were simply

dumped overboard and replaced.

A very valuable U.S. contribution to the Soviet war effort was the supply of 401,400 motor vehicles. When the second front was opened in the summer of 1944, Hitler was compelled to retain forces to meet it, reducing his ability to slow the Soviet advance. However, by then the Soviet armies could well have occupied all of Germany and liberated all Western Europe alone.

K. Ludecke, in his *I Knew Hitler* published in New York in 1938, reported the German chancellor telling his closest associates:

I've got to play ball with capitalism and keep the Versailles powers in line by holding aloft the bogey of Bolshevism, make them believe that a Nazi Germany is the last bulwark against the Red flood. That's the only way to come through the danger period, to get rid of Versailles and rearm.

*The New York Evening Post* of May 5, 1933, quoted Hjalmar Schacht, the German banker who toured the United States soon after the coup, in a lecture before financiers that "the fascist regime was the finest form of democracy."

U.S. monopolies reinforced the military industrial potential of Germany, making profits in the process. *The New York Evening Post* noted that General Motors cleared \$30 million out of which \$20,000,000 were reinvested in industries "owned or controlled by Goering and other Nazi officials."

In 1936, the Germans, having multiplied their production of armaments in building up the army, started on their international campaign, intervening in Spain on behalf of the Spanish fascists. The defenders against Franco's forces were betrayed by the United States and France which proclaimed their "neutrality" and invoked a virtual embargo against the democratical-

ly elected government. Communists and progressives of many countries, including the American "Abraham Lincoln Brigade," came to their aid, but lacked the armaments and supplies needed to overcome the Hitler-supported terrorists.

In March 1938 the Nazis seized Austria. That annexation was recognized by Britain and France.

Immediately, Hitler went after Czechoslovakia, but that takeover was more difficult because there was the Franco-Soviet treaty to defend Czechoslovakia. Warning their nations about the possibility of war, Britain and France actually prepared to sell out Czechoslovakia. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain said, "How horrible that we prepare for war because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing." (*Winston Churchill, The Second World War*, London 1955, Vol. 1, p. 283).

At Munich in September 1938, Britain signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany, followed by a French-German agreement breaking the French mutual aid treaty with the Soviet Union. U.S. historian Herbert Feis wrote: "The Munich agreement had allowed Hitler to tear Czechoslovakia apart, leaving Poland and the Soviet Union exposed to German assault."

The USSR then offered to intervene, without France which would still have dissuaded Hitler. But Czech President Benes, under British pressures, caving in to Germany, refused Soviet aid. Hitler shortly thereafter occupied all Czechoslovakia.

A West German historian commented: "With Bohemian soil resounding to the tread of marching Germans, the whole world caved in. The path to the East had been paved for the German Reich."

The British and French, to appease mass sentiment, went

through the motions of negotiating with the USSR, but the terms were for one-way Soviet commitments only. Britain, as Hitler prepared to invade Poland, sent a mission to Moscow, but the delegation was delayed inordinately, and when it finally arrived did not even have the authority to conclude an agreement with the USSR. The Polish government, inspired by the British, refused to join with the USSR against German aggression.

On August 20, 1939 the Germans renewed negotiations on a proposed non-aggression treaty with the USSR, which the Soviet Union had turned down so long as there had seemed any chance of an agreement with Britain and France. This pact protected the USSR from immediate German attack. The agreement "was to save the Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia and the Baltic Republics from a German invasion. The Soviet government received German assurances that the line formed by the rivers Tissa, Narev, Bug and Vistula would not be crossed."

And as a German historian Ernst Neikisch wrote: "Soviet vital interests required destroying the English-German relationship so thoroughly as to end the fear of an Anglo-German conspiracy against the Soviet existence."

The Nazi army invaded Poland September 1, 1939. The British and French declared war, but did nothing to help Poland, nor did they attack Germany. There ensued the period of the "phony war," until Hitler was ready to attack. But the USSR was severely denounced for using that time to regain its territory, taken from it during the Civil War after the Russian Revolution, and to



PWW file photo

prepare for the imminent German assault.

Many American progressives joined in denouncing the USSR, and the U.S. Communist Party lost supporters for defending the Soviet position. The fact that England, a few months earlier, had concluded a similar pact with Hitler was neither publicized nor criticized in the United States.

In the summer of 1940 the Germans launched the offensive that destroyed the independence of France, drove the British out of Belgium and France, and subjected England to the German air blitz. It forced Britain and the United States to ally themselves with the Soviet Union against Hitler when the Wehrmacht invaded the USSR in June 1941.

A Soviet-British Treaty of Alliance was signed in London in May 1942. On June 11 in Washington a Soviet-American agreement was concluded on mutual delivery of supplies. A Soviet-American communique stated that "full understanding was reached between the two parties with regard to the urgent task of creating a second front in Europe in 1942."

This may well have been the

meeting between Molotov and U.S. representatives referred to in Elliott Roosevelt's "fictional" book. It was characteristic that Churchill came on his heels to undermine the second front agreement. However, many influential Americans also opposed the second front. In my personal experience, German "refugees" (in U.S. government positions) were vocal in opposing the second front on false grounds of inadequate supplies.

Churchill promised a second front in 1943 but broke his word again, with the support of U.S. officials.

The situation in 1943 was favorable for opening the second front.

By the summer of 1943 the U.S. Army was almost 7,000,000 and the British 2,600,000 strong. In just 12 months the U.S. armed forces received 54,000 aircraft and 33,500 tanks.

*The Great Patriotic War* described that "A landing in France was practical (and) Churchill told Washington that the probable time for the second front would be August or September 1943. However in May Churchill journeyed to Washington and reached an understanding with Roosevelt that Allied operations would be confined to the Mediterranean theater until mid-1944."

British and American workers campaigned for the second front. The U.S. Amalgamated Automobile Workers, on behalf of its 800,000 members, adopted a resolution saying: "Now that Hitler is reeling under the blows of our Soviet allies an invasion of Europe is insistently necessary to make the Axis countries surrender uncondi-

tionally. Defeat the Axis in 1943 - that is the battle-cry of the Americans and all the United Nations."

Vice-President Henry Wallace declared in February 1943 that if the United States and Britain exerted joint effort matching that of the Russians, Germany could be "beaten before the end of 1943.

Goebbels wrote in his diary in March 1943: "One dreads to think what would happen if the English and the Americans were suddenly to attempt a landing."

The Nazi generals expected it. But Churchill said that a landing in Western Europe was not envisioned until German resistance was "weakened to the required

mination of Russians and Germans. Obtaining the presidency he declared: 'a strong attitude towards the Soviet Union.'"

Almost surely Wallace would have prevented the atomic bombing and fire bombing of Japanese cities. The U.S. and Britain invaded Western Europe in 1944, not to help the USSR but to prevent the Red Army from taking all of Germany and to prevent the people of France, Italy, Belgium, Greece, etc., who were liberating their countries from the German occupiers, from setting up socialist regimes.

The American and British forces, while bolstering the Western front against Hitler, were also, in fact, occupying forces repressing the peoples of Western Europe. At Yalta, in February 1945, Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed on the lines of advance on the two fronts - along the Elbe in large part. In practice, U.S. troops went beyond that line at several key points, notably in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany, but were ultimately forced to retreat. While it was agreed that the Red Army would take

Berlin, on September 15, 1944 Eisenhower wrote Field Marshall Montgomery: "Clearly, Berlin is the main prize. There is no doubt whatsoever, in my mind, that we should concentrate all our energies and resources on a rapid thrust to Berlin."

Even after the Crimea Conference, which recognized Berlin as part of the Soviet occupational area, Churchill sent an urgent message to Roosevelt: "From a political standpoint we should march as far east into Germany as possible, and should Berlin be in our grasp



PWW file photo

extent."

What a shame that FDR conceded to Churchill, ignoring his own vice-president. Many millions more of Soviet people had to die because the Western powers were saving their own forces and pursuing their own anti-Soviet aims! What a tragedy that Roosevelt dumped Wallace in favor of Truman for the 1944 elections. Leahy, in his *I Was There*, wrote that Truman was the same one who, on June 24, 1941 "discoursed in the U.S. press on the advantages that would accrue from a mutual exter-

we should certainly take it." He made a similar plea to Eisenhower.

American battle deaths in World War II, against Japan and Germany combined, came to 292,000 – a terrible toll. But Soviet battle deaths amounted to 20 times as many, a devastating demolition of the youth of that nation, without even considering the many millions of civilians killed. And because of U.S.-British deliberate tactics in fighting Hitler's army, Soviet troops suffered millions of unnecessary deaths and casualties.

The Soviets were always cooperative, including, for example, starting an offensive against German troops in January 1945, earlier



than planned, in response to an appeal from Churchill, whose troops were reeling from a Nazi counteroffensive in Belgium. Why was there a difference in attitude? The Soviets really wanted peaceful cooperative relations with the capitalist states. Its allies, however, while forced to cooperate with the USSR to save themselves from Hitler and the Japanese militarists, never gave up their virulent hatred of the Soviet Union, Communists and Communism. That explains why the end of World War II was followed by the McCarthyite fascistic reign of terror in the United States, and the Anglo-American reactionary interference in Western Europe once the shooting stopped.

At the time 1945-1946 many were certain that the Communists

would prevail in France and Italy. They would have without the U.S.-British intervention. It was not to prevent a Soviet "invasion," as propaganda had it, but to prevent liberation of Western Europe by the people themselves.

The United States spent billions in reviving the economies of



the capitalist governments it established in Western Europe. At the same time, Washington initiated the economic Cold War against the Soviet Union, its former ally, which was so much in need of assistance to recover from the terrible wartime destruction.

Tremendous Soviet accomplishments followed World War II, domestically and as a spur to progress internationally. Yet in 1991-1992 the USSR fell apart with no more military force than Yeltsin's shock troops' destruction of the Soviet Parliament and the murder of several hundred Russians in the process.

The Soviet Communist Party,

weakened by a series of mortally ill and then by morally corruptible leaders, was prey to the treachery of Gorbachev. While professing loyalty to socialism, he step by step was able to displace the militant Party leaders and, by the end of 1988, take decisive steps toward a capitalist counterrevolution. His disguised betrayal was not understood at the time by Soviet officials – or by much of the world's Communists. And he was supported by Party opportunists and intellectuals beguiled by capitalist greed.

Serious analysis of the factors that led to this tragic counterrevolution is called for. The destruction of the USSR has set back the working-class and national liberation



movements throughout the world. And its fall has proven how powerful was its voice for peace in world councils.

Revival of the Russian revolution is necessary and inevitable, but will require a political mobilization comparable to the economic-military achievement of the war against Hitler. Any review of the history of this century is convincing that it will be done. The progressive forces of the capitalist world cannot sit back as observers of unfolding events in the former USSR. Our responsibility is to struggle against the forces of war and monopoly capital in our own country, difficult as are the barriers in the way to success. □

# IMPERIALISM, MALNUTRITION AND CHILDREN

There is a set of posters produced by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) that may say it all. One shows the smiling face of a six or seven-year old Black child with a caption in bold letters asking "What do I want to be when I grow up?" followed by a second poster that replies "Alive."

During the festivities of the UN's 50th anniversary in 1996, Cuba's president Fidel Castro reminded the world body that World War II, the event that gave birth to the United Nations, resulted in over 50 million deaths worldwide, or about ten million for each year of conflict. He then added solemnly that to this day, half a century later each year still averages about the same ten million needless and preventable deaths. The tragedy, he added, was more serious. A disproportionate number were children, millions of whom would never be realized. The World Health Organization (WHO) has issued its annual report and plea that will hopefully awaken the world community to this continuing catastrophe.

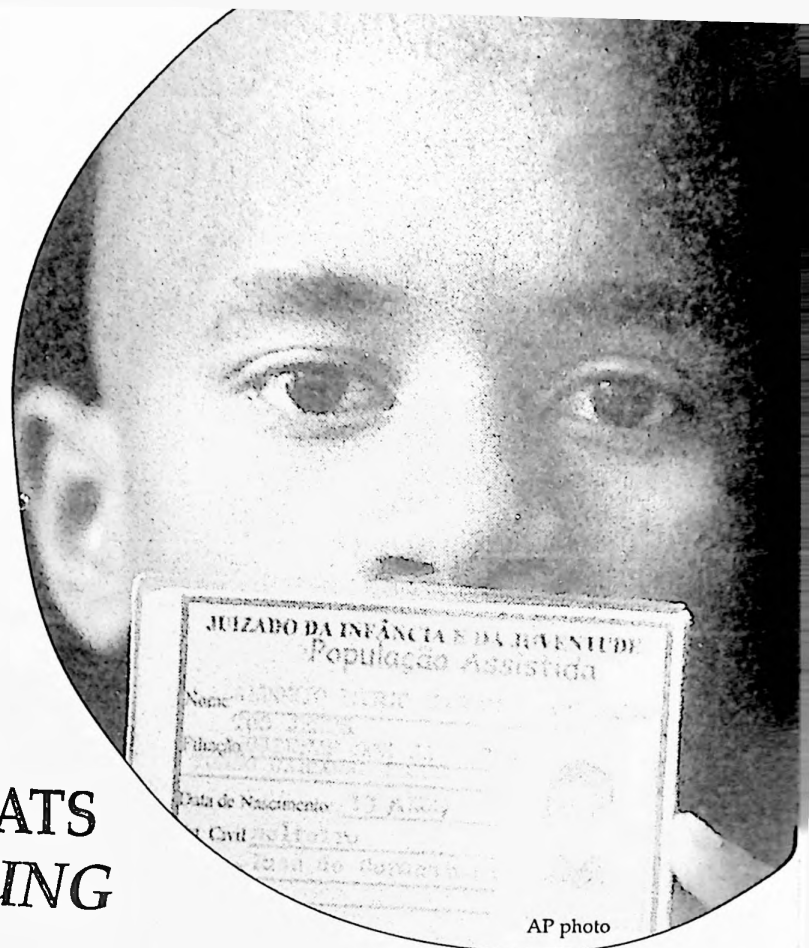
Don Sloan is assistant editor of PA.

## CAPITALISM EATS ITS YOUNG

The statistics are chilling: today at least 180 times more is spent on war than peace. Our own military-industrial complex pays out as much in a matter of four to five hours as we allot to health care in a year. These figures, however, do not seem to embarrass the ruling establishment into any form of contrition. This past year on network television, for instance, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright was asked if Washington's sanctions and bombing policy against Iraq were worth the many thousands of innocent children's lives lost. She said "Yes, it is worth it" with a straight face.

Poverty remains the world's most prevalent disease, its subtleties as damaging as its more overt forms. What is arguably the world's most significant emergency is properly labeled "silent". It has stirred little public alarm despite the fact that it accounts for more than half of children's deaths worldwide. The emergency? Malnutrition.

The annual UNICEF report for



AP photo

Don Sloan

1998 reminds the world of the myths attached to the phenomenon we casually call malnutrition. These myths allow the affluent world to claim that it is dealing adequately with the problem by sending over cargo planes crammed with food, goodies, or a few boatloads of medications, all of which represent a veritable cup of water in a vast ocean.

Three-quarters of the world's children dying from malnourishment often reveal no outward symptoms to the casual observer. The silent effects continue, taking their toll when a small infection becomes life threatening - in a chronic state of malnutrition, even the most minor injury can become severe.

According to one myth, all the world's malnutrition is due to geographic famine, natural disasters, wars, refugee migrations, and the ecology that denies some regions of the globe adequate water, foliage, and land for food growth. To the contrary, such events represent only the visible damage done by malnu-



model of 1000 children, 500 remain without shelter from the elements and more than half are illiterate and hungry.

The AIDS epidemic

of these past 20 years has provided us with data and a better understanding of many other disease patterns. It is no wonder that areas such as sub-Saharan Africa (its HIV incidence the highest in the world) have malnourishment at the root of their predicament. Every child born into squalor and pain, with little or no opportunity for nutrition, sanitation, and drinkable water will have a suppressed inborn immune system that allows, after only the slightest exposure common and otherwise minor infections to wreak damage. Common childhood viruses that would be well handled and controlled by a child born into affluence become violent and vicious diseases from which there is no survival. Such are the silent ravages of malnutrition.

trition and poverty, the roots of which lie in the political-socioeconomic system controlling the world's wealth. As a result, the world's vast supply of food, potable water, and natural resources, easily adequate to feed the entire population alive today, are not owned or controlled by indigenous people in their own lands. These issues go ignored by the nations that are in charge of the world's economy.

UNICEF put forth the reminder that all of this is not necessarily confined to the undeveloped world. Instead, there are pockets of malnutrition in all of the industrialized nations where disproportion exists. Physiologists point out that malnutrition's heaviest toll is taken when a child's mind and body do not develop in proper fashion due to a deprivation of foodstuffs, vitamins, minerals, and water that are required for healthy growth and maturation.

Sadly, the dents made worldwide in the impoverished nations' food and water needs have also been a proverbial drop in the bucket. The number of undernourished children in the world continues to grow. In the UN's global village

The Under Five Mortality Rate (U5MR) figure indicates, simply enough, the number of children alive at age five per 1000 live births.

The atmosphere's casual bacteria and viruses attack even before birth. The fetuses of malnourished mothers nurture their maturing demanding organ systems without

the benefit of basic of nutrition. Their chances of survival through the critical years of childhood up until age five are very slim.

The scope of malnutrition in children in the world, and its counterpart, poverty, has been underplayed by even those most sensitive to the world's political scenery. Its fallout is broader than imaginable.

The Under Five Mortality Rate is now being used by the UN and its various agencies to rate, describe, and report on the lack support systems in countries that continue to be stuck in the abyss of malnutrition and poverty.\* Two statistics have seemed to match country for country with the Under Five Mortality Rate: the number of households with water and the rate of literacy. These figures are a striking reflection of a country's malnutrition and poverty levels.

The UNICEF report stresses the link between child malnutrition and general poverty. But this only tells a small part of the story. It lists three components of nutrition and what it takes to lower the Under Five Mortality Rate: food, health care, and social care - but to accurately gauge how much needs to be done in each nation is very difficult to do. There are regions in the world with seemingly adequate nutrition and foodstuffs that suffer from general malnutrition because they are not being used



properly. These are areas where schools are either nonexistent or almost devoid of adequate teachers and administrators. Food supplies are only one part of the equation that needs attention if malnutrition is to be properly eliminated.

Social care includes the care supplied by parents, family and other peer influences such as churches, schools and community, as well as basic health care facilities and health care professionals. In most of the Third World, disease epidemics and nutritional needs are traced to misinformation or just no information at all given to mothers and teachers from poorly trained staff at clinics and hospitals. (One vivid example of this is the spread of AIDS throughout the Third World from the use of unsterilized needles and other medical instruments being used on one patient after the other in clinics and hospitals).

Not to be ignored are the various political, legal and cultural factors at all levels that make life so difficult that the general fatigue from just staying alive takes its toll. Even when food seems to be adequate and at times even plentiful, without energy, motivation, and most importantly the hope that famine will not resurface, the will to stay alive is dampened. UNICEF stresses this point over and over

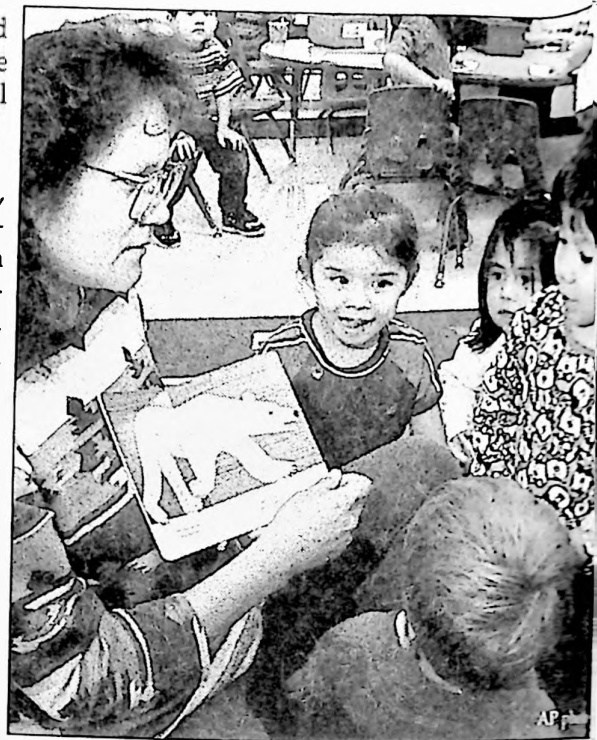


again: mere supplies and donated money does not solve the problem, a more total approach is needed.

**SOLUTIONS** ■ The solutions, despite UNICEF's good intentions, still escape those with the power to make a difference. UNICEF compliments, for example, the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for starting the new Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Debt Initiative in 1996. This is designed to assist nations in the Third World to achieve some sort of stability in the debt service that forces them, in many cases, to part with over half of their gross national products.

The UNICEF report uses language that obscures the IMF and WB demands that are placed upon the Third World nations that are supposedly being helped. The terms "implementing social and economic reforms" are euphemisms for the restrictions that the IMF and WB place on wages, pensions, and work schedules as well as further cuts in the already near scavenged social reforms. As debts are seemingly reduced, so are the schools, hospitals, sanitation plants and environmental protective regulations. A cruel "hand-out," it leads to exactly what UNICEF was warning the world about: the survival of the world's children depends on more than just food and a roof over their heads.

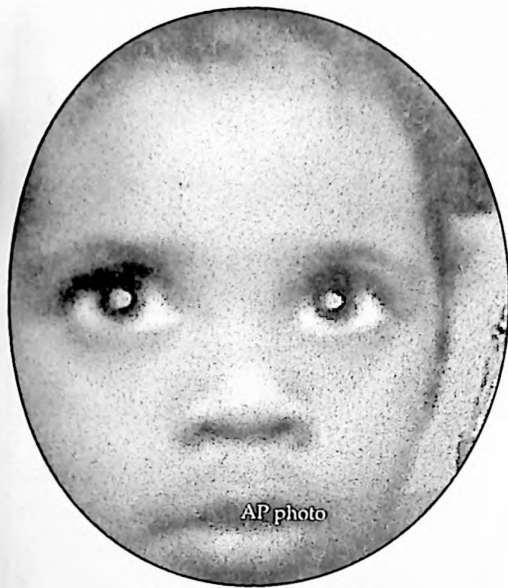
The interventions of the IMF and the WB along with industrialized nations' banks further take advantage of Third World nations. This past year, the IMF boasted of the success of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative in channeling funds along with debt service reduction to



Bolivia and Uganda. What was omitted in the report were the further claims made by the member banks and their corporate owners that they took away more of Bolivia's tin and Uganda's copper supplies. They cannot admit that as long as Antwerp controls the diamonds, Munich the gold, Houston the oil, Brussels the uranium, London the coffee, and Wall Street the manufacturing plants the poverty and malnutrition in Third world nations will stay endemic. The price paid for in millions of hungry and illiterate children is in the faces of the victims and in the message of the UN's poster. The IMF, WB, and their member nations never seem to address the fact that the clothing and baubles sold in the malls of the first world comes from the labor of nine year-olds working 16-hour days in plants and fields for mere pennies.

At the last telling, even the meager flow of money was disproportionate. In 1995, for example, the total \$232 billion in aid included \$59 billion from official sources and philanthropic handouts. Middle-income countries were the biggest recipients; the two regions with the highest rates of childhood malnutrition and the worst Under Five





AP photo

Mortality Rates that are in the high 200s – sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia – received only \$1.6 billion and \$5.2 billion respectfully. The devious plan of these loan officers gets worse. In order to prevent excessive exports of manufactured goods from the poorer nations, high tariffs and quotas are implemented, making hope all the more distant. Other controls and regulations that are “silent” but nevertheless damaging to the impoverished nations go unrecognized. They are often forced to accept refuse and waste from industrialized nations, leading to more pollution, less water, and more sickly children. This past fall, when it was discovered that our poultry industry had an excess of dark meat wings and legs from poultry sales to supermarket customers who apparently prefer white meat, the dark portions were shipped en mass to Haiti as a condition to their aid. The fallout created an impossible form of competition that could not be met by Haiti’s own poultry farmers. Many failed under the weight of trying to meet the now lower market.

Changes in the economy and politics of many nations this last half of the 20th century have offered many opportunities to study and come to grips with the roots of child malnutrition. In the second half of this century, China,

the world’s largest nation with about one-fifth of the planet’s population, went from a war-torn, opium-riddled, illiterate cesspool to take its place as a modern member of the world community. A controlled birthrate, marked advancement in literacy, and an Under Five Mortality Rate of 47 are among its proud accomplishments. Just 50 years ago China had the world’s highest rate of syphilis; this past year, its case rate approached zero. Children took on a new priority, with massive immunization programs, and, of course, schooling and day care centers for families with working mothers.

The Union of South Africa, under apartheid, always had a highly respected and sophisticated medical system for the white ruling class that provided the world with the first cardiac transplant and an Under Five Mortality Rate in the 40s. But, along with the United States, it was one of two countries with a need to report two mortality rates, each to allow for its two-tier racist economy. The vast majority of South Africans under apartheid were left with poor health and severe malnutrition, with children, as usual, taking the brunt.

But perhaps the most dramatic turn around and success story of this century has been the one still under way in Cuba, after its almost 40 years of socialism. Potable water has now reached virtually 100 percent of the island. Every child is required to be in school until age 16, and illiteracy is approaching zero. Its priorities begin with its newborns, its children, and its youth

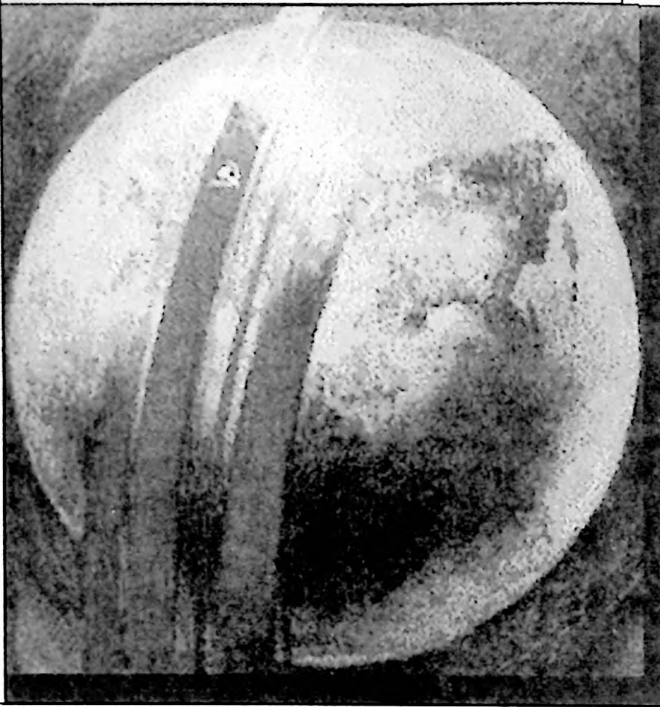
The real solutions are there for all to see. Short of socialism and the tearing asunder of capital-driven economies that put people before profits, a more reform must be sought and strived for. The social changes seen in the USA as a part of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal to move America, and the world, out of the throes of the Great Depression come to mind as examples to be followed.

Work programs, Social Security, pension plans, child labor laws, minimum wages at levels that allowed for the working class to reasonably purchase the products of their labors, and required schooling were the openers. Regrettably, health care was sorely neglected, with powerful private health-care lobbies holding power. At his first inaugural, FDR stated that one-third of America was ill clothed, ill housed and ill fed. The poor and working class still needs help, more now than ever. With a political climate that has given us a Christian coalition that threatens us with total control, a Gingrich-inspired Contract On America that further tries to gut all of the New Deal’s social reforms, the work of progressive forces is clearly defined.

The debt is now so huge and growing at such a rate that eventually reforms will no longer be possible. Even the forces of capitalism must come to see that by salvaging the world’s children and providing them with the means to grow into strong and productive adults, their contribution will allow the capitalists ever-demanded profits to stay intact. Only a healthy and productive work force receiving adequate wages could ever hope to seriously handle a debt of such proportion.

The adage that goes “If a man is handed an ear of corn, he will eat one meal; if allowed to tend to the corn crop, he will eat until the harvest is over; but if given the field and taught the art of farming, he will eat forever,” still applies.

The bottom line remains the same: until the children and the families of the earth own their own means of production, their self determination and chances of survival will stay at zero. It is only then that that the young man in the UN poster will strive to be more than simply alive when he is all grown up. Only then will we be able to proudly brag that none of our children sleep in the streets. Those are days worth working toward. □



## Socialism is the Future Build it Now

South African Communist Party

Since the 9th Congress of the South African Communist Party (SACP) a distinct ideological consolidation and strategic coherence is evolving. Activists and leaders have increasingly wrestled with our 9th Congress call to "Deepen, Defend and Advance the Democratic Breakthrough," on the one hand while on the other hand we have been grappling with the concrete meaning of our strategic slogan: "Socialism is the Future, Build it Now!" By 1997 the Central Committee adopted a program of action to consolidate this socialist perspective in practice.

The SACP has been and is still committed to building a strong ANC, COSATU and broad democratic movement in South Africa. While doing this, we will constantly strive to balance self development, as an independent political formation, while discharging our collective responsibilities within this movement.

The 10th Congress of the SACP

responsibility to work closely with the organized formations of the working class. This is the stratum of the working class that has traditions, numbers and capacity to play a leading strategic role in the struggle to consolidate the national democratic revolution (NDR) and build socialism. The SACP's work on this front must be directed towards developing the class confidence, the political, strategic and leadership skills of workers. We must ensure that organized workers do not allow themselves to be confined to a narrow workerism, to narrow oppositionist and sectoral politics. They have to embrace a practice and strategy of transformative unionism.

To carry out this task the SACP must:

- Establish industrial units capable of conducting systematic socialist ideological work in major industrial localities.
- Greatly extend our joint program of political education with

realized that building the Party could not happen at the level of theoretical abstraction that locked us in a preoccupation with mass versus vanguard. There was an overwhelming realization that these weaknesses largely constituted an internal threat that was extremely self destructive and limited the political effectiveness of the Party.

The SACP has a special

our trade union allies.

- Jointly convene socialist forums.

- Encourage worker plans, that draws on the knowledge, experience and skills of workers to ensure production is geared around meeting basic needs rather than profits. This means worker plans must put forward alternatives for their enterprises and industries.

- Emphasize the strategic objective of worker participation, control and ownership.

In working-class struggles, and in legislative and other policy making processes directly affecting workers and the world of labor, the SACP must always view a longer-range vision of the transformation and democratization of the economy.

The SACP must seek to defend and advance those measures that increase the power of workers over the production process, that enhances self-management, that weakens ownership and managerial monopoly exerted by the capitalist class.

The SACP must also always seek to unite working people, underline their common strategic interests across the divides of race, ethnicity, gender, and, in the case of thousands of migrant workers, country of origin.

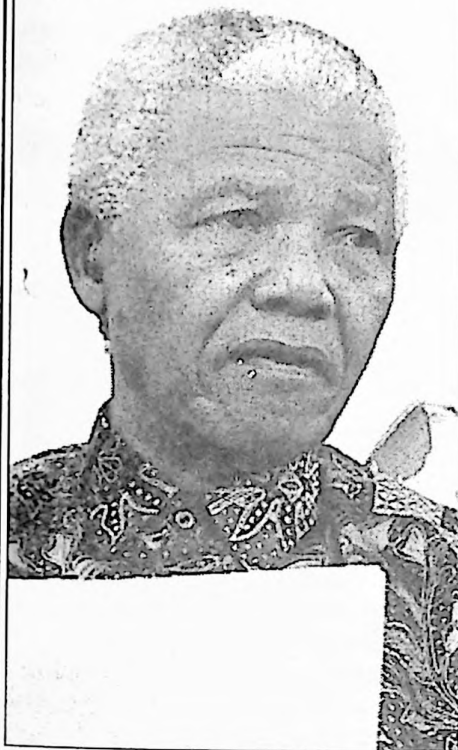
### BUILDING SOCIALISM WHERE WE LIVE

Working closely with our allies, the ANC, COSATU locals, etc., the SACP must constantly seek to build the capacity of the working-class and poor communities, to enable them to become active participants in their own ongoing liberation. This means we have to immerse ourselves in developmental, democratization and transformational struggles.

These include:

- Socializing provincial and local government by ensuring popular participation in policymaking, budgeting, legislative drafting and

AP photo



to domestic violence, child molestation, abuse and violence against women;

- Building an alternative economic front which should harness, for example, social movements, the unemployed, landless rural poor, the disabled and small and medium enterprises to build new economic relations. This should center around collectively developing strategies for local economic development, building a cooperative movement and confronting the banks on "bad" debts, as well as the establishment of people's budget forums at a local level;

- Locally-based literacy and education initiatives that utilizes schools and other community resources to create a culture of adult learning, as well as popular involvement in broad education issues.

- Campaigns to defend and sustain the environment. The SACP must be at the forefront of struggles to expose, and the struggle against, the plundering and abuse of the environment by capital, as well as to protect the environment from individuals and communities. In rural areas it should initiate campaigns that prevent soil erosion and alternative uses of energy and resources. We should also engage in struggles to limit smog in urban areas and campaign for heavy penalties on polluters and target youth to develop environmental awareness. We should also engage in struggles to protect indigenous knowledge, to oppose toxic waste dumping and to ensure health, safety and environmental protection on the farms, and in mines and factories;

- Developing a culture of a Communist presence. These should take the form of constant pamphleting, selling of Party literature, street talks and debates, as well community-focused communist activity.



**BUILDING THE ALLIANCE** □ The 10th SACP Congress resolved that only the alliance led by the ANC is capable of transforming this country in a progressive direction. Because of this understanding, all Communists in our country shall mobilize for a decisive ANC victory. We call upon all our provincial structures to develop election structures that immediately involve themselves in the overall election effort.

As South African Communists we live and work not just in our townships and factories and mines - we live in a particular region (southern Africa), and on a continent (Africa) that has been devastated by colonialism, imperialism, neo-liberalism, apartheid and Cold War proxy conflicts. We must approach our socialist tasks as South African Communists with a clear understanding of the world in which we live.

As the SACP we must assume responsibility for popularizing and involving millions of our people in:

- The struggle for regional reconstruction and development,

- For an African Renaissance that is based on principled anti-imperialism and genuine democratization and development as well as the promotion of the interests of the working class and the poor on our continent.

We must therefore:

- Be active in solidarity campaigns for those fighting against anti-democratic regimes in our

development planning. This can be further enhanced by tightening the connection between comrades engaged in governing, like local councillors, with community-based formations. In addition the Party needs to draw on its international links with Communists in other parts of the world that have experience with local and provincial government to enhance its capacity;

- Community-based campaigns which enhance community solidarity, collective identities and co-operative life styles. Such campaigns could include brigades to clean grave yards, particularly in rural communities, providing protection for pensioners and cleaning of schools and streets, house building, savings clubs, places of safety for abused women and children, networks of support and development for the disabled. We need to begin the implementation and the popularization of the national crime prevention strategy, on its objectives, with special emphasis on registration as police reservists, participation in community policing forums, fighting to put an end

region and continent.

- Struggle to cancel the debt of the poorest African countries, and for effective debt relief for others.

- Be active in the struggle against xenophobia, and for progressive immigration policies.

- Broaden our regional and African solidarity to include the Third World more generally. □

#### **CHILEAN CP CONGRESS**

This past October, while the red flag of the Communist Party of Chile waved in the spring breeze, delegates to the party's 21st Congress marched through the main streets of Santiago towards a park in the Quinta Normal neighborhood. They were celebrating both the success of the Congress, and the joyous news that former dictator Augusto Pinochet had been arrested in London.

The Congress ended colorfully with an open air event in the park which included wares from the neighborhoods of metropolitan Santiago. Flags representing Cuba, Spain, Argentina, Mexico, Portugal, Vietnam, Bolivia, Japan, Brazil and Morocco signaled the presence of many foreign guests who were warmly applauded by a large audience. The political part of the Congress closed with an address by General Secretary Gladys Marin, who emphasized the main resolutions coming from the Congress. She also analyzed the new political situation following Pinochet's arrest. The contradiction in Chile, she said, is one of both democracy and lack of democracy. The country is not yet truly democratic, a result of the political model put in place by the Pinochet dictatorship, which has been so well administered by the current Concertacion government.

"We hope," said Marin,

to build a new national, social and democratic state which will be sovereign and independent, in which a new constitution will be written by a Constituent Assembly. This will mean an

end to the legacy of the dictatorship, will establish a new electoral system and reform labor laws. We aspire to create a multi-ethnic state which recognizes the Aymara, Pasuense and Kawaska peoples as well as the cultural and political autonomy of the Mapuche people; a state which is part of the world community and part of a common front with other countries of Latin America.

We propose a national policy for the copper industry and declare as unconstitutional the current mining laws. We propose that the production of refined copper be increased. We wish to study the constitutions of mixed societies whose foreign companies are prepared to transfer their technology here and industrialize Chilean copper.

"To put these and other proposals into practice," she said,

it is necessary to create a powerful organized social and political movement which is capable of breaking down the current neoliberal system, of going beyond repression to increase its ability to impose legal, democratic advances. The development of the left and leading forces of this movement is the base which will sustain it.

The Congress analyzed the upcoming presidential campaign in which Marin is a candidate, and the advances of the Party in the trade union movement and among young people. It also discussed the basic organizational units of the Party, the role of a Leninist party, the importance of its newspaper *El Siglo*, issues such as unemployment, and the problems faced by peasants, women and the poor.

The importance of Gladys Marin's campaign goes beyond the 1999 elections, the Congress concluded, since the only way to build an alternative to the current model is "to create a popular movement which will put into place the profound changes needed in our society. The world crisis and its effects on Chile are creating the conditions

necessary to strengthen this movement."

Between the 20th and the 21st Congress, it was noted, important workers movements have been developing and the trade union movement has become more democratic, in spite of the legal and institutional constraints of the system. However, it is urgent to push for a new structure for the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), which is still very weak.

The Party supports the struggle of the Mapuche people against the destruction of their communities, and recognizes their right to social and political autonomy and to their own culture, lands, customs, languages and traditions. It proposes an increased role for shantytown dwellers in the struggle for democracy and to raise their standard of living, access to health care, and education.

The Congress approved the reform of the Party Statutes and agreed to create a commission which would update its program. It stressed the Leninist nature of the Party, stating that it is a party of revolution dedicated to the ongoing process of changing the current system. It is a Party which is formed in struggle and by the actions it undertakes to change the current reality.

As the Congress showed, Chilean Communists are in favor of forming a broad front against neoliberalism, against the unjust and unequal treatment of the Third World. They support the revitalization of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They stand in solidarity with Cuba, and support the continuation of the Sao Paulo forum to exchange experiences and develop alternatives to neoliberalism by embracing all forms of struggle.

The Congress increased the Central Committee to 80 members. Gladys Marin was unanimously elected as General Secretary for a second term. □

Reprinted from the *Peoples Voice*

*With Ossie and Ruby: In This Life Together* William Morrow and Company, Inc.: New York, 1998 (458 pages; \$25.0

**W**ith *Ossie and Ruby* is the wonderful autobiography of Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis written in celebration of their 50th anniversary of marriage. Reading this book is a rewarding experience that should be shared by young and old, Black and white. It is a joy to get to know these two human beings.

The book begins with each telling the story of their childhood and youth. Mr. Davis' creative authority emerges as he writes of growing up in the South: he speaks of the warm strength of his father and the dehumanizing influence of racism. Ms. Dee's earthy elegance is revealed as she remembers her years growing up in Harlem. Their experiences apart and together are discussed quite candidly with a content that is substantive and a form that makes for easy reading.

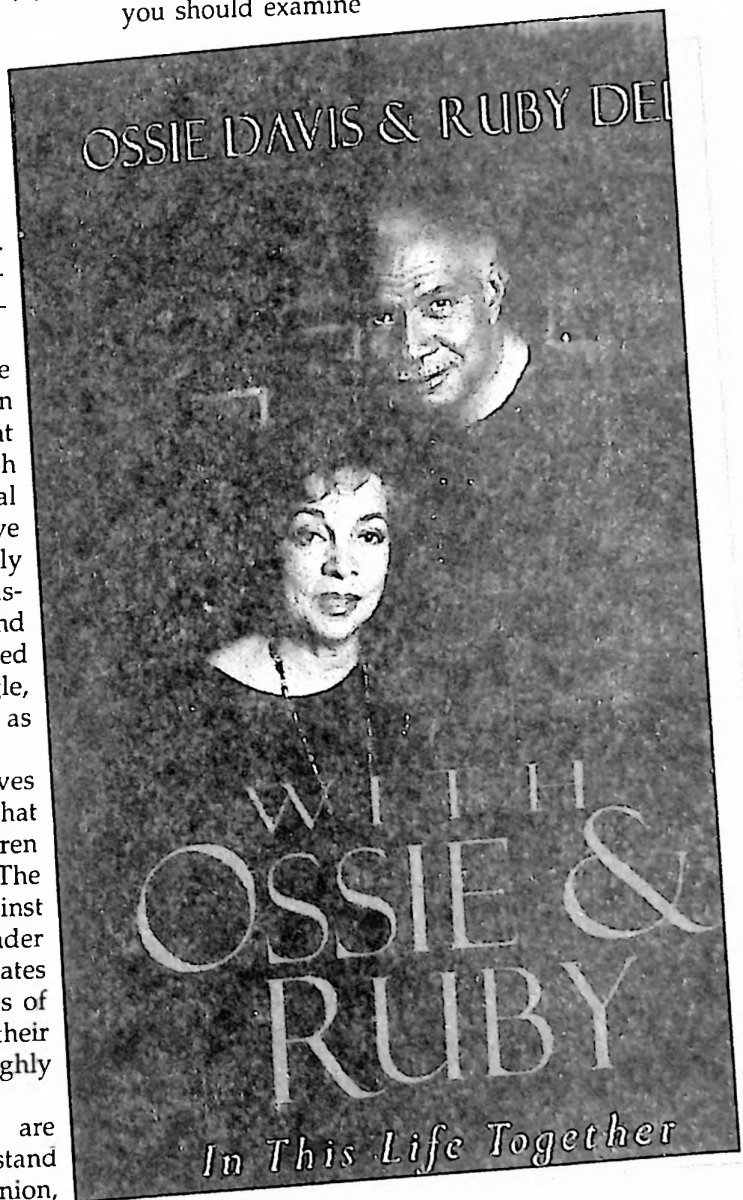
The accomplishment of 50 years of marriage is something about which most are curious. Even those who have reached such an achievement probably wonder how others made it. Through telling their story, Ms. Dee and Mr. Davis reveal that through there were bumpy roads and creative improvising, at the bottom they are both basically two decent people whose passion for and compassion about the world in which they live go beyond themselves as individuals. They became involved with and committed to what they call the struggle, and the struggle gave them a reason for being as two independent human beings and as a union.

The struggle was so interwoven in their lives that one of their greatest hopes now is to have that struggle embrace their children and grandchildren in the future as it embraced them in the past. The struggle, to them, is embodied in the fight against human indignity caused by poverty, racism, gender inequality, and unemployment. They are advocates of a new and better society. They are advocates of "Something more like socialism" to paraphrase their words. They loved Paul Robeson and speak highly of William L. Patterson, as well as others.

Their individual techniques and talents are imparted in the book. Each storyteller could stand alone and hold one captive, but together, in union,

they produce a forceful exploration of their humanity that is a delight to behold. It is truly easy to fall madly in love with their genius and quality of character. They allow you to enter into the recesses of their lives, revealing the blemishes, with no pretense of perfection.

You must read this book and must pass it on to others. I can think of no greater gift for any occasion: birthday, wedding, any holiday or anniversary. Every one you know should be encouraged to read this book, and you should examine



together the history, art, culture, and politics explored within the texts. The point is not to agree with every line but to walk away knowing two people who are worthy of your time. You will walk away after having strolled the earth in their shoes, and you will be marvelously enriched as a result.

Few people would share so openly the ups and downs of how their presence on this earth has unfolded. More people need to understand that it is a profound contribution to offer their lives as an example, a guiding light of ways, of making it through the trials and tribulations of capitalist society. Mr. Davis and Ms. Dee conclude with struggle, organized resistance, as the only path, the only key to unlocking the search for satisfaction and the secret of joy. I thank Mr. Ossie Davis and Ms. Ruby Dee from the depths of what was my broken heart (it has been healed), my weary soul (it has been reborn), and my tired spirit (it has been rejuvenated).

*Dee Myles*

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*Underwriting Democracy*, by George Soros 1992, New York and *The Crisis of Global Capitalism: Open Society Endangered* By George Soros 1998, New York

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This book is the account of Soros' determination, beginning about 1985-86, to undermine socialism throughout Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

Soros left Hungary in 1947, going first to Europe and then to the United States, where he became a billionaire. Not covered is how and when Soros, who went to London claiming to be a penniless student, accumulated the funds on which his billions were built. An indication is given in his revelation that he lied to the Jewish board of Guardians in order to get a financial grant, although he was already drawing "National Assistance" benefits: "That permitted me to write with moral indignation to the chairman, although I was cheating." (p.5)

Having multiplied his wealth promoting a mutual fund in the United States, he established the "Soros Foundation," which he used first in Hungary, then in eight other socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, for the purpose of undermining socialism and destroying the Communist political leaders. He used "Open Society" scholarships - in effect, bribes - to politicians willing to collaborate. By the late 1980s, the epoch of Gorbachev, such traitors were readily found in the various socialist countries.

Thus, he was banned in Hungary in 1987 by Communist leader Janos Kadar and others. He obtained a favorable review on Gorbachev's Moscow TV, relayed to Budapest, so he was able to resume his wrecking operations in Hungary anyway. His position in Moscow was confirmed in 1987, but his attempt to

organize a similar operation in China was defeated by the Communist leadership there. His functions in Poland were based on Walesa and his anti-Communist "Solidarity" organization. Soros named his Polish operation the "Stefan Batory Foundation" after "a Hungarian nobleman who became King of Poland and defeated the Russians in war." (pp. 15-16)

His first-hand revelations of the extent of Gorbachev's treachery are informative:

Where does Gorbachev fit into the picture? There can be no doubt that he played a crucial role in bringing about the present situation. Without him, events in Eastern Europe would not have accelerated the way they did. He deliberately set about dismantling certain features of the Soviet system. Did he want to destroy the whole system? If so, why? And what did he want to put in its place?

Just as man created God in his own image, until recently I was inclined to do likewise with Gorbachev. I believed that Gorbachev's view of the world was not very different from my own. Specifically, Gorbachev considered the difference between open and closed society to be the critical issue. In his mind, the transformation of the Soviet Union into an open society took precedence over all other objectives. That was the central point on which he and I were in agreement. (pp. 46-47)

In my opinion, with regard to his reference to God and man, I think Soros means that Gorbachev was created in his (Soros') image. That would be consistent with his admitted super-inflated ego. Of course in Soros' lingo, an "open" society is capitalist and a "closed" society is socialist. From his reference to events in Eastern Europe, it appears that Gorbachev's counterrevolutionary campaign was functional throughout most of his six-year stint as head of Party and state. It didn't become clear to me until the end of 1988 when Gorbachev, addressing a Party Congress, equated socialist and capitalist property relations - with masked terminology. Unfortunately, some in the U.S. Communist Party refused to believe this and, following Gorbachev's lead, caused an unnecessary splintering in the U.S. Party.

Soros admits that the counterrevolution harmed the USSR economically: "On balance, incremental benefits from newly authorized forms of economic activity have amounted to less than the harm done by the disruption of the established forms." (p.55) And that was written in 1991, before the real collapse of capitalist Russia's economy.

Soros, along with U.S. foreign economic officials, Italian and Israeli representatives, actively participated in Moscow in developing and promoting the "Shatalin Plan," adopted by Gorbachev and Yeltsin, for organizing capitalist USSR and Russia. It failed, and the "fully integrated and centralized [economy]... Stalin has brought into existence...Disintegrates." As a result, "...large numbers of people may literally starve or freeze to death... We may be facing one of the major

cataclysms of modern history." (p. 117)

Soros worked closely with Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard, who was an influential advisor to Gorbachev and other prominent officials in socialist countries. The influence of Soros – along with Sachs and other American "advisors" – is indicated by the substantial personal correspondence of Soros with Yeltsin. (pp. 102-103) Soros in all this was acting, directly and indirectly, as an agent of the power core of U.S. imperialism.

## II.

Soros' 1998 book, *The Crisis of Global Capitalism* deals with the world capitalist financial crisis still underway at this writing (January 1999). His book was completed and published only a few months ago.

The crisis broke out with the fall of the Thai baht in July 1997, soon followed by the currencies of Malaysia, Indonesia and other Asian countries. Soros admits that early in 1997 he started selling short the Thai and Malaysian currencies. And Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir did accuse Soros of precipitating the crisis with this speculation against his country's currency (p. 136). Soros denies the accusation, but he is guilty.

Sure, his speculation was only one of the factors involved – the crisis was ripe to occur. But it took specific incidents to ignite it, and Soros provided an important one. Mahathir has imposed exchange and monetary controls, and has refused to implement the IMF's anti-people prescriptions. For that he is vilified in Western media.

In 1998 the crisis hit hard in ruined Russia, providing Soros with an alluring opportunity:

I set up the International Science Foundation with a grant of \$100 million... We distributed \$20 million to the 40,000 top scientists: \$500 was then sufficient to subsist on for a year. The rest went to provide electronic communications and scientific literature and support research programs selected by international peer review. Meanwhile, the foundation I established in 1987 engaged in a truly wide range of activities, of which the most important was educational reform, printing new textbooks free of Marxist ideology... (p. 155)

Soros gives an example of how the Russian robber capitalist, picking up state property for a song, were able to multiply their investments nearly 100 times:

In 1996, the seven largest capitalists, who also controlled the media, decided to cooperate to ensure the reelection of President Yeltsin. It was a remarkable feat of political engineering. Subsequently the newly established oligarchy proceeded to divide the remaining assets of the state among themselves. (p. 154)

The perceptive reader will recognize the similarity with the political system of U.S. capitalism, except for

the rivalry over division of the spoils between two groups of billionaires, under the Republican and Democratic labels.

In much of the book, Soros sheds crocodile tears over the contradiction between "material values" and "moral values," between freedom to make profits and concern with human needs and values. He also sheds tears over the effective plundering of countries "at the periphery" by the United States and other major powers.

His comments about the actions of U.S. imperialism in the world are rather interesting:

The United States, as the sole remaining superpower, ought to resume its role as the leader of the free world. It cannot go it alone... it is not willing to pay the price that being the world's policeman would involve in human lives. And the world does need a policeman. [!!!VP] The well-known aversion of the U.S. public to body bags has greatly reduced the awe in which it is held by rogue states. You cannot be a policeman without running some risks.

As the United States cannot do it alone, Soros says, cooperation is required:

...and that is where the United States is balking. It is a shocking thing, but the United States has become the most retrograde country in the world with regard to preserving all the trappings of sovereignty...

The United States... has no constraints in flaunting its power internationally. It does act occasionally as an aggressor when it sees no danger of body bag – bombing of a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan is an example. Even more to the point, it is aggressive in refusing to cooperate. It refused to pay its dues to the United Nations; it hesitates to replenish the IMF; and it imposes sanctions at the drop of a hat or, more exactly, at the instigation of domestic constituencies..." (pp.230-231)

Soros sees the handwriting on the wall, and he knows some of its grave-diggers. He has: "no hesitation, however, in assuring that the global capitalist system will succumb to its defects, if not on this occasion then on the next one..."

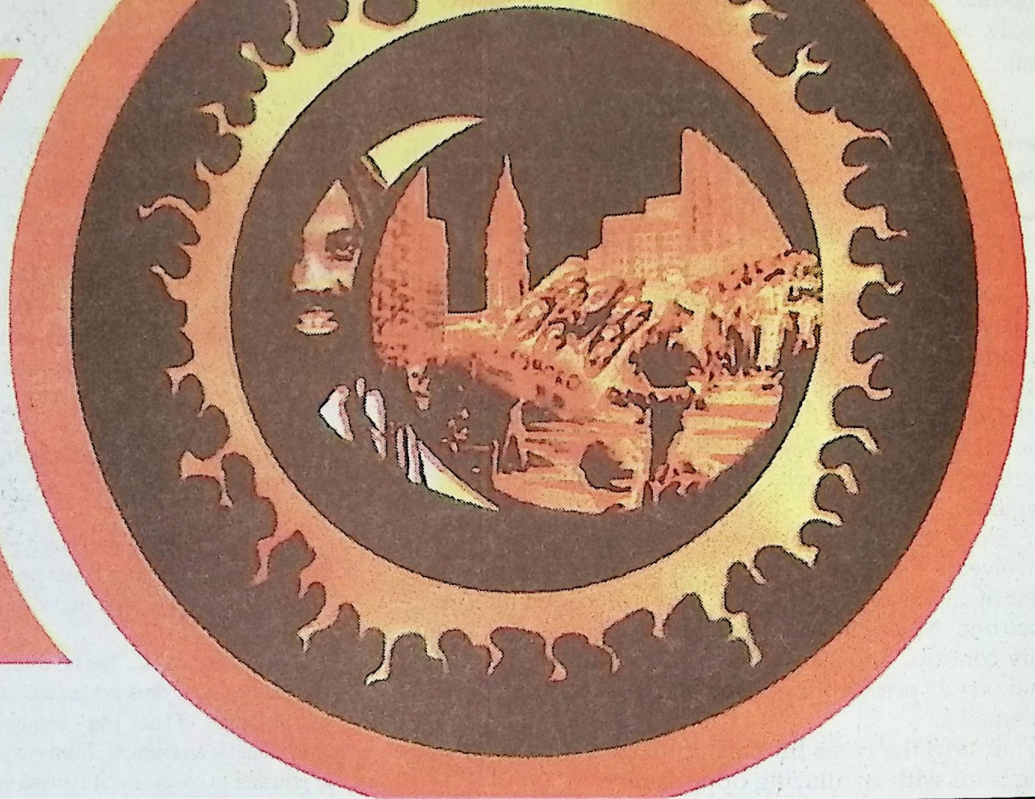
I can already discern the makings of the final crisis. It will be political in character. Indigenous political movements are likely to arise that will seek to expropriate the multinational companies and recapture the national wealth. Some of them may succeed in the manner of the Boxer Rebellion or the Zapatista Revolution. Their success will then shake the confidence of financial markets, engendering a self-reinforcing process on the downside... (p. 134)

The writing is on the capitalist wall. □

Vic Perlo

FROM SCOTTSBORO TO  
MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

THE  
DEATH  
PENALTY  
is  
DEAD  
WRONG.



70 years ago  
in Alabama 9  
Black men were  
wrongly con-  
victed and  
sentenced to  
death in a  
racist court.  
As the case of  
Mumia shows,  
today the  
injustice con-  
tinues - over  
60 percent of  
those on death  
row are Black  
men.

Fight  
Racism

END THE

DEATH  
PENALTY