

# Political Affairs

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# Political Affairs

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# Marxism-Leninism: Science for our Times

Gus Hall



Perhaps the most important factor in the course of all human development is determining the main direction of the processes that move human society from one stage of development to another. The science of Marxism-Leninism has made it possible to determine the course of events.

In order to determine the overall direction of developments one has to study the processes that take place within each particular stage. From such scientific analysis it is possible to project the overall course of human development and the general course all human societies must eventually take.

The advance of society from stage to stage is determined by inner-processes in each stage. These processes themselves are composed of stages and layers. Because everything in life is linked and many-sided, each process influences the other. Together they influence the total process.

In other words, every process takes a quantitative course in which it develops, but remains the same. However, all processes reach a point where quantity turns into a new quality and a qualitative change takes place.

As a rule, at that point the whole society advances to another, new stage of development. The new stage develops quantitatively until it too becomes a new quality and thus marks the beginning of another new stage. And so on. That is how society moves from one stage of development to another.

Of course it is possible for a society to move backward to a previous stage, as recent history shows. However, in accordance with objective laws of society and history, a backward move is always

temporary and inevitably such a society moves forward on a fast track.

For example this is the case with Russia. The regression to capitalism is, besides a setback for socialism, a terrible human tragedy for the people of Russia. That is why we call the current economic, political, financial and social collapse in Russia "a crisis of capitalism."

The process of development backward to capitalism took place through the process of privatization, the selling-off of large industries and natural resources to private, corrupt corporations and emerging capitalists. They got filthy rich buying socialist, socially-owned enterprises, resources and institutions at cheap prices and turning them into private, profit-making operations.

Marxism-Leninism gave the working class a science, a vital weapon in the class struggle. It enabled the working class, for the first time, to determine the course of events. Thus, our working class is equipped to decide the necessary course of action, tactics and strategy, to win against the most powerful, aggressive, violent and exploitive ruling class in human history, U.S. monopoly capitalism.

Before Marx, all of life, the world and the development of society were viewed as a big mish mash of events, as incidents and happenings without rhyme or reason. Things happened, events occurred but there was no sensible, consistent explanation for them.

Marx was able to debunk the old ruling-class concept that the primary cause for all change or developments was to be found in changing ideas, that it is human beings that perform great deeds, think of new ideas, and thereby make and change history.

Marx studied and revealed the existing laws of human society, the laws of how everything changes in the course of events. He made sense out of human society and history by applying these laws he had revealed.

Thus, just as Darwin discovered the laws of nature, so Marx discovered the objective, inner-laws of society. Using his new scientific tools he was able to get behind appearance and reveal the

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Gus Hall is national chairman of the Communist Party.

essence of developments.

He laid the basic foundation for the science of Marxism and later Marxism-Leninism: the materialist conception of history and the laws of motion – the laws of social development.

In the process of his exhaustive studies Marx also created a new way of studying, a new approach to probing developments, a new dialectical method of observing things.

With these scientific instruments Marx set about unraveling the overall, general development of human society and history.

Using his new scientific tools he was able to get behind appearance and reveal the inner-essence of developments.

Marx was able to reveal the order in society and history. He discovered that objective laws operate in society, that people can understand and utilize these laws in their own interests.

**MARXISM-LENINISM** ■ Most importantly, Marx proved there is a direction in which history is irrevocably moving. By knowing and applying the laws of society, the working class can know the direction of developments and the processes that operate to move developments forward, and thereby how to act to advance, influence and accelerate the direction.

By studying the direction of the specific processes that operate in society Marxism was able to understand and project that capitalism was going to develop into monopoly capitalism and then into state-monopoly capitalism, with the increasing role of the government (the state).

Lenin later revealed how monopoly capitalism developed into imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. He showed that through struggle, change and eventually revolution, the working class would make the revolutionary transition from capitalism to the next higher stage of development, socialism.

*The Communist Manifesto*, written by Marx and Engels, embodies and applies the laws and processes to analyze the overall direction of developments in society and to predict the future.

The 150 years since the *Manifesto* first appeared have proven in life that Marx was right when he made the historic revelation, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle."

By applying scientific theories to life Marx found the primary determining part of society – the class forces in relation to the process of production, the class struggle.

Marx was able to trace how out of one system another system develops – how slavery developed into feudalism, feudalism into capitalism, to monopoly capitalism and, inevitably to socialism.

The true value of any science is constantly weighed and tested as to whether it is a living, growing, expanding and deepening body of thought. Does it continue to be a true reflection and expression of the ever-changing essence of reality?

In the deepest sense, the revolutionary science to which Karl Marx gave birth, that Frederick Engels enlarged and Vladimir I. Lenin so creatively extended and developed, meets the most critical test of a science for our times and for the future.

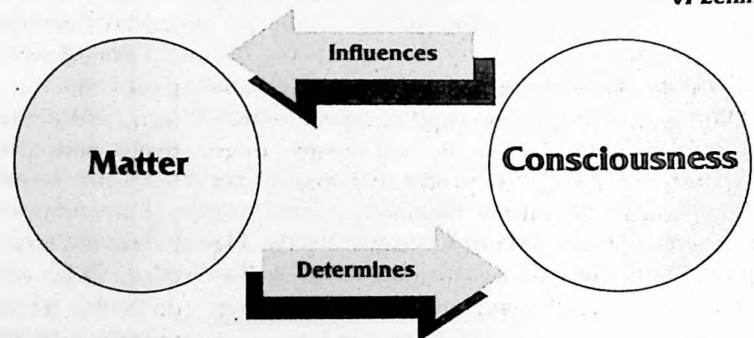
As I said, Marx created a new way of studying, a new approach to probing developments, a new method of observing things.

He showed why it was always necessary to penetrate, to get beneath the surface or veneer, and not to accept the appearance of a thing as the real thing.

**THE LAWS** ■ In order to get at the essence, the essential core of developments, it is necessary to know the objective laws of social, economic and human development. To know these inner laws is to know

## Principles of Dialectical Materialism

Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it ...  
The world does not satisfy man and man decides to change it by his activity.  
VI Lenin



the present.

But even more important, we can gain knowledge of what is coming by knowing the laws that bring about all change. This enables us to predict scientifically, not by premonition, superstition or guessing.

Understanding of the laws of capitalist development is a powerful factor in the struggle against capitalism. It gives the working class the ability to synchronize its actions with the objective processes taking place in life, in objective reality.

It provides the revolutionary movement with guidelines on how to take advantage of weaknesses in the ranks of the class enemy. It is a necessary foundation for solving such tactical questions as timing, disposition of forces, nature of alliances, etc. It is an absolute necessity for a mass approach to struggles.

Only by use of this science is it possible for the class-conscious sector of the working-class movement to determine when the objective processes and the subjective factors are ready for a new stage of struggle.

Tactics and timing are therefore closely related to a scientific ongoing assessment of objective reality.

Everyone sees objective reality, the processes and stages in society, from a class viewpoint. The ruling, capitalist class denies the existence of such laws because these laws expose the greedy, exploitive, anti-human, predatory nature of capitalism.

The rich exploiters see Marx as their number one enemy. They see Marx as the spoiler who exposed their nice, neat shell game. They will never forgive Marx for exposing forever their most guarded and sacred secret – the source of all their ill-begotten wealth. For he uncovered and proved for all to see that the wealth – private corporate profits – come only from one source: not from buying and selling but from exploiting workers.

**ANALYZING & PREDICTING** ■ In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx asserted that the capitalist system, during its rule of scarce 100 years, had created more massive and more colossal productive forces than had all preceding generations together.

In a sense, it is precisely because of the big monopolies and the vast expansion of the productive forces under capitalism, that it has outgrown itself.

Capitalism, because of its inherent contradictions, because of private ownership and lack of planning in production (anarchy) has now become an obstacle to the further development and progress of society. Marx and Engels proved that far from being utopian or a fantasy, socialism is the natural outcome of the development of capitalism.

Capitalism was an advance over slavery and feudalism. It was able to use the technology of its day. But now, in the age of the scientific and technological revolution, capitalism is out of step with the times.

Knowledge of and application of the laws of society also enable us to analyze more recent capitalist developments like monopolization, conglomerization, globalization and privatization, all processes in the overall development of capitalism.

The merger-mania in the U.S. has led to the dual processes of conglomerization and globalization. Globalization is a new word that also describes the new form and content of imperialism.

Global corporations are different than the monopoly corporations. Their structures, policies and actions are different. These new global giants have developed new strategies to fit the new structure and these new processes.

Then there is the rise of huge financial empires which are mainly the result of bank deregulation and bank mergers. These relatively new bigger banks and financial empires make mergers and globalization possible.

And, there is the privatization process, whereby various schemes are used to privatize, to turn public, socially-owned institutions and resources over to private corporations to plunder for profits.

These new processes mean huge layoffs, the end of any job security and, as Marx said, the increasing "pauperization" of the working class.

These processes have increasingly narrowed the already thin line between finance capital, corporate capital, the monopolies and the state.

Together, these developments are changing the basic economic structure of U.S. capitalism, and the form and content of U.S. imperialism. These relatively new processes are resulting in the basic restructuring of capitalism.

We understand and analyze these new trends by examining all the processes and changes in capitalism as it develops from one stage to another. We do it by tracing the changes in the production process and the class forces in relation to that

process.

All these new developments and processes point up the urgent need for much greater international working-class solidarity, demands for the shorter work week with no cut in pay, for nationalization of monopolies and industries, for internationalization of the trade unions, for new strategies and tactics in the sharpening class struggle.

Today, based on the inner laws of monopolies and imperialism, we know how U.S. capitalism must operate, must fall into and out of constant crises, must maximize profits and must ultimately be replaced by socialism.

In order to keep maximizing profits, the monopolies eat up smaller, weaker companies. And, today they merge with or take over even huge corporations and thus become conglomerates, colossal global monopolies and financial empires.

They keep downsizing to save money on labor while forcing the remaining workers to work harder for less.

They drive to privatize for their private profits all the public services, systems and institutions like hospitals, schools, sanitation, transportation, prisons, public lands and property.

**LAWS AND LIFE** ■ Corporate profits come only from one source, from the exploitation of workers. The more exploitation, the more profits. Speed up means squeezing more production for less pay. Wages have been steadily declining for over 20 years.

The lower wages of part-time workers means "double time" corporate profits.

Downsizing means mass layoffs, more profits.

Racism means more profits. Discrimination resulting in lower wage scales means increased profits for monopoly capital. The ideology of racism is based on the economics of profits. Racism was designed by the ruling class to justify inequality in jobs, wages and hiring.

The inequality of women is profitable. The lower wages for women workers means corporations reap more surplus value (profits).

High technology is more profitable. But under capitalism it means lower wages and loss of jobs.

Thus, the gap between the haves and have-nots in our country is one of the widest in the world. Two-thirds of all the wealth of our land is owned by 10 percent of the very rich.

Over six decades of fierce and bitter class struggles by workers and their unions won an economic

safety net of government programs – Social Security, unemployment insurance, welfare, disability, food stamps, etc.

In order to eventually get rid of hard-won entitlements altogether, the ultra-right in Congress and corporate interests are scheming to privatize welfare, Social Security and Medicare. Their assault on food stamps and welfare has created hunger, homelessness and permanent poverty for new millions.

Today the most reactionary sector of the ruling class, represented by the ultra-right Republicans in Congress, like Newt Gingrich and his "Contract on America," are pushing to gut all the programs that have served as an economic safety net for the the laid off, the very poor, the sick, disabled and elderly.

**THE ULTRA-RIGHT & THE FASCIST FRINGE** ■ U.S. state-monopoly capitalism is moving in a rightward, reactionary, in some areas of life even a fascist-like direction. It is increasingly anti-working class, anti-trade union, anti-democratic and anti-people.

The new gigantic concentration of wealth and power is related to the ultra-right in politics and to the rise of the extreme right fascist fringe – the militias, hate groups, right-wing religious organizations cults and think tanks.

Global corporations are the support base for ultra-right forces. The basis for the ultra-right fascist developments is in the monopolization process. The larger, more powerful and more worldwide – the more anti-union, anti-democratic and anti-working class they become. Thus, politics in the U.S. are more and more a reflection of the new level of state-monopoly capital.

The right-wing conspiracy to destroy the president and the reactionary forces and lawless methods being used, are clear examples of a fascist-like development in the United States.

Fascism always lurks in the bowels of the capitalist system. Fascist elements and forces arise and subside in accord with the power and strength of state-monopoly capital on one side of the equation, and the vigilance and active resistance of the people, especially the working class, on the other.

The counterforce to the fascist danger is the fight to preserve, defend and expand all democratic laws, rights, institutions and structures that make up our bourgeois democracy.

There are new, antagonistic contradictions in the development of capitalism that are fast becoming explosive, not only in the United States, but on a world scale.

There are signs that world capitalism is sinking into an economic crisis. Countries like Japan and a number of other Asian countries are already in deep crisis.

The worldwide crisis of capitalism is a reflection of the process of globalization and the privatization process. The capitalist system is sinking into a crisis that will be longer and deeper than ever before.

Because the world is becoming increasingly interconnected, a crisis in one country affects most of the other countries. For example, there cannot be a recession in Japan, a financial crisis and a crisis of overproduction and underconsumption in Southeast Asia, and an economic and political crisis in Indonesia and South Korea, without serious ripple effects in the economies of most capitalist countries.

The same global banks and financial institutions, ("financial galaxies,") operate in many countries. Therefore, when a crisis hits a financial institution in one country, very soon it impacts on banks and financial institutions in other countries.

The machinations of global finance capital, especially through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), are creating serious financial and economic instability in every part of the world. There is the beginning of a new collapse in oil prices, which will add to the instability. The capitalist crises in the ex-socialist countries are having an impact on the whole capitalist world. The world stock markets are volatile and very unstable. They are in a pattern of extreme swings, up and down. There is a crisis of overproduction and underconsumption. However, there is overproduction only because there is underconsumption. Wages continue to fall, unemployment grows, so people cannot buy back what they produce.

The unprecedented glut of profits, huge broker fees, high stock prices, the inflated value of stocks and whole companies that boom and then bust, all this and more are heavy weights on a system already in deep structural crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution is fast bringing on another new crisis. This is a crisis that is taking place alongside the economic crisis.

The capitalist system cannot deal with new tech-

nology because capitalists use and abuse the technology strictly on the basis of maximum profits. By its very nature it is a system of anarchy, of dog-eat-dog competition that has no place for planning and cooperation.

Under capitalism, the higher level of productivity is resulting simultaneously in a high level of joblessness and poverty. As the new technology produces more advanced automated and computerized systems, layoffs and plant closings will vastly increase.

Workers are being laid off because of the crisis of capitalism. They are being laid off because of the new technology. Part-time workers are becoming full-time unemployed.

Downsizing and layoffs are taking place at a time when the safety nets, such as welfare, are being ripped to shreds.

Thus, advances in science and technology create leisure and wealth for the ruling class and unemployment and poverty for the working class. Under capitalism, technology produces big profits for the ruling class, but nothing for the working class.

In the United States, the unprecedented instability, the ups and downs of the U.S. stock market, is a sure sign that the world crisis is already negatively impacting Wall Street and the economy. The world crisis will also negatively impact the level of production, foreign trade, consumer prices and jobs.

From the very beginning the capitalist system had very serious basic flaws because by its very nature it favors a small minority, the ruling class of corporate America and Wall Street. It is a system in which the rich get richer, the poor get poorer. The richer one is, the more economic and political power.

The biggest inherent flaw, and the most basic contradiction of capitalism is between the social nature of production (that more and more workers, collectively produce all the wealth) and the increasingly private ownership of that wealth, the means of production (factories, tools, machines, mines, etc), including natural resources, land and public property.

Buying and selling distributes profits. This process does not make profits. Only workers' labor power makes profits. The class struggle is the very essence of the struggle between the workers and the corporations. It is a struggle over the value that the



working class produces.

Today, more than ever, workers are locked in the battle with corporate America for a bigger share of what they produce. The power and organs of government and most laws that are passed, are weapons in this struggle.

Every process has a general direction it is moving in. For capitalism, the processes are now mainly negative. Capitalism goes in and out of crises. But the general direction is off the stage of history, to make way for socialism.

**MONOPOLY CAPITALISM TODAY** ■ What is the general direction of social and economic developments today, especially in relation to the class struggle?

The ruling class is moving in the direction of accelerating mergers, forming ever larger, giant global conglomerates, using the processes of downsizing, conglomerization, globalization and privatization to extend and expand their reach and power.

The working class is a victim of ever higher rates of exploitation. The results are mass layoffs, a lower standard of living and quality of life. On the other hand, the working class is also moving in the direction of greater militancy, class struggle trade unionism and radicalization.

In the last two years, workers joining unions has increased. There are more workers going out on strike. And, the strikes are bigger and last longer. Ideologically the working class is moving in the general direction of class consciousness and some are moving towards "Bill of Rights" socialism.

The number of professional workers remains constant. The number of scientific workers replacing industrial workers is increasing. The number of basic industrial workers is declining. The number of women workers is growing.

The population of nationally and racially oppressed peoples is increasing, especially the African-American, Mexican-American, Latino, Asian and American Indian peoples.

The number of African American and Mexican American workers is increasing. However, when compared to general wage scales, their wages are declining.

The number of children working, mostly in sweatshops, is increasing.

And, we now have what can be called "technological unemployment," machines replacing labor. It is estimated that in the next ten years for every 3,000

jobs high-tech industries create 50,000 jobs will be lost. The ever-new advances in science and technology have become entangled in the monopolies' single-minded determination to milk all the benefits of production for their private profits.

The number of overall jobless is increasing. The number of part-time workers is increasing.

The number in poverty is growing. The number of homeless is increasing. The number of people in prison, especially African American and Latino peoples, keeps growing.

Because of takeovers by agribusiness, the number of family farmers is dwindling.

The number of people on drugs and afflicted with AIDS keeps increasing.

There are more unpaid mortgages and bank loans than ever before, more people going bankrupt and driven into poverty.

Taxes on workers keep going up, while taxes on the rich are going down.

Health care keeps declining and the costs keep climbing.

The number of people (40 million) without health insurance is growing.

All entitlements, won in fierce class battles over 60 years of struggle, are now under attack.

Thus, for the working class and poor people the quality of life under capitalism is on a steady decline. Radicalization, militancy and working-class unity – Black, Brown and white – are on the rise.

The overall, long-term development of all societies is in the direction of socialism. However, whatever is positive in capitalism, socialism will adopt. That is the basis for the concept, "Bill of Rights Socialism."

It is clear that when you put all these processes together that capitalism is on the declining side of history.

**U.S. IMPERIALISM** ■ There is no explanation for the new developments outside an understanding of U.S. imperialism. A strengthened U.S. imperialism is now out to impose the "New World Order" through globalization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, GATT and, of course, direct military intervention.

The U.S. blockades of Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, India, Pakistan and others are examples of this raw brute power being used economically to punish especially socialist, but also other countries.



The U.S. drive to expand NATO is for the purpose of putting military might behind globalization. That is one reason why the Pentagon, the government and corporate forces oppose any attempts to reduce the out-of-control U.S. military budget.

However, there is a growing active opposition and resistance to the one world superpower and New World Order that is expressed in the United Nations, in the battles over NATO, the defeat of fast-track authority for Clinton and, now, the setback to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI).

The IMF, under the domination of the United States, is trying to do what the MAI would have done by using the "carrot" of loans in order to force countries to submit to its "stick" of austerity, cuts in wages, living conditions and social programs.

The IMF imposes such harsh conditions on countries like Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea, Mexico and others for their bail-outs that they fall into head-over-heels debt, financial crisis and economic ruin. All the while, the global monsters are gobbling up the industries, factories, agriculture and natural resources of these countries. These same global corporations and banks are making huge profits on the loans. Great-power chauvinism produces super profits.

The fall of whole economies and financial systems and, with them, the social fabric of whole countries adds a new dimension to the developing crisis in the capitalist world, including the United States.

This is also happening in the ex-socialist world. A prime example is Russia, where the global monopolies are now sinking their teeth into its oil

and gas resources, mines, basic industries, etc. The IMF is accelerating this process with its high-cost loans.

The process of privatization has created massive corruption and chaos which did not exist under socialism. Socialist enterprises, whole industries and natural resources are being stolen by the new class of capitalist swindlers.

Between the capitalist developments, the decline and privatization of industry, the extreme corruption, the plummeting ruble, the stock market collapse, rising unemployment and prices, a tax system in shambles, the government stealing up to 80 percent of some budgets and growing poverty, Russia is on the brink of total economic and social collapse.

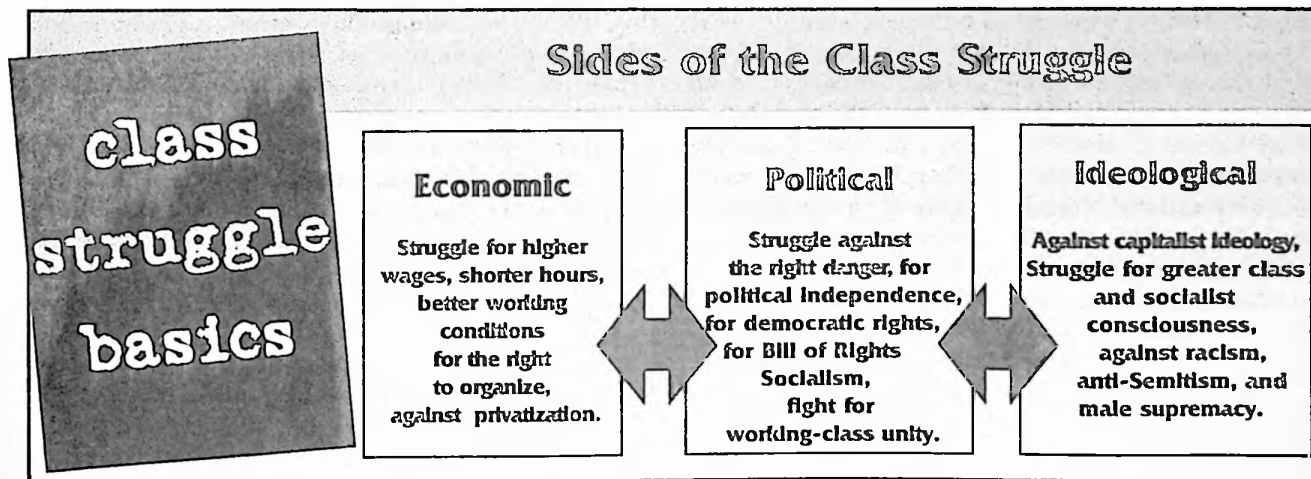
Falling into debt to the IMF and other private banks, continued privatization of socially-owned industries and enterprises and the penetration of capitalism is bringing the country to its knees.

Only a return to socialism can save Russia and the other ex-socialist countries, most of which are having many of the same capitalist problems.

This is a moment when the Communist Party, with a majority in the Lower Parliament, is being courted by government and business interests. It is now in a position to play a big role in moving the country in the direction of reestablishing socialism. Such actions would get the support of the working class, who are already calling strikes and big demonstrations throughout the country.

China is also feeling the effects of the world crisis. The crises in other Asian countries are impacting China. We have to say now that China seems to be falling into the same trap. China's so-

## Sides of the Class Struggle



called "market socialism" is just a cover for taking a capitalist path. How much China has conceded to privatization and capitalism and how much is still socialist is unclear. However, there are events and actions, including the exchange visits between the U.S. and China, that do not bode well for socialist China.

The recent Athens Conference of over 40 Communist and Workers parties, including the Communist Party, USA, demonstrated total agreement on global capitalism and the need for a united, international fight against it.

It is also necessary for the world Communist movements and trade unions to find new global methods of struggle, new tactics and a much higher level of international solidarity.

For example, the new conditions call for worldwide expressions of support. They call for boycott of scab-produced products. And, they call for strikes against plants worldwide that make the same products.

It has been suggested that we follow up this gathering with an initiative sponsored by our Party. The topic would be something like, "The Impact of Technology and Globalization on the Political Economy of Capitalism – How workers, their organizations, families and communities are affected."

**LAWS & CLASS STRUGGLE** ■ The laws of socio-economic systems, and specifically the laws of capitalist development, are of great political significance today, because when we become aware of these laws we come to understand the pivotal role of the class struggle in an exploitive society.

When we are conscious of the economic laws we then inevitably conclude that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class.

Then we come to see that the laws of capitalist exploitation mold and compel the working class to be, as the *Communist Manifesto* says, "the main grave diggers of capitalism." By the law-governed processes the working class has become the main force for social change. Not to see the leading role of the working class is not to see the direction of history, the direction of progress and social change.

However, the class struggle can only be resolved when the working class decides that living under capitalism has become intolerable, that capitalism can no longer meet the most basic needs of the majority of people, especially the racially and

nationally oppressed.

This contradiction can only be resolved by a revolutionary transformation of power and wealth from the capitalist class to the working class, from capitalism to socialism.

However, the struggle for reforms is an inherently necessary, but limited and temporary form of fight back. And it is never ending because the corporate drive for higher and higher maximum profits is never ending. That is a law of capitalism.

Why never ending? Because with struggle workers can win a reform, for example, an end to a two-tier wage scale within a plant. But the corporation simply shifts its exploitation to another plant, another area to make up for this concession.

Thus, if a reform corrects or mediates one form of exploitation, the corporation simply finds another area to reduce wages or eliminate workers. As long as capitalism exists there will be struggles for both reforms and socialism.

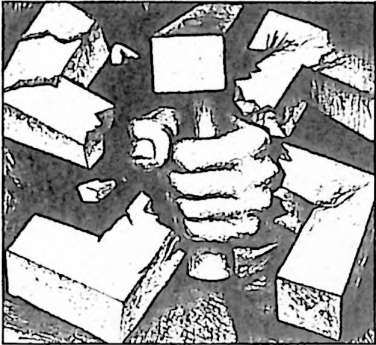
It is easy to see why the ruling class rejects and fears all concepts of laws. It is because the objective laws are proof that they are the force holding back social progress, that history is leaving them behind, that capitalism is the old and socialism is replacing it with the new – including a whole new set of social and economic laws.

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA** ■ The Communist Party, USA, the party of the working class and its science, Marxism-Leninism, in its very essence represents the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

Marxism-Leninism is the main fountainhead for introduction and development of this science in our land. There are no other Marxist-Leninist parties in the USA. The role of the Communist Party has added a new quality to all phases of American life. It plays an important role in influencing the course of events.

The CPUSA gives the working class a scientific basis of struggle. It gives the class struggle a direction – a revolutionary direction. As it continues to grow in size and influence, the Party plants many seeds of socialism among the American working class. The significance of this contribution will grow as the struggles of the working class move toward the historic point of a revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism. □

# How the Nazis Came to Power



*Editor's Note: The great Bulgarian Communist leader Georgi Dimitroff defined fascism as "the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of finance capital." As fascist-like developments gain*

*pace in the U.S. it is important to remember Dimitroff's definition of who the enemy is. It is also important to recall his demand for the widest popular united front to combat the ultra-right and fascist danger. Below we print a chronology of how the Nazis came to power in Germany, sent in by a reader. Many believe falsely that fascism was elected to power in Germany. Nothing could be further from the truth. Read on.*

**1929** The Depression of 1929 gives the Nazis their opportunity to obtain the support of those in power to convince them that only they can rescue Germany from the disaster. Production falls to almost half. Millions are thrown out of work. Thousands of small businesses go under. From 1931 on, the banks begin to collapse. The farm debt amounts to 12 billion marks.

**1930** The Nazis, pledging to make Germany strong, refuse to pay reparations for WWI, repudiate the Versailles Treaty, stamp out corruption, bring the money barons to heel and see to it that every German has a job and bread. The Nazi party is propelled from 9th to 2nd largest in the Parliament.

Flushed with success, the Nazis turn their attention to winning over the centers of power – the army and the big industrialists. Nazi organizing in the army includes anti-Communism and attempts to overthrow existing support for the Republic. The army responds by hushing up the scandals, unwilling to admit that there are treasonous officers in their ranks.

Ordinary Germans and business leaders alike

respond to the call of patriotism and nationalism, which promises to stop Communism and socialism, trade-unionism and the "futility" of democracy. The magnates of industry and the generals believe that if they finance the Nazis, they will be beholden to them, and when in power, do their bidding. Hitler stresses time and again that he is against a planned economy and for free enterprise and competition to gain the highest production.

The Nazi Party needs large sums to finance election campaigns and pay for propaganda, salaries of officials, S.A. (*Sturmabteilung*, brown shirts) and S.S. (*Schutzstaffel*, black shirts), which by 1930 number 100,000.

The Nazis propagandize that they are the true socialists and against the money barons while making deals with corporate capital, promising to destroy the unions.

Under the leadership of Strasser, Roehm, Goering, Goebbels and Frick, the Nazis terrorize the opposition, molesting and murdering anyone who gets in their way. All elections become savage battles in the gutters. Hitler encourages infighting and factionalism within the party as a means of protecting his own absolute authority.

**1931** With millions out of work, the middle class is facing ruin, farmers are unable to meet their mortgages, the Parliament is paralyzed, the ten-plus parties are unable to bury their differences and create a majority in the Reichstag, with each party lobbying for its own special interest to the detriment of the national interest. The middle class gives up without a fight. The Social Democrats only bargain for concessions for the trade unions. The Nazis face a confident future.

**1932** In the elections of 1932, the Nazis feel confident enough to throw an S.A. cordon around Berlin in a first step to take over Germany by force. Rohm and Schleicher want to integrate the S.A. into the military, but Hitler, sensing they could become uncontrollable, promises to keep them as a separate political force. President Hindenburg receives 53 percent of the vote, Hitler nearly 37 percent.

Papen tries to bar Hitler from a Cabinet seat. Hindenburg denies Hitler's demand to be made dictator.

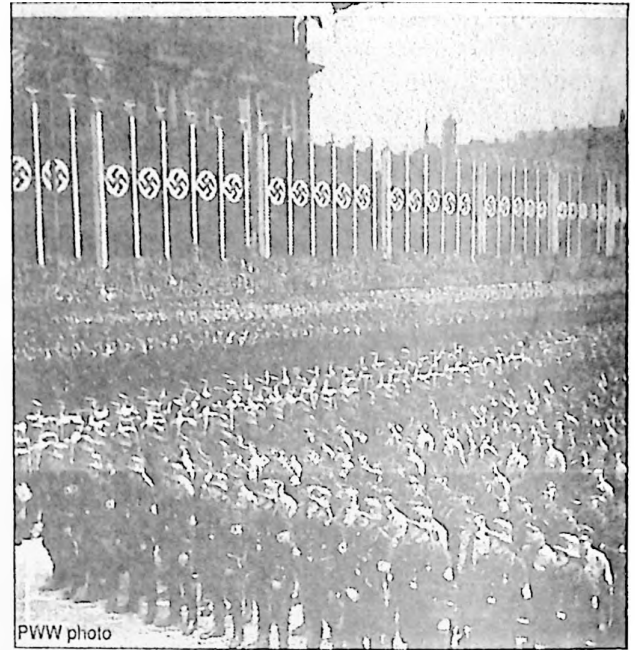
**1933** President Hindenburg, under pressure from the army and the conservatives and Nazis, among them Goering, Frick, von Schroeder and von Ribbentrop, makes Hitler Chancellor. Communists call for a strike. Hitler moves quickly to remove the non-Nazis from the driver's seat, making the party the exclusive master of the state, with an authoritarian government and its police ready to carry out the Nazification of Germany. Germany becomes unified for the first time in its history.

On Hitler's promise that the Nazi government is going to put organized workers in their place and leave management to run as it wishes, and that armaments are needed to defend the Fatherland, Krupp Von Bohlen, Bosch, Schnitzler, Farben and Voegler pour large sums of money into the Nazi coffers.

Nazi terror is unleashed against the Communists, the Social Democrats, all opposition newspapers, the Catholic Center Party, and the Catholic Trade Unions. Exactly 51 anti-Nazis are murdered during the electoral campaign of 1933. Goering establishes an auxiliary force of 50,000, most of them S.A. thugs, with orders to shoot anyone who opposes the Nazi state. During the Reichstag fire, Goering shouts excitedly, "We will show no mercy. Every Communist must be shot."

On the day following the fire, Hindenburg suspends civil liberties; free speech, free press, postal privacy, and issues search warrants, and orders confiscation of property. The Nazis are thus able to legally gag their opponents and arrest them at will, and to throw the voting masses into an anti-Communist frenzy. Over 4000 Communists and Social Democrats are arrested, including members of the Reichstag. Truckloads of storm troopers roar through Germany breaking into homes, rounding up victims to be tortured and beaten. Unable to hold so many arrested, the first concentration camp, at Dachau, is inaugurated. Only the Nazis are allowed to campaign unmolested.

In spite of the terror and intimidation, on election day the Nazis only get 44 percent of the vote, short of the two-thirds majority needed by Hitler to establish his dictatorship with the consent of Parliament. By introducing a bill to hand over the power of legislation, control the budget, approve treaties and initiate constitutional amendments away from



PWW photo

Above: Nazi storm troopers gather in Berlin.

Below: Over 30,000 anti-fascists meet in the German forest – it wasn't enough ...



PWW photo



the Parliament and hand it over to the Reich cabinet, the Nazis gain a majority and bury German democracy. The Communists have been arrested, killed or forced into exile; the remaining Social Democrats refuse to sign the bill, but the Center Party capitulates and gives the Nazis the majority they need: 441 votes for and 84 against.

It cannot be said that the remaining opposition goes down fighting. On May 19, 1933, the Social Democrats vote to approve Hitler's foreign policy, denouncing their comrades abroad who are attacking Der Fuhrer. After voting, they are dissolved by Frick. The Catholic Bavarian Party announces its own dissolution, and the Center Party follows suit. Next comes the Democratic Party and the People's Party. The German National Party, without whose support the Nazis would not have come to power, meekly disappears. The Nazi Party alone remains.

The next step is to turn out the provincial governments and install Nazi regimes. Reich governors can appoint and remove local governments, dissolve the diets, appoint and dismiss state officials and judges. All new appointees are required to carry out the policies of the Reich Chancellor. Thus, the separate powers of the states are subordinated to the central government.

Students at the University of Berlin burn a huge pile of books, under the approving eye of Goebbels. The subversive books include works by Mann, Feuchtwanger, Wassermann, Zweig, Remarque, Rathenau, Einstein, Kerr, Preuss, London, Sinclair, Keller, Sanger, Wells, Ellis, Schnitzler, Freud, Gide, Zola, Proust. Culture (fine arts, music, theater, literature, the press, radio and film), is unified "under the leadership of the Reich" to serve propaganda. Culture becomes conformist, inane and boring. Complaints are equated with treason. Calculated and incessant propaganda takes its toll, and people eventually believe anything they are told, no matter how witless, irrational or deceitful.

Hitler's idea of education is to take it out of the classroom and turn it into compulsory labor and

conscription into the armed forces. Youth are to be trained in the service of a new National State. Parents who object are told, "Your child belongs to us already. In a short time he will know nothing else but this new community."

On May Day, the Nazis organize a massive and enthusiastic worker's demonstration, with the motto, "Honor work and respect the worker." The next day, they occupy all trade union buildings with no resistance. Union funds are confiscated, and union leaders arrested, even if they have pledged to

cooperate with the Nazis. Three weeks later, collective bargaining is brought to an end, and "labor trustees" are provided by the party to "regulate contracts and maintain labor peace."

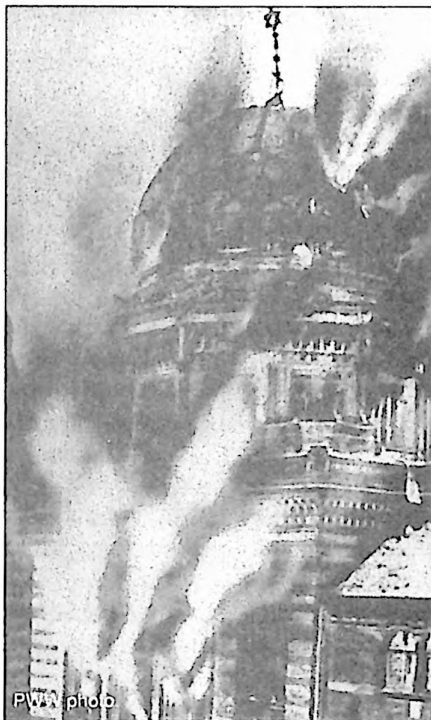
Judges fear for their lives if they convict a storm trooper, even for cold-blooded murder. The only class that remains intact is that of big business and finance, the aristocracy, the Junker landlords and the Prussian generals.

The remaining problems in 1933 are preventing a second revolution, settling the hostile relations between the S.A. and the army, finding jobs for six million unemployed, rearming the Reich, and deciding who should succeed Hindenburg.

The storm troopers believe that the revolution they fight for by brawling in the streets will bring them loot and good jobs in business and government. Now, Hitler wants to dissolve the S.A., which is but a mob, in favor of the army and the industrialists.

In 1933 Hitler delivers his "Peace Speech," echoing Roosevelt's call to abolish all offensive weapons, while keeping a sharp eye out for weakness in the European armor. Germany does not want war, nor does it wish to "Germanize" others. The London papers praise Hitler's stand. From 1933 to 1939 the Nazis secretly prepare for war while preaching peace.

In October 1933, Hitler arranges a plebiscite to withdraw from the Disarmament Conference in Geneva if the Allies insist on maintaining Germany disarmed. Over 95 percent of the votes approve Germany's withdrawal from Geneva. Inmates at



Synagogues burn prior to Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Dachau, under threat, vote 2,154 out of 2,242 to withdraw.

**1934** The Nazis have overthrown Weimar, substituted dictatorship for democracy, destroyed all other political parties, smashed the state governments and their parliaments, unified the Reich, wiped out labor unions, driven the Jews out of public and professional life, abolished freedom of speech and the press, stifled the independence of the courts and coordinated the political, economic, cultural and social life of the German people. Hitler plans a vast Autobahn system to reduce unemployment, and stops paying the foreign debt. The Nazis are able to point to improvements. Between 1933 and 1937, unemployment falls from 6 million to 1 million. Workers have lost their trade-union rights, but are working, thanks to greatly expanded public works and the stimulation of private enterprise. National production rises 102 percent from 1932 to 1937, and the national income is doubled. Racial laws are popular because they exalt the Germans as the "salt of the earth." Persecution and confiscation of Jews creates more wealth for the Germans themselves, and few protest. Foreign tourism is encouraged to bring in badly-needed currency. But the real reason for Germany's recovery is rearmament.

By 1934, the S.A. has swollen to 2.5 million storm troopers, claiming to be a people's army under Roehm. The army is horrified at the idea. The aristocratic von Brauchitsch declares the army will



PWW photo

Women await their their fate in Nazi concentration camp.

not permit the participation of "speculators, drunkards and homosexuals."

In June, the conservative right (Junkers and big capital around Papen) demands that a halt be called to the "revolution," that the arbitrary arrests, the persecution of Jews, the attacks against churches, the storm troopers and the Nazi terror come to an end. Business cannot flourish in chaos. Papen makes a speech critical of the Nazis. The speech is suppressed. Papen retaliates by threatening that Hindenburg hand power over to the army. Hitler is told to defuse the tension or martial law will be declared.

Hitler's response is to purge the S.A. leadership (Roehm) and other troublemakers, attacking men at Wiessee and summarily shooting them. Papen is placed under house arrest, Von Schleicher and his wife are shot at home. Von Bredow and Strasser are also shot. Bose, Jung, Klausener, and Baroness Stotzingen are either shot or taken to a concentration camp. Figures for the number killed or arrested vary from 77 (Hitler) to more than 1,000 (1957 Muenchen trial). Himmler takes over S.A. functions. In place of the S.A. comes the S.S., more disciplined, loyal and powerful - and answerable only to Hitler. With the death of Hindenburg, Hitler's dictatorship, under a loyalty oath to himself, is complete.

The generals are obliged to recognize Hitler as the highest legitimate authority in the land and honor bound to obey in all circumstances no matter how degrading to them or the Fatherland. It excuses them from any personal responsibility for their unspeakable crimes. However, by honoring their oath they dishonor themselves.

The recently organized Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei) creates fear of concentration camps for those who get out of line or are Communists, socialists, too liberal or too pacifist, or Jewish, Gypsy, gay, or otherwise undesirable.

**1935** The Reich reinstates military conscription.

**1936** By the 1936 Olympics, nearly half of all Jews are without a means of livelihood. They are excluded from public office, the civil service, journalism, radio, farming, teaching, theater, film, the stock exchange, law, medicine and business, and are denied access to food, medicines and lodging.

By 1936, Germany is organized into a war economy. Goebbels seeks colonies for raw materials. The Volkswagen is introduced. Imports are reduced to a minimum, price and wage controls are introduced,



Police organize book burnings in Nazi Germany.

dividends restricted, factories are set up to make fuel, rubber, textiles and other products. Business profits in these areas soar (from 17 to 26 percent of the national income). However, the state begins to dictate what they can produce, and how much. Taxation is increased. Small businesses are exterminated, their owners falling back to wage earning. Cartels are strengthened. Graft, to circumvent endless red tape, becomes astronomical.

There are no strikes. Most wages are earned on piece work. The share of all workers in the national income declines from 56.9 in 1932 to 53.6 in 1938. Workers are expected to contribute to Nazi charities or lose their jobs. The workbook is introduced to keep one from working anywhere else as long as the employer keeps it.

Jobs are assigned by the state. Recreation is provided by "Strength Through Joy" circles, including everything from chess and soccer to bird watching, just to keep workers from reflecting on their debased condition.

In March, the Nazis move into the Rhineland, seeking raw materials, on the pretext that they are no longer bound by treaty because of the mutual assistance pact between France and the USSR. In November, Germany and Japan form the Axis.

**1937** The Catholic Youth League has been dissolved; thousands of priests and nuns are arrested. By 1937, the Catholic hierarchy issues an encyclical charging the Nazis with "sowing suspicion, discord, hatred, calumny and hostility to Christ and His Church." Niemoeller

(Protestant) is jailed for resistance to the Nazis. Some Protestants are pro-Nazi and others are anti-Nazi. Most sit on the fence and accept Nazi authority to intervene in church affairs. Despite Lutheranism, some pastors are recalcitrant and are purged. Nazi clergymen are installed in their place, proclaiming, "One People, One Reich, One Faith." By 1938, all pastors are ordered to take an oath of allegiance to the Fuhrer.

Teachers are the executors of the will of the party-supported state, and are required to defend it without reservation. All are appointed by the Reich Minister of Education. History is falsified. They begin to teach what they call German chemistry, German physics, and German mathematics, claiming these are racially determined and conditioned by blood: All great scientists (Galileo, Newton) were Aryan. Most teachers are conservative, and willingly to take a public vow to support the Nazis. By 1937, university enrollment has dropped to half of 1933. Academic standards fall. The national economy and defense are jeopardized.

Girls and boys are organized in Hitler Youth cadres. Parents who object are subject to heavy prison sentences. Youth are given training in camping, sports, Nazi ideology and soldiering. Girls are expected to provide children for the Fatherland. By 1939, membership is compulsory.

Close to 600,000 attend the Nazi Congress at Nuremberg. Buchenwald is Germany's 4th concentration camp.

**1938** Purging several army commanders, Hitler declares himself Supreme Commander of the German Army. Germany annexes Austria. More than 99 percent of Germans approve the Anschluss. The Munich agreement transfers to Germany the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia.

Nazis rampage in Berlin, killing Jews and smashing businesses and synagogues.

**1939** Nazis enter Prague, then invade Poland. The Second World War was largely against Soviet Union and Communism. The Soviets glorified peace, were internationalist and anti-colonialist, were either atheists or materialist scientists, and had a socialist economy, while the Nazis countered them at every step, glorifying war, nationalism and the xenophobic colonization of the peoples in the East, religious mysticism and the capitalist economy. □

# Flirting with Fascism: U.S. Imperialism's Hidden Romance

Vic Perlo

At the core of the U.S. imperialist power structure are ruthless, amoral forces whose chauvinistic, anti-labor, racist ideology emanates from the extreme right-wing of big business. Their evil objectives and genocidal tactics have much in common with Hitler's German fascism. Because of technological developments, instantaneous worldwide communications, and growing resistance at home and abroad, the neo-fascist drive of American imperialists for world domination can be halted. Let's analyze the situation.

American neo-fascists emerged during World War II. They regarded Germany, with which the United States was at war, as the potential ally against the world's working class, and considered the USSR, with which we were formally allied, as the real enemy. They achieved their greatest influence in the decade following World War II through the McCarthy persecution, prosecutions and imprisonments that intimidated the nation. The FBI forced tens of thousands of Communists and other progressives out of the factories and trade union leadership, weakened and diverted peace movements and imposed cultural reaction on the country. The effects of this repressive ideology have never completely disappeared, although its mass influence is declining as witnessed by progressive changes in the trade union movement and the legalization and growth of the Communist Party.

The role of the mass media – newspapers, magazines, television, the cinema and more and more, the Internet – must not be underestimated. Cruelty, violence, guns and hatred, along with vicious racist propaganda and calls for gang-like actions are spewed forth without control by richly-funded far-right advocates.

Major centers of U.S. neo-fascism include:

- The most reckless, adventurous forces within the military;
- The corporate profiteers from the development and manufacture of advanced weaponry, especially nuclear and other means of mass destruc-

tion;

- Members of the wealthiest families, who dominate the State Department, the CIA, and space agencies, and control members of Congress;

- The FBI, the national police agency with a strong reactionary, anti worker, racist history.

**FORCES WITHIN THE MILITARY** ■ A brief look at recent history reveals the origin of the military's support for fascist forces. Much of this support can be traced and linked to events surrounding the Second World War. During World War II, the U.S. military was crucial in the policy of according minimal assistance to the Soviet Union, which was almost single-handedly resisting the German juggernaut, at a terrible cost in lives and property. Key to American military strategy was prevention of a U.S. and British invasion of Western Europe to create a second front against Hitler so as to relieve the severe strain on the USSR and hasten considerably the end of the war. In that effort they were aided by German "refugees" working for the U.S. government in sensitive war-planning agencies who "proved" that the tremendous amount of necessary material could not



AP photo

Members of the "Michigan Militia" train for war. The appearance of such groups is a fascist-like development.

Vic Perlo is a contributor to PA.





Red Army soldiers fighting to liberate Berlin during WWII.

possibly be transported to the European continent.

This strategy, even if not approved by the majority of key planners, was not resisted, so that the United States violated Roosevelt's pledge to open a second front in Western Europe in 1942, and then in 1943. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, exerted major influence to put over this betrayal.

It was not until 1944, when the USSR had clearly gained the upper hand and was driving the Germans back, that the U.S. Army landed in Normandy. Germany's troop concentration was mainly confronting the advancing Soviet forces. In retrospect it is clear that the "better late than never" second front was designed not so much to aid the USSR as to prevent the Red Army from liberating the whole of Western Europe, where the sentiment of the population was overtly in favor of socialism. To prevent outright war between U.S.-British forces and the USSR's Red Army, the Soviet Union had to accept the Yalta Agreement, which prevented that revolutionary outcome and imposed American and British occupation of most of Germany and France.

Another result of that pact was that the United States and Britain were able to capture over a million German troops who fled westward to avoid the Soviet Army. Their future use in a potential war with the USSR was not overlooked. And another important point: the U.S. occupation also facilitated the recruitment of the leading German weapons scientists, especially nuclear, for the U.S. program.

**THE FIRE THIS TIME** ■ A revealing glimpse of the fascist-like mentality of top levels in the U.S. military can be seen in the career of General Curtis Le May, appointed in 1945 to run the air war against Japan, which had virtually no air defense left. Key features of his career are revealed by Richard Rhodes in the *New Yorker* magazine of June 19, 1995: "The General & World War II."

At a time when Japan was negotiating terms of surrender, Le May ordered the firebombing of Japanese cities; 325 U.S. bombers dropped jellied gasoline firebomb clusters over 17 square miles of the capital, Tokyo, in the early morning of March 10, 1945. At least 100,000 were killed and hundreds of thousands injured. The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey stated "probably more persons lost their lives by fire in a 6-hour period than at any time in the history of man." Air Force chief Henry (Hap) Arnold telexed to Le May, "Congratulations. This mission shows your crews have the guts for anything."

Thus the mass killing was really decided at the top levels of the U.S. Air Force. But Tokyo was just the start. During the remaining months of war, the fire bombers devastated 63 Japanese cities, killing more than a million Japanese civilians. Washington had removed Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the list of victim cities, "saving" them for the first atomic bombs.

Rhodes did not mention the political implications of the nuclear bombings: they began on the very day the USSR joined the war against Japan, under agreement with and at the urging of the United States only three months earlier. The fire bombings, along with the atomic bombings, enabled the Americans to freeze out the Soviet Union from participating in deciding the terms imposed on Japan and from the occupation of Japan.

In 1949, when the USSR made its first atomic bomb, there was "panic within the U.S. government." Le May led a campaign to make a first strike against the USSR to start World War III, taking advantage of the then greater size of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. But he found that the flight crews were too inaccurate in high-level bombing to insure the required results, that much training was necessary.

Le May was a fanatic in his hatred of socialism. He had a plan, approved by the Air Force, to drop 80 percent of its stockpile in one operation, to destroy 70 Soviet cities in 30 days, to kill 2.7 million people and inflict 4 million additional casualties. Air Force strategists called this plan "killing a nation."

Le May later said of that time: "We'd have been a hell of a lot better off if we'd got World War III started in those days."

In the war against the People's Republic of Korea, Le May's proposal to use the same kind of fire bombing blitz as was used against Japan was turned down. But he was authorized to use the same tactics piecemeal. Over three years, Le May said, "...we killed off what 20 percent of the population of North Korea."

If that's not genocide, what is?

Subsequently, Le May directed many provocative actions designed to lure the Soviets to responses that could be used as an excuse to start a nuclear war. In vain.

According to Rhodes, it was threats from the U.S. government that caused Khrushchev to place the missiles in Cuba as a deterrent. The placement of these weapons that were capable of inflicting major damage to the United States led to the Cuban Missile Crisis. Thomas Power, a protégé of Le May's, even more fanatic than his mentor, had the practical power to start a nuclear war. U.S. forces were put on the highest state of alert ever.

President Kennedy claimed he won by forcing Khrushchev to withdraw the missiles. But there was a scene at the White House when Le May charged, "We lost! We ought to go in there today and knock 'em off." It was a close call: any one of a number of various accidents could have touched off the holocaust for both the USSR and the U.S.

Because the Air Force plan to drop 750 atomic bombs on the USSR, killing millions of people, was thwarted by saner sectors of the U.S. leadership, and because of the U.S. retreat from the Bay of Pigs, Le May regarded President Kennedy as a coward.

Reading the account about Le May increases the likelihood that the assassination of Kennedy was engineered by neo-fascist forces in the center of U.S. power.

Washington continues to give high priority to efforts designed to achieve decisive technological superiority over Russia in nuclear weapons despite the change in government there. To this end, the Pentagon retains the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) for nuclear war against Russia.

Why does the ruling class put this first?

These inhuman measures, actual or under development, and the readiness of powerful U.S. forces to use them, prove the importance of the restoration of working-class power in the former

USSR. This would be a forceful rein on U.S. imperialism's aspirations.

The United States is determined not to give up an opportunity to subjugate the former Soviet Union. Consider the immeasurable gains U.S. capitalists could reap from the unchecked exploitation of labor and resources in a neo-colonial territory that is the largest single entity in the world.

To gain an advantage, U.S. "disarmament" efforts are focused on trying to accomplish the one-sided reduction of Russian nuclear military power, which is still sufficient to seriously cripple the United States in retaliation for a strike against it. Washington uses the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund "aid" to the bankrupt Yeltsin regime as a bargaining chip to this end. A similar approach in the Ukraine was successful: Ukraine has dismantled the Soviet nuclear weapons on its territory and "sold" the nuclear material to the United States. In exchange, the Ukraine has become the third largest recipient of U.S. financial aid.

There is another factor in U.S. plans to be the unquestioned, dominant nuclear power: much reliance is given to the Lawrence Livermore Ignition Facility, under construction, and other centers for development of and testing a new class of super weapons, which can be delivered in small units, the size of bullets rather than bombs, and scattered in large numbers over vast areas. This is, in fact, a violation of international agreements banning nuclear tests.

Washington still refuses to license any sale to Russia of equipment that might be useful for military as well as civilian purposes. IBM was fined \$8.5 million, the maximum amount under regulation for selling to Russia computers, installed at the Arzamas research facility alleged to be crucial for development of this new type of super weapon.

The computer sale was not secret. In January 1997 the Russian Atomic Energy Minister told reporters about the purchase. So why, after the long delay, did Washington decide to levy the fine? An increase in the influence of the ideological descendants of Le May, perhaps? At any rate, the publicity given to revelation of the sale and fine coincided with Senate approval of a 6.7 percent rise in Pentagon spending for procurement and development of weapons.

American imperialism's empire was founded a century ago, mainly in Latin America, with the invasion and occupation of Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and

Panama. (Of course, the Philippines were annexed then, too.) U.S. domination has since expanded throughout the hemisphere. And there is in the United States, a military installation whose function is to prepare forces for insurgency. The "School of the Americas" in Georgia is the infamous center for training brutal mercenaries how to forcefully quell any peoples' movement, anywhere they are sent. Wherever possible, native compradores of U.S. imperialism are put in power and, against the interests of their own people, facilitate the takeover of national resources by U.S. corporations, the exploitation of their workers and farmers, and the suppression of growing national liberation struggles.

Currently about 200 American protesters are serving six month sentences in U.S. prisons for demonstrating against this fiendish base.

Wherever local forces cannot be reliably counted on, the U.S. military intervenes directly: in Granada 15 years ago; currently in several South American countries, using the excuse of "fighting drugs." For example, the national liberation movement in Colombia basically controls the southern half of the country. U.S. Air Force planes on "anti-drug training missions" fly over the country at will. When two American pilots crashed in July, there was fevered reaction on Capital Hill and in the media.

Another example: Washington, even now, is plotting to violate its agreement to remove U.S. troops from Panama; and despite national resistance, there are still major military bases in the



AP photo

U.S. military intervention serves transnational corporations.

Philippines.

In fact, U.S. incursions are occurring, threatened, or have recently taken place in most regions of the world outside of major capitalist centers.

The largest-scale action currently is in Eastern Europe where NATO expansion, directed ultimately at the former USSR, has already established an American military base in Hungary, and an invasion force of some 50,000 NATO troops in Bosnia. As this is written, plans are being perfected for a U.S. invasion of Yugoslavia. And don't forget the continuing U.S. military presence in the Mid-East especially in Iraq.

The global span of U.S. military intervention is indicated not only by its bases in 70 countries, but also by its conduct of "training exercises" with armies in 102 countries.

During the last several years the U.S. military budget has resumed its increase, especially in the procurement and development of more advanced weapons and space-related items. Profits and profit margins have been rising, doubling since 1995. And military business has been second to none in the merger rush which has resulted in a concentration of production far beyond anything previously known. Just three companies – Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and Raytheon now control about three-quarters of the military business. Further mergers into the the Big Three may bring their share up as high as 90 percent and unlike the situation faced by the the automotive Big Three, there is no significant Japanese or major European competition.

The major financial centers of Wall Street have heavy stakes in the military business, as do new power centers.

FMR Corporation, the holding company of the Fidelity Group of mutual funds – the largest in the world, with over \$400 billion in assets – has the most widespread military equipment holdings, including 6.7 percent of Lockheed Martin, 10.2 percent of General Dynamics, 22.8 percent of Litton Industries and 6.1 percent of Northrop Grumman. The last three named are significant factors outside the Big Three. But Lockheed Martin is anxious to take over Northrop Grumman.

The major and controlling owner of FMR Corporation is the Fitzgerald family of Boston, which has ties to the Boston financial group and has, in fact, become a new center of financial power.

Chase Manhattan Bank, the traditional stronghold of the Rockefeller family, is for the moment the

largest U.S. bank in assets. It owns 5.2 percent of Boeing.

Then there is Berkshire Hathaway, which owns 6.3 percent of General Dynamics. Warren Buffett, the largest and controlling owner of Berkshire Hathaway – over 40 percent of the stock – is the second richest man in the world (\$36 billion vs. Bill Gates' \$48 billion). The two are good friends. Bill Gates' Microsoft also has a major stake in the military through the supply of software for the advanced computers used for special purposes by the armed forces.

In recent mergers, Boeing took over McDonnell Douglas, so its military business now exceeds its huge civilian contracts; and Raytheon took over the military business of General Motors' Hughes Aircraft under terms giving GM's shareholders a special 30 percent stake in Raytheon, with controlling powers over the company.

General Motors was the largest arms contractor during World War II when the Du Pont family was the largest holder of GM stock. But the Du Ponts have sold their major direct holdings in GM. The Morgan group, historically GM's leading organizer of financing, retains influence on the company, along with Detroit financial interests.

We do not know which, or any, of these groups and billionaire owners support fascist tendencies. What we do know, however, is that in addition to their substantial involvement in military contracts, in most cases they derive the major share of their profits from foreign sources, and they all look abroad for their further expansion. This is certainly the perspective of Gates and Buffett, as expressed in their joint interview in *Fortune* (July 20, 1998). Which does not imply that these men personally have neo-fascist ideology.

**WEALTH AND GOVERNMENT** ■ The personnel entrenched in the State Department and the CIA represent the political core and administrative brains of the ruling families and centers of finance capital. They exercise power beyond the bounds of formal bourgeois democracy, without elections or other means of public choice or review, without the checks and balances of the trilateral governmental structure.

These control centers have aggrandized importance as the foreign investments of the leading monopoly corporations have attained priority.

An example of the importance attached to foreign investments can be seen from Buffett and

Gates. *Fortune* heads a section of its interview with Buffett and Gates "The World Is Our Oyster." Buffett remarked:

We don't take our businesses global directly. Our two largest commitments are Coke and Gillette. Coke has 80 percent of its earnings coming from abroad, and Gillette has two-thirds of its earnings coming from abroad. We go global by piggybacking on them. I can sit in Omaha and let Doug Ivester (CEO of Coca-Cola) fly all over the world.

Gates echoed these views:

Our business is truly global. The PC standard is a global standard ... In fact, our market share is much higher outside the U.S. than it is inside ... Since most of our competitors are from the U.S. and aren't as good at doing international business, we thrive even better in these other countries ... Most of our growth will come from outside the U.S.

The global dominance of Microsoft, Coca-Cola and Gillette is only partly due to their qualitative, technical and economic advantages. The power of U.S. imperialism, exercised by the military and, on the civilian side, through the State Department and CIA, blasts away all projectionist measures of other governments for national products, or limitations of Coca-Cola's ability to blanket the world with its advertising propaganda.

Under the formal umbrella of the United Nations, U.S. and British imperialism and their NATO allies have established a tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, with global jurisdiction. It uses its military forces, mainly U.S. and British, to arrest those accused of human rights violations, genocide and related crimes.

Such charges by the imperialist powers should not be accepted. Accusations of violations are made very selectively, against personalities prominent in regimes under imperialist assault. Most victims in the recent period have been Serbians, political leaders in Bosnia.

Charges of atrocities on the part of both sides were made during the fighting in Bosnia. But the United States arrested Serbian leaders and not the leaders of the Muslim-Croatian alliance.

No action is taken against proven killers like Suharto of Indonesia. Also relevant, U.S. charges of terrorism against nations it has targeted cannot be accepted when America itself is guilty of terrorism,



most overtly against Cuba – and Iraq.

While socialist and socialist-oriented states are the main targets of U.S. aggression, there are others. Most conspicuous is the continuing offensive against Iraq, which includes aerial occupation of most of the country, prohibition against international air transport, crippling economic embargoes. In the case of Iraq, the U.S. is almost completely isolated internationally in its sanctions.

Iraqi progressives aim to replace the repressive dictatorship with a popular democratic regime. This is the responsibility of the Iraqi people, without outside interference.

Through the State Department and other agencies utilized to carry out foreign policy decisions (e.g., Treasury and Commerce Departments) as well as the covert actions of the CIA, U.S. imperialism helps its "friends" and attacks its "enemies." Israel is a prime example of a friend. It functions as a mini-imperialist power in the Middle East, aggressive and brutal towards subject peoples, such as Palestinians and inhabitants of Lebanon. Israel now receives the highest per capita aid from the United States of any country.

The ruling class continues to mount military and economic outrages. According to *Wall Street Journal* reporter David Rogers: "The Clinton administration is seeking broad new authority from Congress to plan and mount covert operations against Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein." (7/17)

State, Pentagon and CIA are jointly projecting a "...combined overt-covert strategy to weaken and potentially oust the Iraqi leader."

Actually, preparations for the expanded campaign against Iraq are already underway, and scheduled to be completed while Clinton is still in office. It is to be on a much larger scale than earlier efforts started under Bush, which Iraq smashed, killing or imprisoning hundreds of CIA agents.

The desire to get formal Congressional approval is solely to provide a constitutional figleaf. Opposition, mainly by Democrats in Congress, is holding up funding legislation for Clinton's Mid-East agenda. But with or without the figleaf, it's obvious that the government hawks hope to proceed with an all-out offensive against Iraq.

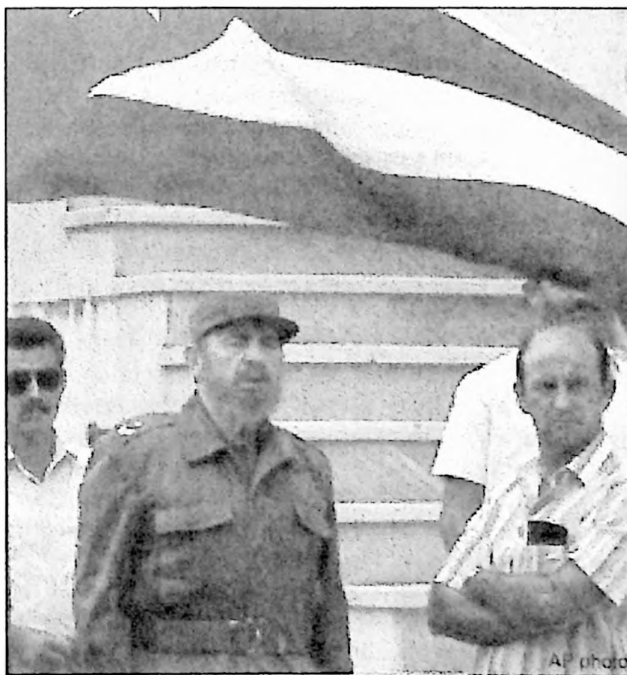
**ATTACK ON CUBA** ■ Fully as critical is the long U.S. imperialist campaign to destroy the Cuban socialist regime. In addition to sanctions, the United States conducts terrorist acts, such as large-scale crop poi-

soning, massive airplane drops of anti-Castro propaganda leaflets, and innumerable attempts to assassinate President Castro. Congress passed the Helms-Burton Act, providing sanctions against countries having economic relations with Cuba. Universally defied, this measure has backfired, forcing Clinton to defer enforcement of Helms-Burton.

U.S. actions against Cuba are opposed, at least formally, by most countries. Particularly important, the entire Western Hemisphere has welcomed Cuba. In 1983, using the presence of Cuban construction workers as an excuse, the U.S. ousted the progressive government of Grenada and occupied the island. Now Grenada has welcomed Castro as an honored guest.

In an important editorial article in *Barron's* researcher Philip Peters wrote:

Cuba's economy has defied all odds. It survived the loss of the Soviet subsidy ... It has been merely bruised by the American embargo and the measures adopted in the '90s to strengthen its effect. Today, Cuba is no economic paradise ... But the Cuban economy is growing, at a rate of 7.8 percent in 1996 and 2.5 percent in 1997... traffic jams and construction projects have brought some bustle back to Havana. All the things that were supposed to drive the Castro government from power have failed.



Defeating the embargo against Cuba would be an important step for peace.

Increases in tourism and foreign investment have helped, as have limited openings for small and individual private enterprises. But: Foreign investors must make joint ventures with state entities. Cuba does not permit devolution of decision-making to a private sector.

Peters calls for considerably more far-reaching measures:

Cuba's bishops and dissidents reject current U.S. policy as cruel, inhumane and an affront to their solidarity. Hundreds of conversations in Cuba have never turned up a single Cuban who wants the country's economy to deteriorate, or who expects economic hardship to bring political change ... As that government prepares to celebrate 40 years in power, Americans might summon the confidence that many Cubans show in us.

Undoubtedly the merits of Cuba's socialist system have been decisive in enabling Cuba to survive the prolonged U.S. offensive and begin to advance despite it. It was the socialist system in the USSR that enabled that country to defeat and destroy the fascist invaders.

U.S. imperialism, overestimating the extent of its economic and financial superiority, has turned to unilateral economic sanctions as a means of imposing its will on targeted countries.

According to one source:

We now rely so heavily on unilateral sanctions that more than half of the sanctions imposed by the U.S. in the last 80 years were added in the last four years ...

The President's Export Council estimated the direct cost of economic sanctions to the U.S. economy in 1995 at \$15-\$19 billion in lost export sales and a loss of up to 250,000 jobs. (ARCO Cap, published by the Atlantic Richfield Corp.)

Sanctions have increasingly failed. During the 1980s less than 10 percent had their intended effect. Literally, all of the U.S. sanctions in effect have been imposed on 26 "developing countries" - that is, they are instruments of neo-colonial oppression and plunder. Sanctions have not, of course, been levied directly against imperialist rivals, which have the economic power to take reprisals.

While important, sanctions are only one of the tools used to gain the objectives of the invisible power brokers running the CIA, the State Depart-

ment and the Pentagon. This offensive is decidedly racist, most of the targets being African and Asian peoples. With the rising literacy and educational skills, the super profits from investments in these countries have multiplied.

**STATE INTERVENTION TO ASSIST TNCs** □ Along with sanctions are government actions to assist TNC's plunder of these countries. For example, the settlement of the General Motors strike required the company to keep two specified plants open for one-and-a-half years, but it did little to curtail the remorseless shift of production operations to foreign facilities. GM production in Mexico has multiplied several times in the recent period and now accounts for 20 percent of its output, which is still expanding.

To receive desperately needed financial aid, political pressure from Washington has impelled the privatization of Mexican enterprises and the end to restrictions on foreign ownership while U.S. economic pressure has forced major currency devaluations that leave real wages in the auto industry at one-tenth the U.S. level - at a comparable level of productivity.

In its international alliances, the United States has gradually been shifting the status of number-one ally from Britain to Germany, which decisively exceeds all other European power in economic strength. Also, its relative financial influence has benefited from Japan's financial crisis. The ending of barriers to cross-border personal movements, and the impending adoption of a common European currency, greatly enhances Europe as a field for trade and investment. Germany, to a considerable extent, emerges as the leading country in these steps of unification.

With the increase in power of German imperialism, fascist tendencies have revived and proliferated. The far-right German People's Union Party captured 13 percent of the vote in a recent state election. The rise of fascist sentiment is associated with the high level of unemployment, nearly 10 percent. It has made inroads especially in the former German Democratic Republic, where joblessness afflicts 19 percent of the workers. While the German government "monitors" far-right groups, their rallies and marches are legal. Africans, many of whom work in Germany, have been the major victims of the 1,608 racially motivated crimes counted last year. □

## Old Acquaintance

Phillip Bonosky

The three of them stared at the big yellow house, which stood off from the street behind a wide Kentucky blue-grass lawn on which two red maple trees blazed red like stop signs. The style of the architecture they knew had something to do with Spain, with the yellow stucco walls and little grilled balconies that pouted beneath arched windows. Dwarfed cypresses had been landscaped around the walls. On both sides of the front door hung tiny copper-bound coach lanterns that were not lit now, of course. In the driveway someone had left a newly-washed car, sparkling in the sun, little bubbles of soap water still winking, and through the open doors of a two-car garage they glimpsed a second car parked inside. Against the wall of the garage was an upended wheelbarrow and beside it a garden rake and hoe.

They stared down into the fragment of paper one of the men held in his blue hands.

"No," he said, "I tell you, we got off at the wrong stop. 'Tis two more stops we should go – down nearer the river, I should think. Tell me, Davey, your eyes are better than mine. What does the number read?"

Davey, the youngest of the three, squinted conscientiously across the lawn to where three brass numbers appeared in descending order alongside the door.

"Well," he said, turning his head slightly, "it reads 823, Dad."

"Aha," Dad said. He stared down at his paper; then turned heavily to the third man, "Joseph, what street was it we turned up – it was you who read the sign."

Joseph – a heavy-set man, whose body seemed to have somehow realized itself fully only in his chest, which was tremendous – intoned, "Carnegie Avenue."

Again Dad's hoary face descended to the paper, which he studied carefully. Finally, he lifted it and in a voice which sounded unconvinced, he said: "So everything checks?"

He lowered the paper and the three of them stood silent, staring at the lawn, the balconies, the yellow stucco, the cars, the doors flanked by the coach lanterns. Davey, who was about 25, held an enormous bouquet of American Beauty roses in his arms, cradled as if he were carrying a baby. Joseph held, pinched between two cigar-shaped fingers, and looking frivolous in that big hand, an oblong box of candy in colorful wrapping paper and tied off with a pink ribbon. On the ribbon in letters of gilt was the legend: "Ironworkers Local 627."

Dad's white hair snowed down over his cheeks and frosted his chin. But his cheeks were yellow; his nose was small as though it had remained forever the boy's it had once been.

He squinted now again at the house and again he stared down at the piece of paper in his hands. Then he looked up and down the street, at the vista of similar houses, some in British colonial style, some Italian doge, a couple somehow suggesting, at least by their doorways, Greek temples, there were one or two Dutch...

"It's a fine high-class street," he said aloud. And the other two somberly followed his gaze; suddenly self-conscious they twisted inside their clothes as if cold.

"Company men live here," Joseph supposed.

"And why shouldn't our Tom live here too?" Dad cried, turning abruptly on Joseph. "Isn't he every bit as good as a company man?"

"I didn't say he wasn't," Joseph retreated, his eyelids slowly folding.

"It's just that we aren't used to such a quiet street," Dad said uneasily. "Don't any of these people have kids?"

"The rich don't have kids," Davey remarked, looking up and down the ghostly avenue.

"It does seem mighty queer," Dad acknowledged, "to be on so quiet a street and this a Saturday, too. 'Tain't normal." He added a little testily: "Never thought I'd miss noise."

They peered up and down the street again as if they had somehow overlooked a misplaced child somewhere, and with a sharp cry of relief, Dad

pointed; "Ah, there's a boy's tricycle, standing there!"

"Yes," Joseph said, nodding recognition.

The three of them stared at the lone tricycle abandoned on the sidewalk until it was no longer possible to see anything new in it, and Dad said: "Well, Joseph, my boy, we can't be spending all day out on the sidewalk here, like a bunch of strawfoot boobs from the country... You say, of course, this is Carnegie?"

"Carnegie," Joseph said.

"Seems," said Davey, "he could have chose to live on another street, seeing what Carnegie done to his father."

Dad sprang at him, "And why should Tom go and live in a dump?" he cried belligerently. "Didn't his Dad show the likes of Carnegie, when it came his time, what-for when the union was first in the making? Ah, but those days you wouldn't remember, and I was myself no more than that. But let me remind you that Tom Dolan was a fighter in them days and it was his father that met Andy Carnegie face to face and demanded of the man to show him the difference between a monkey wrench and an E-bar, and the old Scots tightwad turned three different kinds of red and told his grandfather that he, he being a boss, didn't need to know, that's why he hired men like Tom's father - and fired him too." He turned to Davey and said: "Did you know that history once was a matter of a man spitting into a spittoon?"

Davey flushed. "What's that got to do with - ?

"Not too much," Dad conceded. "But it is indeed a victory for the workers that a man of their own can live on this street that bears that name - it shows their power in a way. Would you have him live in a slum now - after all these years?"

"Getting \$20,000 a year," Joseph said moodily.

"Yes," Dad pounced, facing him, "and worth every penny of it! The workingman has got to take care of its own, and the man who puts his life on the line has got to know when he's too old to work at it, that he won't end up in a soup kitchen. I don't begrudge him one cent, not one," he finished, and looked at Davey to see if Davey would challenge him. Davey did not.

Nevertheless, they couldn't seem to get themselves to move, but stood on the walk staring at the house. They all jumped suddenly as a face momentarily appeared between the part in a curtain at the window, and Dad cried: "Come, poor

old Tom will be dead with us waiting out here, sent by the Local itself to wish him a speedy recovery and a long life. What a sorry committee we are, the three of us!"

He left the street's sidewalk and started up the flagstone path that led through barberry bushes in a gentle winding way to the door. At the door they all paused again. Dad searched it conscientiously. "Seems there should be a button here to press for the bell," he surmised. He brought his face closer to the door and examined it. The other two did the same. They searched carefully, and even parted the ivy beside the door where they thought it might be hidden, but could find nothing.

"Perhaps we should knock?" Davey said doubtfully.

"I am sure that they ring to open," Dad said.

Joseph spread his big hands over the door and palm by palm worked his way over it, but with no better success. They stared at the door, mystified.

"You would think," Dad protested, "they would put the button somewhere in front of your eyes, plain as a button should be, serving its purpose alone."

In the middle of the door was a bronze unicorn head, with a pearl horn sticking out at them: Dad reached to touch the pearl horn and pulled back his hand as if it had been burned when the horn gave beneath his pressure, and from the depths of the house came the silver tones of a chime. They recognized the tune, or almost did: "Hold the fort, for we are coming..."

"That's it," he whispered hoarsely, "in front of our very eyes ... I'll be damned," he added, with startled admiration.

They froze into silence as they waited for the sound of approaching steps; and suddenly the door opened and in it stood a slender Black maid, wearing a white lace cap over her forehead and a black dress covered with a dainty lace apron.

"Yes?" she said.

"Would this be the residence of Tom Dolan?" Dad asked politely.

"Yes, this is the residence of Mr. Thomas Dolan," she replied stiffly.

"Well," said Dad, "would you be so obliging as to tell Tom Dolan that a committee from his old Local is here to see him."

"From where?" she asked.

"His old Local," Dad repeated. "The one he helped set up in '27."



"Would you give me your names – and please wait here."

"Our names Tom would hardly be likely to remember – just tell that we are from Local 627 of the Ironworkers of America. I would tell you to tell him my name, which is Dad Boyle – me friends call me 'Dad' – but I am sure the years would have dimmed that name in his memory. So just tell him there is a committee come to see him on this most auspicious occasion of his 80th birthday –"

"But that was last week!" the woman complained, half to herself. "Just a moment," she added. She left the door half open and they stood on the steps, semi-legalized by the open door.

There was no word from any of them as they waited. The maid returned and asked "What did you say you were?"

With a touch of asperity Dad said, "We're the committee," he turned to make a circle of them all – "we're the committee from Local 627 of the United Ironworkers of America, of which Brother Dolan was you might say the original godfather until he moved into higher quarters as international president, which God bless him for, and we, duly authorized by our members, have come to pay our respects to Brother Dolan on his 80th birthday – a bit late. We have seen in the papers a notice to the effect that Brother Dolan is ailing."

With a huffy last glance at them, the maid disappeared, leaving the door still open, into the orange-lit interior.

They waited another somber few minutes, and this time it was not the maid but a tall, blue-haired woman, looking curiously at them as she reached the door.

"Yes?" she said.

Dad set his lips and said nothing. She turned from him to the others, her eyebrows arching, but all were silent.

"Belle?" she said, and the woman behind her replied, "Just what I told you, Mrs. Dolan."

"Yes, I'm Mrs. Dolan," the lady said, turning to them.

Astonished, Dad removed his hat.

"Pleased to meet you," Dad said. "Would you tell your husband –"

"I'm married to his son," she said, icily.

"Oh," Dad said. He turned to the other two and they stared blankly back. "In that case," he resumed, "would you tell your father –" he hesitated and then added, " – in-law, it should be, that we're the

committee come from Local 627 to pay our respects to him on this most auspicious occasion."

"You know," she interrupted, "he's confined to his bed?"

"And wouldn't it be possible for us to tiptoe to his door and peek in and perhaps say a cheery word or two?"

"Well," she said, and made way for them to enter. "You'll come in here and I'll ask him." She pointed to an open door off the hall. They followed her finger into a fair-sized hall, which had, leading off from it, a stairway like an inviting crooked finger, a table on which stood a gigantic glass light, which seemed to be a huge bunch of grapes turned upside down; this glowed orange, however. There were paintings on the wall: one of "The Reapers," the other of a boy and his Collie, and the third, obscured by one of the clothes trees, a fiery painting of Custer's Last Stand: surrounded, his long blond hair waving, dead Indians lying all around him. Still further back, and mostly hidden, was a photograph of somebody glimpsed only as a side-burn and a gigantic eye.

Mrs. Dolan led them to the left through a curtain of glass beads which caught in the buttons of their coats and tinkled against their foreheads, and indicated a room with an inviting wave of her hand. It was a large room, and for a moment, they simply stood and stared at it. It was an almost exact oblong, like a box; the walls inside were rough finished and painted yellow. The middle wall, between two enormous windows, against which a golden cage like a bell hung with its blue-and-yellow parakeet, was covered with four paintings, arranged to make a complete set, but none of the committee could make out what they were.

Two couches, one a shade of green, the other a shade of red, stood in the middle of the room, facing each other. Between them were various kinds of chairs – a green easy chair, an old Colonial wooden chair, a yellow stuffed chair, with blue-and-red cushions piled on it. Another chair stood off by itself in the corner. In it sat, all by itself, a huge, almost life-sized doll, with an arch look, and pouting red lips.

The fireplace was huge, too, like the opening to a mine tunnel. Fire had scorched part of the mantel above it, which was a long slab of marble; nothing was burning in the fireplace now. But among the neat ashes were visible cigar bands, cellophane wrappings and – which they weren't sure of – what

looked like a lost silver thimble.

On the mantel above the fireplace was a row of pictures of – yes, it was the present Mrs. Dolan – but younger; then a picture of the older Mrs. Dolan, Tom's wife, now long dead. "I'll be damned," said Dad under his breath, recognizing his own past in the handsome fat-cheeked middle-aged man of the next portrait, with his jet-black hair which came to a moon crescent twist on his forehead, as it sealed there with glue. The two other pictures were panel portraits of two children – of a girl in pigtails and ribbons; and a naked boy lying on a rug with his puckish grin staring out at them. They would see the same face repeated, but at a later age, until finally he stood there in black gown and mitre, obviously a well-educated young about-to-be lawyer. One more picture showed him in a college sweater, with an "A" on it – his arm around somebody but that part of the picture had been (they realized) cut off.

Scattered among the pictures were glass animals, small seashells, large, lacquered pine cones, crucifixes, a bronzed baby shoe, an incense burner in a flat brass dish. Two fat Buddhas unaccountably stood facing each other at opposite ends of the mantel while between them and interspersed among the pictures were ceramic little Scotties. All this testified to the fact that the old man had often visited distant cities where conventions had been held, one year in Atlantic City, another in New York, another in Miami.

Above the mantel hung a huge mirror in a gilt, wrought frame, and suddenly they caught sight of themselves in this mirror, their hats in their hands, still undecided about where to sit.

Mrs. Dolan decided for them. "There!" she said, pointing, and although it wasn't exactly an order nobody thought to disobey her. All three of them crowded together on the same couch. Their feet were muffled in the thick gray carpet beneath them, and isolated by silence, they felt alone in the room. "I'll speak to Thomas," she said, and left them.

Thomas. Dad had not really ever heard Tom referred to so formally, and somehow making is so distinct a name seemed to confirm a distance between them that was more than the passing of time.

They sat together, the cynosure of the bric-a-brac in the room, somehow crowded into the lower half of the couch, as if for mutual warmth. From this point, with their backs now to the mantel, they

examined the room further. Across from them was a marvelously well-polished piano, its keyboard cover was lifted and the exposed rows of white and black keys stared back at them. Away from the piano was a radio with a big round face on which were marked visibly, "London," "Madrid," "Paris." In a corner, unseen until now, they discovered a carved two-shelf maple cabinet, with closed glass doors; but it was possible to see a china Madonna inside it, holding a plump baby over whose head a golden aureole had been painted. There were holy pictures standing beside it, showing the apostles with bushy beards, which, Dad remembered with confusion, was what they had in mind when one of them showed up at work with a beard and had been asked: "You posing for holy pictures?"

Another glass-enclosed cabinet interested them all. A lacquered football with the legend printed on it in white paint, "Western State Champions, 1932," and autographed with names of the players covered the visible side of it from end to end. This had to belong to the son, they figured, none of whose pictures they had noted otherwise. On top of this cabinet an enlarged, framed photograph showing faces all turned in one direction, with what was obviously Tom Dolan Sr., in the place of honor, showed the legend: "Banquet in Celebration of Election of Tom Dolan to President of the International Ironworkers of America, Nov. 2, 1929, Pittsburgh, Pa."

Mrs. Dolan suddenly reappeared to the tinkle of the glass beads and said: "You may come this way," and they jumped guiltily to their feet. They followed her through the beads up the crooked finger of a stairway, down the tiny hall that smelled of violet bath soap. Mrs. Dolan opened the last door in the hall and said: "Thomas, visitors!" She turned to them and added: "Fifteen minutes only."

Dad entered first. Sitting in a huge oak-postered bed, propped up against the head board that twisted like a wave above him, the silk trimming of his dark red robe shining and his legs lying stiff underneath the crazy quilt cover, his mount of a stomach looking enormously and irrelevantly pregnant underneath the quilt over the upper part of his body, was the man they had come to visit, their one-time local union leader, one-time international president, Thomas T. Dolan, Esquire.

"Come in! Come in!" his voice organed rustily from the depths of the bed. "Maggie, show the bug-

gers in, what's the matter with you all? Shy?"

Mrs. Dolan, who had flinched at the word, "Maggie," more than "buggers," turned her face toward the door and followed it.

The three of them approached the bed where the white-maned head of Thomas Dolan sat enthroned above the pillow – a massive head, almost an independent part of him, with weighty cheeks, knobbed like a squirrel's with nuts; a handsome jaw, magnificent white eyebrows that framed his clashing blue eyes, and hair that stood puffed away from his scalp, a halo, still pepper-and-salt at the edges. Only his eyes showed age – they seemed unpresent at the scene, as though they stood at the door and only watched.

He held out a freckled knobby hand, marred with old-age liver blotches, and his still resonant voice, slightly rough, slightly thinner, garbled in his mouth with too much spit, declared: "I'm deeply touched, deeply, by this visit. I don't – I don't – " Here he seemed about to break down, his voice trembling, and he squeezed Dad's hand tightly, drew in his breath and now suddenly wheezed, "Deeply – oh, deeply indeed – deeply touched, Mike, my old friend Michael that you remember! Not since the old days – "

Dad found himself suddenly warming before this faltering speech and he answered through a choked voice: "Brother Dolan – "

"Just Tom," the old man answered. "Just Brother Tom."

"Brother Tom – I'm damned glad to see you looking so well! Our Local sent me and the other two brothers here to pay our respects and wish you speedy recovery and good health, and this I do now. I speak for myself and for my brothers both present and absent when I say this. You were the leader we needed in the days when we needed you, and we watched your progress from afar when you passed on in your upward passage, always proud that we could send a man of our own to forestall Tom's protest. "I know you never forgot us? Nor have we, you. The evil that men do lives after them. But with you, Brother Dolan, it is the good that you did that lives after you – and may you be with us years yet to come. Nobody can take from you, nor from us, those grand days of '29 when we fought them with bare hands and knuckles, our beasts naked to the winds, our hearts flying above us with our flag, our ranks serried but firm. I still hear your voice,

brought to me on the wing of memory as you cried: "Stop them on the beaches, boys – don't let them land! And we stopped them." He turned to Davey. "We shed our blood, but we stopped them. And our union grand is the fruit of it, and the Company learned to know this, too." He handed over the box of cigars.

There were tears in Dolan's eyes. "Mike!" he cried. "Mike!" You old bugger, Mike. Why didn't you call me beforehand and I'd have had a proper reception for you." He pulled Dad over across the bed and embraced him, patting him on the shoulder and crying, "Us that used to fight the good fight together, you and me, and where have you been keeping yourself? Why didn't you come to me, too proud, man? Too proud? Forgotten your old comrade from two-nine – the McLaughlin Ironworkers strike that changed the lives of workers in this entire valley, and let it be known that the working man is king of the heap, and deserves to be. It was you who won that battle, man. You done it. You, you old Nanny Goat, you done it."

He let Dad loose, and Dad straightened up, his face crumpled, his eyes brimming, his lips trembling. There were tears in Dolan's eyes, too, and he punched his eyes with his boney fists and roared: "Maggie, bring these brothers something to wet their way! The disgrace of it – what kind of hospitality is this?"

Mrs. Dolan opened the door and stood there.

"What are you waiting for?" Dolan cried.

She left the room.

"Mike," Dolan said, his voice seeming to gather strength along with his old rhythms of command, "introduce me to your friends – my friends, our friends. Oh, now," he protested, wounded, "just make yourself at home. Take off your coat, park your hat, and pull up a chair – shove anything on it right on the floor. Maggie'll have a fit, but you'll manage to survive it. Can't sit down in any other chair in this whole goddamned house for fear she's got something on every one of them that can't be sat on. Mike, old boy, tell me about yourself. It's been a long, long time. Too damned long." He looked at the three of them with beaming eyes and cried: "It's been lonely for an old man – a widower these 30 years – sitting up here in bed – Ah," he broke off, "still, this is a great honor, a great honor –"

"No, no –" Dad deprecated.

"Oh, now," Dolan protested, "introduce me to your friends – my friends. Don't keep standing

there. Take off your hat and your coat. Mike, old boy, I remember it like it was yesterday – the McGlaughlin strike. You, Mike, all the boys – where are they, my old friend? Gone mostly. It's lonely to be the sole survivor – me and you and one or two others. Dead now, huh? Remember," he said, leaning out of the bed and clutching Dad by the wrists, "remember January 16th? Do you remember?"

Dad nodded. "Yes, I do remember," he said.

Dolan nodded too but as though he'd had no doubt. "Them coming up the river. Mike," he cried, tugging, so that Dad leaned off his chair, "we cut the barge free and floated it out to them and when they saw us coming, they just turned tail, the whole pack of them, and beat it to the railroad, up into the freight cars from whence they came, like pus from a bitch, and back clean out of the state, and they've never been back since!" He nodded toward Dad, looking at the other two. "Do you remember?"

"I do, Tom, that I do," Dad replied.

Dolan began to cough, his face stretched thin and then ballooned until the skin gleamed like membrane, purple, and he held his breath until it seemed his eyes would split.

"Ah, God," he sighed when he was done. He tapped his chest. "Not so good," he said, disapprovingly.

"Brother Dolan –" Dad began again.

He took the roses from Davey and brought the bouquet forward and held it toward Dolan who looked at it. "God," he said finally, "there must be a vase here somewhere." he looked about the room and then said with resignation, "Maggie will take care of them. lay them on the table here. She knows where all the goddamned vases in the house are. I don't."

Without a word, Joseph, standing with his back to the table, began to work his box of candy onto a shelf beneath the top.

There was now a pause in the room, while Dolan continued gazing at them fondly, a hit of joyful moisture in his eyes. Dad stood beside the bed, still feeling smothered by emotion. The room had disappeared for him. He was in the past again, cutting the huge barge rope loose, climbing up on it to the deck where the others were already waiting, their hats filled with heavy gravel, which loaded down one part of the barge, waiting for the current to drift them down to the oncoming scab boat, which had crept behind the foundry intending to

sneak scabs into the plant through the back, the river-side way.

They had broken barrels of beer open afterwards and held a bonfire celebration in the open field across from the foundry gate. The scared white faces of the few scabs inside the plant had appeared sick and haunted in the gray windows. The Company police, supplied with extra ammunition, had retired behind the barbed wire fence, from which they looked out on the celebration nervously fingering their gun butts. Inside the company superintendent was yelling into a phone that had suddenly gone dead just when it reached the office of the governor...

His shadow cast huge by the bonfire, Tom Dolan had climbed on top of an empty barrel and, his voice booming over the field, over the walls, into the offices of the General Management where gloom now reigned, but cut off as they were except by telegraph from the other sister foundries, he had cried to them that their battle was almost over, they had routed the scabs, and no more were on the way, and their ranks had held. How they cheered! The town was theirs; the mayor had gone two days earlier to visit his ailing sister in Johnstown and had remained, and the city police without his orders, had been neutral. The Coal and Iron Police – the company police – were skulking inside the plant, glad for the barbed wire on top of the walls, which they made sure had its voltage upped sharply so that when it rained a bit, as it did, the wires hissed all around the plant.

There was a knock on the door.

"Come in! Dolan ordered.

Instead of Maggie, whom they had expected, a young man, about 23 entered. It was (as they would be told and had themselves guessed) Tom Dolan's grandson – the boy in the picture downstairs, but now tall, broad-shouldered. He was wearing a tweed coat, his hair was red and thick and mounted over his head; and his eyes were an exact replica of his grandfather's – frank blue and direct. Most of him was tall. He was carrying a tray, on which there were four glasses and a green tinted decanter.

"Tommy!" Dolan cried. "Tommy, me boy, when did you get home?"

"Just now, Gramps," he said. He carried the tray over to the little round table, shifted a shallow bowl with an African violet in it, and pulled the stopper out of the decanter.

"My grandson," Dolan felt necessary to explain.



"Just back from law school for the weekend; always comes home to his old granddad to spend the weekend. Tommy boy, let me introduce you."

Tommy-boy shook hands with all of them cordially. His hand, which they had expected to be soft, felt quite hard instead. He had the build of an athlete and they were prepared to hear that he was an athlete. He gazed honestly into their eyes when he took their hand in his and said warmly: "I'm particularly glad to meet you men. Particularly glad, You wouldn't know it," he said, "but one of the cases we've taken up in class – among others – is the old Foundry Strike of 1929 –"

"Tommy studies labor law," his grandfather explained.

"Oh?" Dad said interested. "This is a bit of a surprise. You mean, you studied what your granddad and the rest of us did then?"

He said yes.

Dad turned to the other two. "Did you hear that? I guess we must have made history, boys. You must be proud of your grandfather," he said.

"Oh, very proud," he said. "The more I go into it, the prouder I get. Why, the old bugger got away with murder! If I had been the company attorney, though, it – well, I don't want to... after all, I'm only a student, you might say – But, if I had been there advising the company, the first thing I would have done is gotten an injunction against your fellows for trespassing on mill property –"

"But we were out in the river," Dad protested.

"That may be," he conceded, "but any court would have found blocking entry of workers to the mill as ...well, just what I said."

"But they were scabs!"

He laughed. "Scabs," he said, "don't have any legal reality. There is no such thing as a 'scab' in the eyes of the law. In the eyes of the law, these men would be seen as nothing but would-be workers."

"Is that a fact?" Dad said with a kind of surprise. His eyes shifted over to the old man. He was sitting as if he hadn't moved, but a small smile barely parted his lips.

"And more," the young man sped on, "reckless endangerment – that's all it was: reckless endangerment."

"Of what?" Dad asked respectfully.

"Property!" the boy replied. "Mill property of course!"

"Is that a fact?" Dad repeated. "Mill property, was it? And your own Granddad, whose head was

split open, and he came runnin' to us like a, like a, fountain it seemed, red gushing fountain –"

"They hit you hard, gramps?" the boy asked solicitously. "Did you get their names?"

His grandfather's eyes remained shut.

"Then," Dad said, reaching over the bed and tapping the old man's knee as it showed under the cover, and looking back at Davey and Joseph, "then there was that other business – you might want to hear this," he said to the boy. "We called it the 'strike of the butt,' but I'm not so sure you'll find it in your – those books you read."

"Shoot," the boy said. "'The strike of the butt.'" "Something different?"

Dad nodded. "You see, grinders. You know what a grinder is – was? Well, let me see." He laid his index finger on top of the foot of the bed. "Let's suppose this is steel," he said, "just come off the rollers. Now it's been inspected – full of yellow marks. And it's up to you to dig those yellow marks out, for they're there to mark the flaws in the steel. You don't want flawed steel in your Buick, do you?" Tom Jr. shook his head. "Well, then. You got maybe a hundred chippers in the chipping yard with rows of steel laid out on the beds in front of them, and a hundred chisels driven by 60 pounds of air yammering together. You have to get down on your knees to work at 'em. You come, a stranger into the yard, and you'd feel at home – everybody down on their knees praying." He paused. Joseph and Davey smiled. Tom, Jr. kept his interested, expectant expression poised. "Well, then, the noise is awful. You have to wear cotton or wax in your ears. And with them in, and the noise, nobody can hear you or you them. So the pusher'd come around and if he wanted your attention gave you a kick in the butt."

"Oh!" Tom, Jr. said. "That had something to do with the strike?"

Dad nodded. "Yes. You're a bright boy, and there's no questioning that. So one day we all walked off and demanded that if the pusher wanted our attention, not to kick us in the butt – it ain't polite –" he stopped to smile – "but to touch us – not necessarily gently – on the shoulder, and we'd give him our entire attention."

He stopped with the ghost of his smile on his lips. "Well?" Tom, Jr. prodded. "What then? Was that all? How about damages?"

"Damages?" Dad looked surprised.

"Oh, you lost a boodle! Now, if I'd been your legal representative I'd have sued for damages!"

"For what?"

"For what? For mental anguish! That's for what! Oh, yes!" He tapped his forehead. "Up there. Mental. You weren't using a lot of that when you settled the way you did. You sure could have used a lawyer." He shook his head in bleated regret. "Bad luck I wasn't around then, right?"

Dad nodded. "Yes," he said. "Bad luck you weren't around. Looks like we was all born under an unlucky star." He paused and looked over at the old man whose eyes had opened for a moment. "Well, now," he said, gathering forces together. "Ladies, the time is on its way...and we've a way to go ourselves. Brother Dolan," he said, again, leaning once more across the bed clothes and taking hold of the old man's hand, gripping it, and then laying it back on the cover, "this has been an emotional moment for all of us and we hope that the good health that you've enjoyed hitherto will continue."

When he turned back to the young man he found that he had filled glasses with whisky. "Poor old Pop," he said, indicating his grandfather with his drink. The old man's eyes had remained closed and they could hear his breathing. "All this - this -" he indicated the drinks - "and cigars, not to mention wild women -" He stopped for a moment - "all gone. Just memories. Memories of the past, right?" He raised his glass. "Well, let's drink to memories of the past," and he downed his.

He looked at the three: "Not drinking?" he said.

Dad coughed. "We're all teetotalers," he said.

"Well," the boy said, "all that means is there's more for the survivors." He filled his own glass again and drank it and filled it once more.

Suddenly they heard the voice of the old man: "To labor!" they heard him say. "To the workingman, may he ever shine in his glory!"

Surprised, Tom, Jr. raised his glass high in the air and said: "To the workingman!"

"To all my old friends, living and dead," Dolan, Sr., said, drinking water. There were tears in his eyes.

"To all the living and dead," Tom Dolan, Jr. echoed.

"To the brave men of McLaughlin Iron Works of 1929," cried Tom Dolan, Sr.

"To the McLaughlin Iron Works," his grandson

echoed, winking to the three.

"To the future - to bigger and better contracts!"

"To bigger and better contracts," echoed his grandson.

"To one big union - to the men who built it," cried Tom, Sr.

"To the union!" cried his grandson.

"To the memory of all the men who died to build it," Tom, Sr. said.

"To the men who died," cried Tom, Jr.

"To Mike, here," said Tom, Sr.

"To Mike here," the boy intoned.

The three began to put on their hats. They shook hands with grandfather and grandson as they began to leave. They were accompanied by the maid to the door. Mrs. Dolan was vaguely somewhere in the back of the house.

"Goodnight," they said.

"Good afternoon," the woman replied.

They began to walk down the quiet pathway to their bus. There they waited.

"A fine grandson," Dad said. "Very sharp."

"Yes," said Davey, "Got the shoulders of a tackle, wouldn't you say?"

Dad nodded. "A fine boy. A fine boy."

The bus turned the corner and came to a rumbling stop in front of them.

"Yes," Joseph said, "a fine-looking boy. You can see he got the arms of an athlete." He paused: "Basketball, I'd say."

"Must be at least six feet tall," Davey agreed.

"At least," Joseph echoed, squinting up at the sky.

Once they were seated on the bus, Davey suddenly sat up as if struck by a late thought, and tapped Dad who was sitting in front of him, on the shoulder. "I never knew your first name was Mike," he said with an air of discovery, and even slight resentment.

Dad looked solemnly at him for a moment and then, as if shifting his cut, he turned his head back and remarked to the window; "It ain't."

"It ain't?" Davey was astonished. "You got one, don't you? It ain't just Dad?"

"Yeah, I got one." "And?"

"How does George suit you?"

"George?" Davey sounded incredulous. "Why, even I got a brother whose name is George," he said, his voice edged with disillusionment, trailing off to join the silence of the other two. □

## The Party and the Class Struggle

Herb Kaye

Rick Nagin's article in the May *Political Affairs* raised some important points about the relationship of the Party to the class struggle, but at the same time, it seems to me that his examination of what he labels as "left sectarianism" is confusing and inaccurate.

His concept of "a revolutionary party inseparably connected with the spontaneous working-class movement" seems to reduce the role of the Party to gauging what the labor movement is ready and willing to do and then helping them to implement their goals.

It is one thing to dismiss the Progressive Labor Party as an ultra-left grouping (which it is) that rejects the labor movement and its leadership as "corrupt," but to then go on to say "the movement for the Martinez Bill is facing the same danger," is to mix apples and oranges in a disturbing manner.

In the first place, the Martinez Bill originated inside the labor movement on the basis of a Labor Coalition for Public Works Jobs comprising more than 50 trade union leaders in the Los Angeles area. Included were the building trades, the Utility Workers Union regional director and many others. This formed the base for a national coalition that included

by 1997, six state federations of labor, 12 local central labor bodies, CBTU, CLUW, LACLAA, and many individual locals, as well as many city councils and community groups around the country.

The fight for the Martinez Bill addressed the key social questions of providing training for decent skilled jobs for the most hard hit communities of unemployed African American, Latino and Native American youth, and at the same time focusing on projects to rebuild schools, housing and infrastructure in the ghettos and barrios of the nation.

Nagin says "For the Martinez Bill to succeed it must become rooted in the campaigns which labor is willing to conduct - fast track, the fight for infrastructure repair, the living wage." This is precisely what the fight for the Martinez Bill is about. Maybe, not always correctly in every situation, but then that is the task of the Communists - to help carry it out effectively within and outside of the labor movement - but certainly Communists should not stand above the battle for public works jobs and wait for spontaneity to happen.

In many ways, the fight for the Martinez Bill is like the fight for unemployment insurance and other social programs in the 1930s, which some of the labor leadership of that period rejected as "beneath the dignity" of Amer-

ican workers to accept. Similarly, the ideas of organizing the unorganized into the CIO, of fighting racism and fascist moves, of industrial unionism, among others, were put forward by the Communist Party and adopted in time by the labor movement.

Today, of course, the U.S. labor movement has changed considerably from the days of William Green, George Meany and Kirkland, but it also has a ways to go to where it fully represents consistent class struggle unionism, democratic rank-and-file control, full recognition of the evils of racism and sexism as tools of the employers, and the need for more basic solutions to the economic crisis of capitalism needed even within the capitalist system.

This is where the special, leading role of the Communist Party comes in, and while measures like the Martinez Bill, the shorter work week with no cut in pay, nationalization of industry and the natural resources of the country, and yes, socialism, are not presently at the top of the agenda of the labor movement, who is going to raise them within the labor movement if not the Communists? And even though they may not be accepted at the present moment, we know that objective conditions will in time put them on the agenda and our leadership and experience will be called on to implement them. □

Herb Kaye is a contributor to PA.

# The Economic Roots of Imperialism's War in Chiapas

Victor P. Corona

As new developments arise in the world and crisis after crisis shakes global capitalism, the suffering of the earth's people continues to grow. What is certain is that globalization has become the new form of imperialism, as Gus Hall has noted, particularly with U.S. imperialism as the main influence in the globalization process.<sup>1</sup>

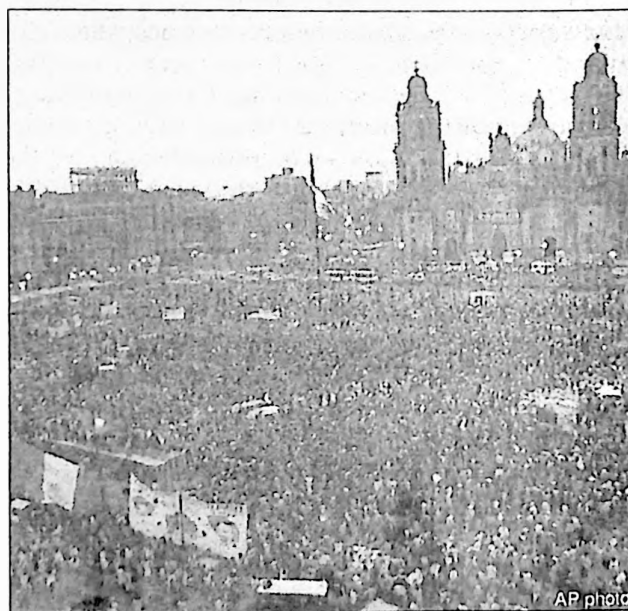
The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have pushed this agenda of aggressive capitalist restructuring all over the world. This current economic trend towards a global market of "free trade" has led to the marginalization of millions of people worldwide, as is the case with the indigenous people of Chiapas. The world's economists have constructed a scheme where the regulation of capital and transnational corporations is appallingly low.

Very often, groups of people do not fit into their globalized scheme and are considered dispensable. In this system the rights of capital and corporations come before those of the people. One area where this has been made apparent is the southeastern Mexican state of Chiapas. There, workers have felt the bitter results of economic practices that have no consideration for them. They have also fiercely resisted such blatant assaults on their very existence.

In 1982, Mexico signed an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that provided access to foreign investment in exchange for enacting a series of "economic adjustments" that would prepare Mexico for its entry into the global market as a "modernized" nation. Since 1982, the Mexican government has implemented the adjustment policies encouraged by the World Bank and the IMF, which include decreased spending for social services, removal of barriers to foreign capital, and the privatization of state-owned enterprises. The World Bank vehemently pressures countries to adopt these anti-working-class measures, though it still asserts that the purpose of its structural adjustment policies (SAP) is to "restore sustainable economic growth and make lasting progress in alleviating poverty."<sup>2</sup>

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During the latter half of the 20th century, the Mexican government steered the country into the turbulent waters of "free trade." But in order for the government to prove to the more advanced capitalist countries that it was worthy of investment, it implemented programs that would orient the national economy towards the pillaging of national resources and the exploitation of labor, not the betterment of the Mexican people. During the 1988-1994 term of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Mexico became Latin America's largest importer of capital from North America. State-owned firms were privatized while \$70 billion in foreign money flowed into the country. The Mexican government embarked on a policy of doing whatever was needed to attract foreign capital and the attention of transnational companies eager to exploit Mexican resources. For example, in a 1992 advertisement in *Global Production*, the government of the state of Yucatan, Mexico, Department of Industrial and Commercial Development made a pitch to potential investors. The ad showed an executive lamenting the fact that, "There's no way I can get my labor cost



Demonstration in Mexico City in support of peace in Chiapas.



down to \$1 an hour." The Yucatan state government readily replies, "YES YOU CAN - YUCATAN."<sup>3</sup>

The long-held dream of knocking down the "barriers" to capital finally culminated in the development of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. This agreement was created behind the scenes with no input from citizens or public interest groups. It lifts restrictions on U.S. exports to Mexico and allows total freedom of movement for capital, goods, and services with the market being the determining factor in planning, not the government. Its effects devastated the indigenous population of Mexico, which holds the land as a necessity to their well-being and an integral part of their traditional culture. Thus, within two decades, Mexico went from an inward-looking, domestic market-oriented economy with several state-owned enterprises, to a country entirely open to the power of capital and to the deepening of capitalist exploitation. V.I. Lenin explained this in *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*: "The export of capital influences and greatly accelerates the development of capitalism in those countries to which it is exported."

**NAFTA'S EFFECT IN MEXICO** ■ With the liberalization of free trade, the rural poor were forced to compete in the global market with transnational companies. Small businesses were driven out of business and farmers were pushed off their land as they succumbed to the overwhelming financial power of giant corporations. For example, U.S. corn has been dumped in Mexico at below the cost of local production, thereby impoverishing entire communities. Domestic markets were left open to the aggressive economic practices of international capital and the fluctuations of the global market.

Over six months into the enactment of NAFTA, jobless rates were rising, and small and medium-sized factories were closing down. Within NAFTA's first year, wages in Mexico declined 50 percent while the cost of living rose by 80 percent. Thousands of Mexican businesses went bankrupt, after losing domestic support and competing with transnational companies who undercut their prices.<sup>4</sup> As of July 1994, the year NAFTA went into effect, Carlos Slim, owner of Telefonos de Mexico, was said by *Forbes* magazine (the self-proclaimed "Capitalist Tool") to be worth \$6.6 billion, while 17 million Mexicans, that is, 20 percent of the national population, live on incomes of less than \$350 per person per

year. Thus the capitalist drive for profit has reached the appalling level where the assets of the richest man in Mexico equaled more than the annual income of the poorest 17 million people combined.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, according to UNICEF's "State of the World's Children" 1998 report, 15 percent of Mexico's families live on less than \$1 per day.

So, while the World Bank, the IMF, and international capital hail the success of "free trade" in Mexico, half of the population continues to live in poverty, and wealth continues to be concentrated in the hands of the few. The national economy has become more dependent on foreign capital.

According to this model of capitalism, the government is removed from most areas of economic planning and the future development of the country is left to the whims of the markets. Governments become simple administrators or store-keepers of national economies. In his essay, "The Seven Pieces of the Global Jigsaw Puzzle," Subcomandante Marcos, spokesman of the Zapatista National Liberation Army, declares:

This is the "New World Order," the unification of the entire world in one complete market. Nations are department stores with CEO's dressed as governments, and the new regional alliances, economic and political, come closer to being a modern commercial "mall" than a political federation.

The result of these policies has been what Marcos calls a "double absurdity," the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and the accumulation of poverty in the hands of many.

**SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF CHIAPAS** ■ The southeastern Mexican state of Chiapas is an extraordinarily rich area in terms of natural resources, which makes it a target of capitalist exploitation. The state is Mexico's largest producer of coffee and one of the largest producers of maize, the staple food of the indigenous people. Hydroelectric power serves a third to a half of all Mexico and even most of Central America. Recent research by Mexico's state-owned oil company, Petroleos de Mexico (PEMEX), together with several U.S. companies, confirmed the existence of great hydrocarbon potential with an easily accessible volume of 38 thousand 567 million barrels of raw oil.<sup>6</sup>

But despite the wealth of Chiapas in material resources, as well as its long cultural heritage, it is



Demonstration outside of federal building January 12, 1998 protesting murder of 45 indigenous people in Chiapas.

extremely underdeveloped and the vast majority of its inhabitants do not have a share of the tremendous wealth generated. According to official 1992 figures, over 50 percent of the nation suffers from malnutrition and the state's illiteracy rate (30 percent) is three times higher than the national average. As reported in the progressive Mexican daily newspaper, *La Jornada*, in January 1998, "The riches of Chiapas aren't reflected in the living standards of the majority of the population. In the project of capitalist expansion (the second globalization in 100 years) this state is seen as a great industrial park.

For decades since the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917, the state of Chiapas had been run by a corrupt and authoritarian system that held Chiapas in a grip of exploitative practices and intense political repression of any and all democratic movements. In this system, a handful of families control the entire state and operate Chiapas as their own personal estate. They were allowed to do this by the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has been in power for 70 years, in exchange for guaranteed PRI votes during the usually rigged elections. Since the Mexican Revolution, the PRI has dominated Mexican politics through the coercion of citizens, brutal repression, and fraud and corruption that is felt by all Mexican citizens. The Mexican government is responsible for serious electoral fraud, which has now become a landmark of the political

landscape, including altering voter registration rolls, ordering voter identification cards under false names, and having dozens of political candidates assassinated, jailed, or tortured during the 1994 elections. This continues today.

**THE CHIAPAS UPRISING OF 1994** ■ While the Mexican government had engineered these economic deals with international monopoly capitalism, the peasants and workers of Chiapas were organizing themselves into unions and campesino organizations. But at every attempt to resist the economic practices and political oppression they were suffering, they met death threats, imprisonment, and murder.

Finally, on January 1, 1994, the day NAFTA went into effect, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation arose in armed struggle. Their battle cry was "Ya Basta!," meaning "Enough!" A cease-fire was declared after 11 days of fighting. In February 1996, the EZLN and the Mexican government signed the San Andres Accords, which recognized the right of indigenous people to self-determination and autonomy and recognized the communities as entities of public law that can freely elect their own representatives. President Ernesto Zedillo refused to carry out the changes after meeting with Wall Street officials and former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

When the indigenous people of Chiapas had declared war, Subcomandante Marcos declared that NAFTA "is a death certificate for the Indian peoples of Mexico, who are dispensable for the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari."<sup>7</sup> NAFTA and the policies that have led to such impoverishment are a severe threat to the main source of the indigenous people's livelihood – land. As Karl Marx predicted, the expansion of capitalism was made at the expense of peasant societies.

One of the events that pushed the indigenous people to war was the repealing of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, which was done by then-President Carlos Salinas as a prerequisite for the signing of NAFTA. This move eliminated the right of campesinos to be granted land collectively by the government under what is known as the ejido system. Under this system, the government was required to give land to organized farmers' groups as long as farmers did not sell or transfer the land to third parties.

The indigenous people have developed alternative systems in the hope of creating autonomous local economies. "Here in this region," one Tzeltal

woman explains,

communities live both in warm and cold land so we produce different agricultural goods. By trading with each other we can become stronger and satisfy our needs. Now that we are working in collectives this work becomes easier and the money we earn we can use for communal projects. This is how we can become independent and not rely on the government.<sup>8</sup>

The acts of repression in Chiapas received world-wide attention in 1997 just days before Christmas. On December 22, 45 indigenous people, mostly members of the civil organization *Las Abejas*, were massacred by paramilitary forces while they were praying in a chapel in the village of Acteal. Using machetes and submachine guns, these peasants, mostly women and children, were slaughtered in a massacre that lasted five hours, while Public Security police only a few miles away did nothing to intervene.

Pedro Arriaga, SJ, pastor of San Pedro Chenalho, the parish which includes the village of Acteal, announced in a recent visit to New York that 70,000 soldiers are currently stationed in Chiapas, a force that could reportedly raze all of Central America. In the past months, the Mexican Army has committed several raids into autonomous municipalities that sympathize with the Zapatistas.

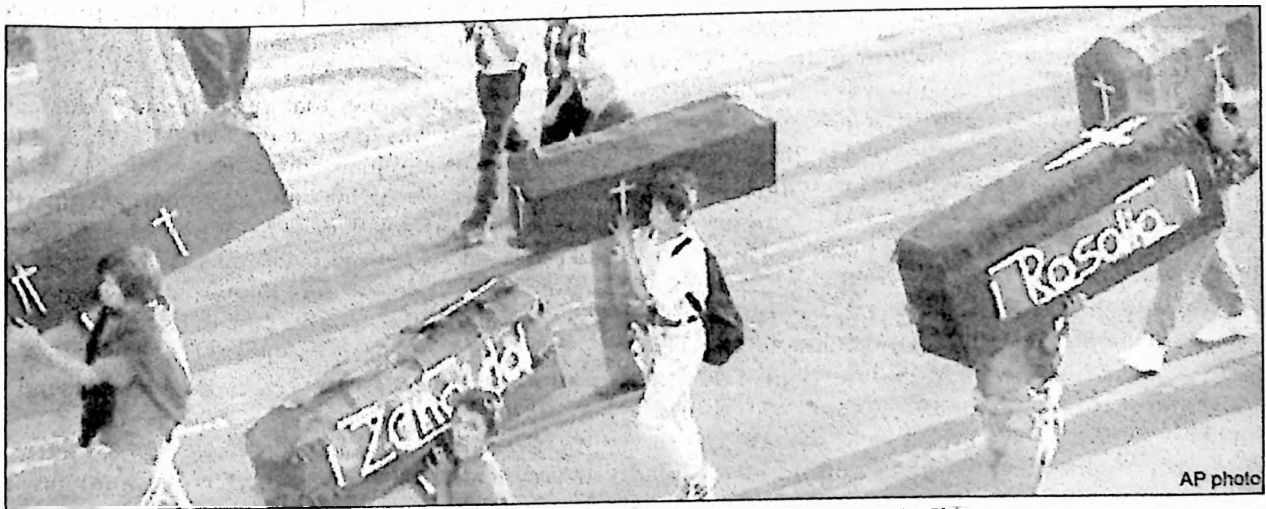
The progressive Catholic Church in Chiapas has been very vocal in denouncing the unjust economic system and is active in working with civil organizations. Samuel Ruiz Garcia, Bishop of the Diocese of San Cristobal de las Casas, has stated:

Chiapas is poor because of the unjust structures of an economic model that has systematically enriched a few people at the expense of the majority. The structural adjustment program imposed on us by the current Mexican government to further integrate Mexico into the capitalist bloc of the north, only makes it easier for private interests to control the resources of the countryside ... The wealthy need two things to be able to continue this path of enrichment: privatization and NAFTA.

The Zapatista uprising represents a questioning of the world economic system; the better the system functions, the greater the concentration of wealth. These events question that entire logic. It is a cry of challenge to the whole system.<sup>9</sup>

The progressive Church, inspired by liberation theology, has vehemently denounced this globalization, despite criticism from the Church hierarchy that has aligned itself entirely with the Mexican government. Assassination and kidnapping attempts have been made on Bishop Ruiz's life.

**REACTIONARY RESPONSES** ▣ The Chiapas uprising, which represents a cry for true democracy, was met with ferocity by the PRI government and U.S. imperialism. In 1995, the Chase Bank issued a "Political Update," the notorious memorandum circulated by its Emerging Markets Group which told the Zedillo administration that, "the government will need to eliminate the Zapatistas to demonstrate their effective control of the national territory and of security policy." Furthermore, the memorandum stated that the PRI will need to "consider carefully whether or



Demonstrators in Mexico City carry mock coffins protesting massacre in Chiapas.

not to allow opposition victories [even] if fairly won at the ballot box..."

The activities of U.S.-based transnationals in the region have pushed an agenda that resulted in the total marginalization of the poor and the indigenous people. But this is not the extent of their crimes against the working class of Mexico. The U.S. government has armed and trained the Mexican army, which is responsible for serious human rights violations. Mexico is now the largest patron of the U.S. Army School of the Americas (SOA), the infamous military school in Fort Benning, Georgia, which has trained some of Latin America's worst human rights abusers. Extensive military aid is now given to Mexico in the name of fighting the "war on drugs," although it is actually used in violations of human rights. The U.S. provides Mexico with weapons, including helicopters, cattle prods, and flame throwers, and it trains military personnel. Last year, military aid totaled \$78 million. Ex-CIA officers John Stockwell and Ralph McGehee have stated that the CIA controls a significant network of agents and covert operatives in Chiapas.<sup>10</sup>

NAFTA encourages companies to move south, where wages are low and environmental regulations ignored. When U.S. workers ask for better wages or try to exercise their right to unionize, the companies threaten to move to Mexico where wages are lower and environmental and labor laws are largely ignored. Since NAFTA, over 420,000 higher-paying jobs have been shifted to Mexico, where wages average \$4 per day.<sup>11</sup>

USANAFTA, a business coalition made up of at least 35 Fortune 500 companies, lobbied hard for the passage of NAFTA. The following USANAFTA corporations were identified as companies that threatened to move jobs elsewhere if workers voted to unionize: AT&T, DuPont, and ITT. While many USA.NAFTA companies have been eliminating U.S. jobs and busting unions, the average net profits for some USANAFTA companies went from \$396 million in 1992 to \$1,561 million in 1995.<sup>12</sup>

Further attempts have been made to consolidate the illegitimate power of U.S. imperialism. Several months ago, President Bill Clinton did his absolute best to push his "fast track" legislation through Congress, which would have given the president power to extend NAFTA to other countries, like Chile. This legislation, which he declared would be "the key to U.S. leadership in the world economy," was eventually stopped after the bill's anti-democratic nature

was publicized. Yet Clinton maintained that its defeat would "jeopardize America's preeminent position in this world."

Another attempt to further the interests of corporations over those of people is the Multi-lateral Agreement on Investments (MAI), what has been termed by some as "NAFTA on steroids," because of the unprecedented amount of power it gives to corporations. It would further demolish barriers to capital worldwide, and give companies the right to sue governments that had laws that would impede trade and thus hurt corporate profits. Laws regarding labor, the environment, or human rights would come under this heading.

As long as the current globalization trend continues, whereby the growth of profit and capital are considered the number one priority, humanity will continue to suffer and the vast majority will continue to be left with nothing. At the same time, the NAFTA creators and their cronies will become wealthy at the expense of the earth's people. The indigenous people of Chiapas have experienced this marginalization for years and reached a point where they have had enough. It is about time that we too made a decision to put people before profits. □

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**CAMBODIA**

Despite the best efforts of Western favorites Prince Norodom Ranaridh and Sam Rainsy, aided by teams of Western "observers" and a biased international media, the elections for Cambodia's National Assembly have been decisively won by the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) led by Hun Sen.

To the dismay of Western leaders, the CPP won 41.4 percent of the popular vote, easily outperforming Ranaridh's Funcinpec party (31.7 percent) and the Sam Rainsy Party with 14.3 percent.

Both Ranaridh and Rainsy were crying "fraud" long before the election was even held. The presence of the many foreign observers was intended to throw doubt on the "fairness" of the

elections, discrediting a CPP victory in advance.

However, they have been forced to admit that the elections were free and fair, which is a great achievement considering that parts of the country are still subject to armed attacks by elements loyal to the Khmer Rouge or Norodom Ranaridh.

The Cambodian Peo-

ple's Party led the struggle against the Pol Pot (leader of Khmer Rouge) regime, started the reconstruction of the country and had already established a stable situation when international intervention from the U.S. Australia and other countries commenced. They used the UN as a smokescreen.

The Cambodian people and the Cambodian People's Party had been assisted by the Vietnamese to overthrow the Pol Pot regime but the West, Prince Ranaridh and Pol Pot united in an anti-Vietnamese campaign.

A CPP Government is now expected to have its rightful seat in the UN restored and to become a member of ASEAN. The restoration of good neighborly relations with Vietnam and Laos are also likely to follow.

However, the victory of the CPP will not end the attempted destabilisation of the new government aimed at its overthrow and the installation of Prince Ranaridh or Sam Rainsy or even Khmer Rouge figures who are preferred by the U.S. and Australian governments.

Nonetheless, the election outcome is a significant defeat for these imperialist plans.

*Reprinted from The Guardian, newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia.*

**FIGHTING TNCS**

*Through the initiative of the Communist Parties of Australia, Canada and the USA a Joint Statement on the fight against MAI was signed by 54 Communist and Workers Parties.*

The proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), currently being negotiated by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries but intended as an investment regime for the entire world economy, poses a colossal threat to the democratic and social rights of workers and peoples of all countries and to the national sovereignty of all states.

It is an outrage that such an international treaty, which would be binding on governments and take precedence over the domestic laws and national interests of almost every country, has been negotiated behind closed doors and purposely shielded from the world's peoples for more than two years.

According to its promoters,

the MAI would become the new "constitution of a single global economy," one firmly under the control of the most powerful transnational corporations and international banking and financial institutions. It would constitute a qualitative leap in the imperialist-driven "globalization" process that has already led to increased economic instability and disparities between countries, and caused growing unemployment, poverty and other hardships for working people, and the loss of social rights and services.

The main purpose of the MAI is to grant complete capital mobility to global corporate interests. Under its terms, transnationals would have the unfettered right to penetrate national markets at will, free from regulations of "performance guarantees" applied by national governments.

Such an investment regime would fundamentally undermine the ability of states to determine national economic development objectives, to maintain and improve labor standards, to control the utilization of precious natural resources, to prevent privatization and expand collective and social forms of ownership, and to preserve the environment.

It would effectively eliminate the democratic and sovereign right of peoples and their governments to determine their collective national destinies, and would accelerate the downward leveling of social and economic rights in all countries.

International agreements to regulate common and mutually advantageous trade between countries are urgently required,

but the MAI and similar initiatives, which provide a virtual carte blanche to the most powerful private corporate concerns, would take the global economy in a dangerous, anti-democratic direction.

Growing popular opposition to the MAI around the world, combined with competitive rivalries and differences between some of the leading capitalist states, has already forced a crisis in the MAI negotiating process. Despite the current impasse and the six-month postponement of the signing, powerful imperialist interests led by the United States are continuing to press for adoption of the main components of the MAI, either through the World Trade Organization (WTO) or by amendment to the Basic Rules of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

We therefore call on the labor movement and democratic forces in all countries to maintain and intensify their united efforts to prevent the ratification of the MAI by their governments in any form believing that there can be no compromise on a basically anti-working-class agreement.

We reject the drive by the transnational corporations for maximum profits and global dictatorship. We propose alternative economic policies which place primary importance on meeting the needs and aspirations of the people, protect the environment and maintain the independence and sovereignty of all nation states, as opposed to

the global corporate drive for maximum profit.

#### **SOUTH AFRICA**

*The 10th Congress of the South African Communist Party took place July 1-5, 1998. Blade Nzimande, the former national chairman was elected the new general-secretary. The following is the Resolution on the Tripartite Alliance which was passed.*

Noting:

1. The centrality of the ANC-led Alliance in bringing about peace and democracy in our country;
2. That the Alliance between the ANC, SACP and the revolutionary trade union movement (represented by COSATU today) has been forged in concrete struggles of our people and around common goals over the past seven decades;
3. The history and tradition of South African Communists contribution to building and strengthening mass organizations;
4. That Communists who worked in mass organizations have distinguished themselves



through hard work and respect for the discipline of these organizations;

Further Noting:

1. Continuing attempts by our strategic opponents to weaken and undermine our Revolutionary Alliance;

2. Debates within our broader movement on the role, character and relevance of the Alliance in the new context;

3. The commitment of the ANC to working-class leadership, deepening national democracy at all levels of our society and anti-imperialism;

Believing:

1. That the Alliance remains the only vehicle that can mobilize and unite the overwhelming majority of South Africans behind our program for fundamental transformation and defense of the achievements of the 1994 democratic breakthrough;

Further Believing:

1. That our strategic alliance is defined by our common understanding of the nature of apartheid colonialism, the nature of our revolution and immediate tasks of the revolution;

2. That the strength of each partner in the Alliance will contribute to the strength of the others;

Therefore Resolves to:

1. Reaffirm the commitment of the SACP to the Tripartite Alliance;

2. Commit South African Communists to continue with our tradition of building and strengthening mass organizations, including encouraging our members to be active in building the ANC;

3. Reaffirm our long-held view that Communists working within mass organizations must demonstrate Party integrity and respect for the discipline of these

organizations;

4. Deepen our understanding of the history and continuing relevance of our strategic alliance within the ranks of both the Party and its Alliance partners;

5. Promote a culture of open and constructive debate within our broader movement and mutual respect among our Alliance partners, even when we differ on issues;

6. Deepen and consolidate unity within the Tripartite Alliance.

#### **CZECH REPUBLIC**

A massive poll conducted in May showed that 35 percent of the population said life was better under socialism than it is today. Six years ago the poll reported that 16 percent said life was better under socialism.

*International Department,  
CPUSA*



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