

political **A**ffairs

Journal of the Communist Party

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HOLDING THE LINE IN '99



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PA FUND DRIVE

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

The fund drive appeal for *PA* is still going strong. We started the fund drive a few short months ago in our quest to make the changes in format, content and production at *PA* and to add to our computer potential that is vital for any publication in this modern world of technology.

The response was overwhelming. We have gathered over \$9000 toward our goal of \$10,000. This is our last hurrah for going over the top.

As the millennium and a major election year approaches, getting out the word from the Communist Party is more important than ever. That's where we both come in. Please dig just a little deeper and give whatever you can to complete our drive. If 100 of you just gave \$10 more, we will go over the top.

Now, you know as well as we that there will be more appeals in the years to come. The fight for progressive politics never stops and it takes a few bucks to keep it going. But for now, we thank you for your help. The staff at *PA* pledges to use the money wisely and keep *PA* at the forefront of the struggle for socialism.

-PA Editorial Board



\$10,000 GOAL

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Poetry Notebook

In Praise of Workers

to the working woman
with cotton-dust in her throat

to the working woman & man
textile mills turned Red

to the working woman & man
in city and country,

to the working woman
bearing double and triple oppression
the lashes of capitalism

to the working woman & man
struggling for democracy, fighting back

to the working woman
smothered in household drudgery

slaving for no pay, having no say
to the working woman & man
laboring against genocide, trying to survive

to the working woman
marching for equal pay for equal work

to the working woman & man
in support of affirmative action

To the working woman & man
in need of public health and housing

to the working woman and man
that feed the homeless and spare a dime

to the working woman & man
battling police lynching and the death penalty

to the working woman & man
in search of quality childcare & public schools

to the working woman & man
demanding human rights

screaming a cry "build schools not jails"
education is a democratic right

to the working woman & man
standing in union, solid like a rock

to the working woman & man
in the Trade Unions struggling for fair wages.

to the working woman and man
in Community & church,

calling for Justice, Equality and World Peace
& to the working woman & man

singing hymns of freedom and labor stories
to the working women & men

declaring the Communist Party and Socialism
their will of heart, passion & love

for the whole International Working Class

to the working women

they hold up half the SKY

Amina Baraka

(inspired by Comrades in the C.P.U.S.A.
& Friends)

Amina
Baraka is a
member of the
National
Board of the
Communist
Party.

IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION



Ideas and Ideology: - a Material Force

by Lee Dlugin and Pat Barile

Ideas are a material force. They generate from the human mind. They are the product of human experience. Left alone without struggle for their realization they die and disappear.

Ideas and ideology are kith and kin. An idea, or even a number of ideas, in and of themselves have little force. It is when ideas are brought together and organized into a system of ideas that their power and potential can develop.

Ideology, the embodiment of a group of ideas which derive from similar experience are class-based. There are two main bodies of thought or ideas which constitute the main opposing forces in society. Both grow out of the system of economic relations of these two contending forces.

The ideologies which are class-based are a system of ideas to defend and to advance the interests of the class whose experience gave rise to the development of that ideology. The two contending ideologies represent the interests of the two main forces in society - the working class and the

capitalist class.

The ideology of those who labor, who produce the material basis for human progress is progressive. Those who labor seek always to improve the quality of existence and life. It is their experience, their needs and their desires which are the great generator of the advanced thinking of progressive ideology.

It is working-class ideology which arms the working class against the oppressive and repressive capitalist ideology and capitalism.

Capitalist ideology is based on greed, plunder, killing and repression.

Capitalism uses mass modern propaganda means to sell the idea that it, the capitalist class is the font and source of all the material means of sustaining life. It claims credit and takes possession of all the production of those who work and all the new ideas that this experience produces for progressive development whether, they be scientific or cultural. They proclaim all that is good is because of the supremacy of capitalism.

While it propagates ideas of supremacy, capitalism exploits

and impoverishes countless millions.

Marxism-Leninism, the science of the working class, exposes this universal fiction. It explains the exploitative nature of capitalist production. It exposes the contradictions between social production and private appropriation, the ruthless impoverishment of masses, the revolutionary ideology which the contradictions of capitalist production relations produces and why the working class is the revolutionary class.

These contradictions produce a struggle between these two classes - the working class and the capitalist class and therefore the class struggle.

The outcome of that struggle is inevitable. The working class will take control of the means of production and create an equitable economic system - socialism.

Thus, the ideology of the working class, born and shaped out of its struggle, is referred to as Marxism-Leninism. The struggle for the supremacy of Marxist-Leninist ideology over capitalist ideology is a most important struggle for human survival and

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CPUSA.

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progress.

The ability of U.S. monopoly capitalism to wage the propaganda war against the working class is without limit. It starts its brainwashing process when a child is still an infant. Propaganda reaches into every phase of life. It has but one purpose, i.e. that capitalism, even with its weaknesses is the only viable and successful economic system. Since they are selling a Big Lie, like Hitler, they repeat it over and over to create the mass perception, that it is the truth.

Socialism is inevitable. It is the

"Socialism is inevitable. It is the only economic system which can solve the problems imposed on the masses by capitalism. Workers around the world learn this in the class struggle as they strive for a better life from the evil capitalist system."



Above: Russian miner's strike.

only economic system which can solve the problems imposed on the masses by capitalism. Workers around the world learn this in the class struggle as they strive for a better life from the evil capitalist system. They have seen what socialism was able to do in 75 short years in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In the now former Soviet Union the people are going about it in just the opposite direction. They enjoyed socialism first and are now just learning how miserable life is under capitalism. Like the working class in every country they will have to wage a struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideas, for socialism.

Books are written about why the Soviet Union fell. One answer why is that for too long the struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideology was given short shrift. The strug-

gle for Communist ideology, to be waged with the same consciousness of purpose, the same dedication and focus and the same fury as the socialist revolution itself was lacking. The enemy today is infinitely more powerful and deadly than in 1917.

Since ideas are a material force, then like all other matter they should be studied and understood. The process and stages through which ideas are brought to reality must also be understood.

Ideas move from idea to tendency, then to trend, then to mass phenomena.

The struggle for this process is the struggle for collectivity, for analysis and development of common estimates, strategy, tactics and unity of action.

Subjectivity, individualism, opportunism and petty bourgeois attitudes are dangerous ideological weaknesses. They put serious roadblocks in developing collective estimates and unity of action. They run counter to the necessary process of coalition building so vital to developing and broadening the ideological process and the consequent mass-action movement.

Building coalitions is our main mass task. It is our most valuable mass activity. It is the key to helping develop new advanced thought patterns and changing the balance of forces in favor of the class struggle. Changes in thought patterns and in the balance of forces generally reflect qualitative changes.

Ideas mature in the struggle, in the course of the battle of ideas, coalition building, education and mass action. As ideas move to broader acceptance among masses they become a tendency, that is, they gain currency but are not yet solidly rooted and unless the struggle is intensified to move the tendency up the ideological staircase the ideas can perish under the hammer blows



AP photo

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of the class enemy.

Many examples of this are to be found in the experience of the 1930s. We got the New Deal but the struggle being waged then was for the "Full Deal." The same can be said about the U.S. Constitution. We got the first ten amendments but the revolution was fought for much more. Slavery was not abolished until the Civil War, women's suffrage was not won until 1920.

It is useful and indeed important to study those critical turning point periods of U.S. history to see why and how the ruling class was able to short circuit the qualitative changes that were in process in the class struggle. That would be very instructive to winning the struggle for socialism in the show-down battles with state-monopoly capitalism which loom on the horizon.

If the working class demands of the "Full Deal" had been won, life would be quite different today. The 30-hour work week would be a reality, Social Security would equal net wages, unemployment insurance would be job to job, national health care and a host of social welfare measures and other demands that were up for struggle in the Depression explosion could have been realized. What role did anti-Communism play in stunting the movement? What impact did the claim have that President Roosevelt would destroy the economy because of the \$4.3 billion national debt? The study should include the post WWII period up to and including the break up of the CIO in 1949, despite the fact the work-



AP photo

ing class had successfully completed strike victories in the basic industries.

What was the role of social democracy, Trotskyism, and liberals in betraying the class forces at the critical turning point crossroads whenever the ruling class needed help on selling its ideas? How did the ruling class use racist division and ultra right violence? Other aspects which should also be examined are the Civil War, the McCarthy period, the integration struggles of the 1960s, the anti-war movement of that period, the latter day struggles against giveback union contracts, the working-class rebellion that brought positive changes in the labor movement.

The urgency for studying these events is their vital turning-point character and basic long-term impact on the course of the class

struggle. The study serves and equips us so that we do not let the ruling class sidetrack us at the crossroads to socialism.

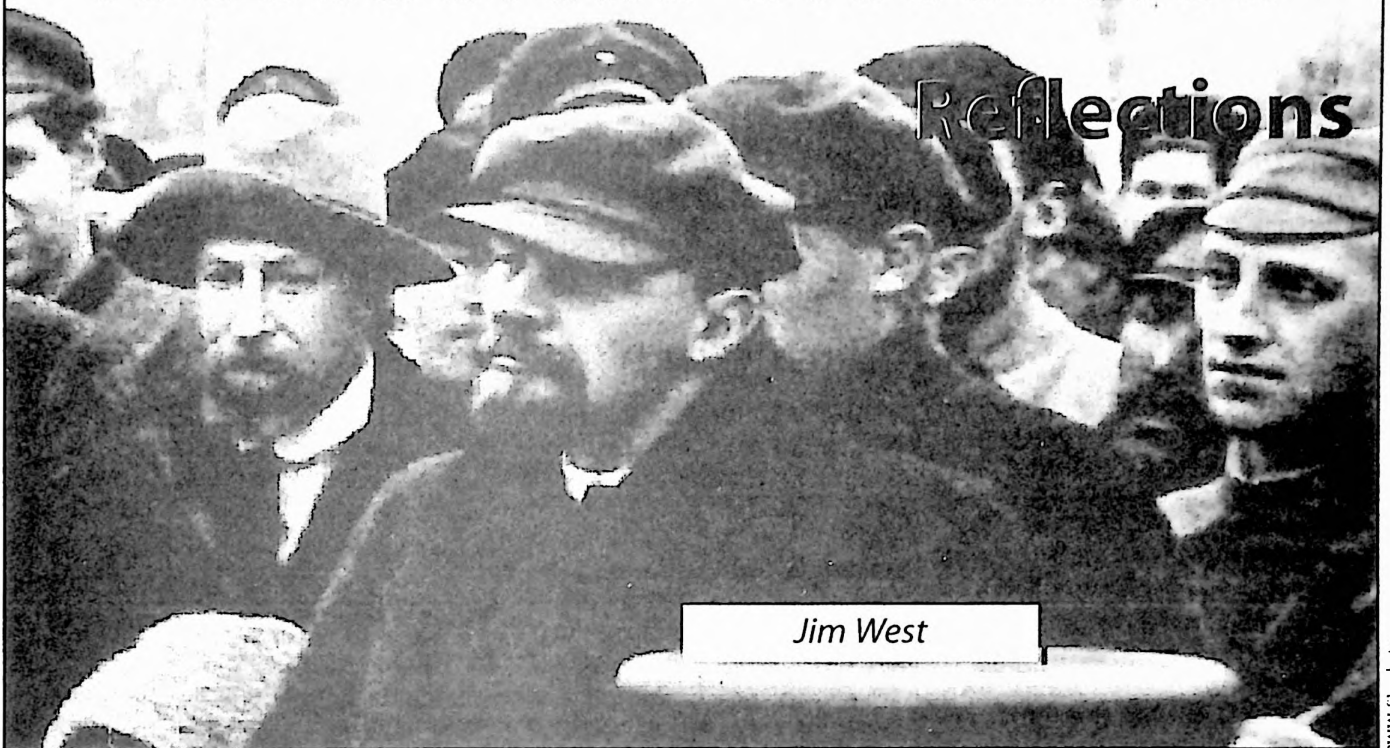
There can be no slow-down or let-up in the struggle to move the tendency up the ideological/dialectical spiral staircase to develop it into a full-blown trend. When an idea becomes a trend it means it has become the ideological property of very broad masses. Forged in mass struggle, changes in mass thinking spread much more rapidly and set the stage for the ideas moving up the spiral staircase to take on the full quality of mass phenomena. The dialectical opposite of mass acceptance of Marxist ideology is the mass rejection of capitalist ideology. This opens the door to socialist consciousness and moving to socialism.

Our ideological conference is right on time in the class struggle and the struggle against globalization and monopolization of the world economy by U.S. state-monopoly capitalism. Our conference should launch an ongoing mass education campaign to expose and defeat capitalist ideology in the working-class and peoples movement. The class struggle is the motor force of progress, Marxism-Leninism is the ideological mind, spirit and unifier of the working-class movement. Their combined ideological and mass force are the guarantee of socialist victory.

It is an important vehicle in sharpening our consciousness for keeping before us the need for constant planning in moving our ideas up the ideological spiral staircase. ■

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Reflections



PWW file photo

...the economic quintessence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This very fact determines its place in history, for monopoly that grew up on the basis of free competition, and precisely out of free competition, is the transition from the capitalist system to a higher socio-economic order.

(V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, Chapter 10)

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The arrival of the new millennium coincides with the entry of imperialism-capitalism into a special phase in its decline and fall. It may well be its penultimate phase.

Downsizing, outsourcing, mergers piled on more mergers, globalization, and gyrating instability are among the signposts of this new phase. The frenzied, hurry-scurry tempo of development is driven by the specter of a dying man's gasp for breath in a world running out of air.

In 1982 there were 13 billionaires in the United States. Today, 17 years later, there are over 200 billionaires. "Almost everywhere we look," writes economist Lester Thurow, "we see rising inequalities among countries, among firms, among individuals...Returns to capital are up, returns to labor are down." He asks, "How does one preach political equality in an economy of ever growing inequality?" (*Atlantic Monthly, June, 1999*)

In the same article, Thurow characterizes capitalism as a "process of creative destruction." Destruction for whom and for what? Creative for what and for whom?

What was creative about the wiping out of Mai Lai by the U.S. Army in Vietnam - "to save the village?" In the counting houses of Wall Street the non-stop NATO-U.S.A. bombing of Yugoslavia was surely lauded as creative destruction. And, in U.S. history, the savage genocidal attacks on Native American Indians, on African Americans and other oppressed minorities, can they now be dismissed as benignly creative destruction?

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Perhaps Thurow was referring to the parasitic cannibalism which marks the decline of capitalism in its imperialist stage. If by devouring itself capitalism automatically gives way to socialism that might be considered "creative destruction!" If that was true, we could all stand and cheer, "Bon Appetit!" But unfortunately, that is an unrealistic fantasy.

A realistic example of "creative destruction" on a small scale is provided by the headline in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 28, 1999: "CompUSA to close stores, trim staff to swell profits."

Now let's consider this matter on a world scale:

The 20th century, in which capitalism reached its highest development and spread its imperialist tentacles all over the world, was the bloodiest century in all history. More lives were lost, more material values created by human labor were destroyed by force and violence, by war, than in all previous centuries.

By its very nature of a never-ending drive for maximum profit, capitalism amasses vast quantities of commodities produced by fewer and fewer workers who cannot buy



Above: NATO occupation troops.

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all they produced. The result is periodic crises of overproduction and a growth of underconsumption.

The drive for more profit, for an ever bigger share of the market, for new markets, for new sources of low-cost labor and raw materials gives rise to monopolies and the highest stage of capitalism, imperialism. As imperialism grows, the banks, finance capital, far removed from production of goods and material values, play an ever larger role.

In all of this, the threat of "creative destruction" by nuclear, chemical and other mass destruction warfare hangs over the planet, Thurow is a sharp-eyed critic of much that is wrong with imperialism. There are those who yearn for a return to the premonopoly, preimperialist days of capitalism. Among them, some regard Thurow as a champion of small and medium business. He is thus considered to be a liberal. Whatever his political inclinations may be, his knowledge of economics should clearly point to no return to the past. As to the future, all honest, objective study of the facts point to only one way forward from imperialism: a workers' and farmer's society of socialism.

Whichever way imperialism moves to save its rotten system, be it

"creative destruction," cannibalism, "humanitarian" wars of NATO or the last resort of fascism, the instrument of the most powerful, reactionary monopolies, it is the working class and poor farmers who are the targets, the chief victims.

Among the false banners raised to rally a semblance of support for fascism is the slogan for a return to free-market, non-monopoly capitalism. The same kind of signposts leading to a dead-end cesspool were followed by Gorbachev and Yeltsin in the Russian tragedy.

Today the stakes are higher as U.S. imperialism lays claim to one-super-power world dominance. The modern-day falsifiers of history proclaim that all of humanity and its human rights must be saved at whatever cost. Judge for yourself:

"It took World War II to change the West's mind about inhumanity, and 50 years more to make that change of mind a commitment..." Human rights have been "elevated to a military priority and a pre-eminent Western value..." (*New York Times*, June 13th,).

Please note that as the leading newspaper of the world's only super-power, the *New York Times* has given itself the right to speak for all minds in the West and, further, that

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it has generously included Japan, Australia, New Zealand and more in the "West," by which it means all capitalist countries.

Planting its feet on this highest moral ground, the giants of international capital grant themselves the right to change the meaning of words, laws, treaties and all else to suit their corrupt, opportunist needs of the moment. With humanitarianism installed as having "military priority," the prophets of Big Business are digging deep for more candidates for "pre-eminent Western values."

Lying to cover up its own violations of human rights is a well-established pre-eminent value which comes naturally to imperialism. We refer to the lies used to get Congress to adopt the Tonkin Gulf resolution which was tantamount to a declaration of all-out war against Vietnam. The most recent exposure shows the U.S. government lied for years to cover up its role in the coup that brought the butcher, Pinochet, into power in Chile. Exactly 10 days after the coup, a CIA report said: "The pre-

vailing mood among the Chilean military is stamp out all vestiges of Communism in Chile for good. Severe repression is planned. The military is rounding up large numbers of people, including students and leftists of all descriptions and interning them." (*NY Times*, July 1, 1999). For 26 years the U.S. government hid the truth, lied about it.

A few years ago, high officials in the U.S. State Department were calling the Kosovo Liberation Army "terrorists." Supporting the KLA were Albanian capitalist-landlord interests dreaming of a greater-Albanian bourgeois government backed by foreign banking interests. Suddenly the banner of "self-determination" was raised over the KLA as "the fighting arm" of the struggle against "ethnic cleansing." Overnight the bourgeois-nationalist annexation drive was cloaked in a humanitarian crusade. Just as quickly, Serbs were transformed into demons.

The capitalist media called for humanitarian aid to Kosovo and the NATO-U.S. humanitarian air bombardments began against

Serbia and its Kosovo province.

Meanwhile, for every refugee in Kosovo, there were 20 refugees in Angola, Sudan, Afghanistan and Sierra Leone. Thereby imperialism revealed another form of ethnic cleansing: benign racist neglect.

In 1996 Taiwan announced its readiness to break the "One-China Accord" with mainland China by proclaiming that Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points, - specifically, self-determination, had "taken root in Taiwan." President Clinton was quick to declare that the United States would not support independence for Taiwan. In this way he reaffirmed U.S. adherence to the "one-China" concept. This meant U.S. imperialism saw much to lose and little to gain by supporting Taiwan in an independence through self-determination at that time.

There are some 5,000 ethnic entities in the world. Many countries contain two or more ethnic groups as in Africa. Other groups exist in two or more neighboring countries (Kurds, for example).

With imperialist rivalries striving to break out of the stifling embrace and dominance of U.S. imperialism as the one superpower; with nationalism and its chauvinism, racism and hatred spread across continents by profit-mad free marketeers, the areas of combustible materials have grown immensely throughout the world.

At a time when the peace-keeping, friendship-promoting role of the United Nations must be strengthened and energetically used to prevent brush fires from flaring into wars, NATO's role as the military enforcer of imperialism must be curbed and disbanded.

The right of nations to self-determination must be updated and clarified. The self-determination must be made by the people of the given country themselves, with-

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out any outside pressure or influence. The working people of town and country must be fully involved in making the determination. The trade unions in the capitalist, bourgeois democratic countries must have the right to be represented as observers. It matters very much to the working class if the oppressing and exploiting class is in control of the self-determination process.

In the new world situation it has become necessary for all working people, for all professionals, scientists, small business people to take a new look at all foreign, as well as domestic relations. Experience has shown the people cannot rely on the ruling class and its politicians living up to the laws, treaties, pacts and regulations they had crafted in an earlier time. The U.N. Charter has been violated a number of times by U.S. imperialism as it has other international agreements, not to speak of the numerous U.S. laws also violated by it.

Over 50 years have passed since U.S. Army troops were placed in South Korea as a "peace-keeping" force. Today, 37,000 troops are still there. How can the Korean people determine anything for themselves with armed outsiders always looking over their shoulders? How does this affect the wages, working and living conditions of U.S. workers, engineers, technicians and oth-

ers here at home?

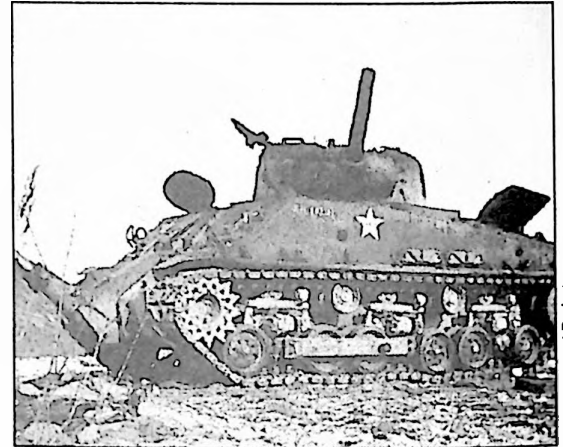
Isn't it time for the organized labor movement and its friends and allies to work up a foreign policy free of the pressures and influences of the transnational monopolies, a new, independent policy that defends the interests of all who labor in this new world context?

PRODUCING CLASSES, SAVIOR OF THE PLANET

Thrashing about in desperate efforts to stave off its inevitable demise, imperialism erupts in a constant storm of disasters: wars, industrial explosions, ecological calamities, drug dementia, mental illness are increasing. In one way or another, all fall on the producing classes, workers, farmers, scientists, intellectuals of all nations and races.

Capitalism in its declining years is a life-destroying process. The only way left for millions to curb and nullify this anti-human process is to combine their forces and efforts in grand anti-monopoly-anti-imperialist coalitions.

The struggle for more and more democracy is what pulls the coalitions together and is at the heart of their existence. It is a struggle to empower the working class, the producers of the country's material



AP photo

and intellectual wealth. It is a struggle in the interests of all who labor, of all oppressed minorities, of all non-monopoly sectors of the people.

It is a continuing struggle to defeat those office-holders and office-seekers who represent big monopoly, the big banks, and the fascist-inclined reactionaries.

The Republican and Democratic parties are both controlled by the big monopolies and banks. Forces representing reaction and even fascism are to be found in both parties. In recent years, more through the Republican than the Democratic Party. That is why the working class and oppressed minorities have been inclined to vote for the Democratic Party as the means of defeating the reactionaries. The number of voters holding their noses when voting for the Democratic alterna-



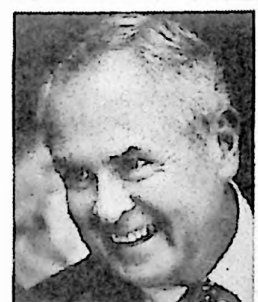
Donald R. Keough
President/Chief Operating Officer
The Coca-Cola Company



John L. Clendenin
Chairman/Chief Executive Officer
Bell South Corporation



Lod Cook
Chairman/Chief Executive Officer
ARCO



Karl Fienke
President/Chief Executive Officer
Junior Achievement Inc.

AP photo

Today there are 200 billionaires in the U.S. who own most of the country's wealth.

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tive has grown from year to year. That is why it is called voting for the lesser evil.

THE LESSER EVIL

This common-sense voting has kept our country from sliding down a slippery slope into a fascist abyss a few times. But so long as no safeguards are erected to prevent Big Business from using the two-party system as a plugged nickel, owning two sides of the same coin, the set-up is still "heads I win; tails I win" as far as monopoly is concerned.

How can we prevent monopoly capital from using the two-party mechanism to buy more time for exploitation, oppression, corruption, thievery, more attacks on labor, more deprivation for the jobless, the homeless, the elderly, more racism, hatred and more time for the erosion of our rights and gains?

The times call for more than common sense. What is needed is uncommon sense – seeing a little further, thinking a little further.

The right-wing, reactionary evil was handed a powerful defeat in the



1998 elections. It took a labor-liberal alliance in coalition with the African American and Latino communities to bring about that set-back to reaction.

The potential is there for an even larger, more extensive and deeply rooted coalition for driving the evil out of the two party system. It can be done.

The heart and soul, the very stability of such a grand coalition is to be found in the working class. The reason for that was pointed out nearly 100 years ago by V.I. Lenin: "The very position the proletariat holds as a class compels it to be consistently democratic." (*Collected Works, Vol. 9, page 51*).

A GREAT FIRST

STEP

The decision of the AFL-CIO Executive Board to promote the election of 2,000 candidates for office at all levels in the year 2000 is a breath-taking, unprecedented and, yes, a revolutionary step. What a great way to greet the new millennium!

The appearance of 2,000 labor-endorsed anti-monopoly candidates across the country would herald a new day for democracy, for peoples politics in the U.S. It would convince millions that a labor or peoples, anti-monopoly party is within reach, a viable possibility. A united, fully-committed trade union movement is the strongest foundation for such a historic moment. Let the trade unions know that they have the support of all organizations, groups and individuals who want relief and freedom from the stifling power of monopoly capital!

CANDIDATES

From where can the 2,000 candidates come? A good starting point would be the very movements and organizations created by the people

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to defend and advance their interests: the trade unions, the tenants and homeowners movements; the organizations fighting racism, and discrimination, the women's, the farm, peace, civil rights, and ecology movements, the academic and religious world, community improvements and similar movements.

Let a democratic process unfold whereby each organization elects its best to represent it in consultation with the representatives of all other organizations in a given electoral division (ward, legislative, congressional district, state, city or county-wide) to agree on candidates, a common program, campaign organization, plans and finances.

Such a democratic process can best insure that the sum total of candidates nationally is representative of the multiplicity of nationalities and races living in the given area capable of uniting the disparate and sectional interests. One for all, all for one.

This revolutionary idea of letting the voters themselves nominate the candidates for office would be a good way to let the picking of candidates by corrupt machine politicians die from asphyxiation in their smoke-filled back rooms.

This is but an inkling of the benefits of using democracy to work for the people instead of corporate



AP photo

wealth.

At present it is plain for all to see that there is a disproportionate number of lawyers in elective office and a thimble-full of industrial workers and trade unionists. It may be objected to that most workers, especially semi-skilled and unskilled, have no college education, as though this disqualifies them from holding office! In my opinion, even a semi-literate or illiterate worker sitting in place of a Gingrich or a Strom Thurmond would be a great service to the nation, even if he/she did no more that sit there in Congress.

One of the most harmful weapons in the arsenal of corporate wealth is anti-Communism. Red-baiting and lies about Communists,

Communism and socialism have been used to smear, intimidate, scare individuals and organizations into silence and inaction. Company stooges have been used to point an anti-Communist finger at militant unionists to prevent organizing, break up united strike action,

prevent the election of Communists or other militant unionists to union and/or public office. These employer anti-labor – and unconstitutional – cudgels were officially sanctioned by the government with the passage of the Smith and McCarran Acts and the Taft-Hartley Law.

With the end of leadership by Meany and Kirkland the AFL-CIO has had its windows opened to let the fresh air of democracy blow through its ranks. A number of unions have removed the notorious anti-Communist clause from their constitutions and some have restored to their rightful place those communists who had been founders and builders of the union but shunted aside in the McCarthy Cold War period.

These are very important steps in restoring the unions' true role as defender of the economic and social interests of the working class. It is already paying off in the growth of trade unions and in their militancy and energetic activity. But more remains to be done, not only in the unions but in all peoples' movements.

It is especially important to remove the mountain-high pile of lies, misconceptions, distortions and confusion that blocks out the truth about socialism, communism,

AP photo



Above: Refugees from U.S. bombing.

IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Marxism-Leninism. This is a historic task that cannot be bypassed. Let us start with explaining the reality behind all the lies that have been spread about socialism.

WHAT THEN IS SOCIALISM?

The capitalist media use the term "communist countries." Yet nowhere in the world does a communist country exist. Communism is a classless society in which antagonistic or incompatible classes no longer exist. In other words there is no master class nor a class of exploited-oppressed people.

Socialism on the other hand is a society in which all conditions for emergence of the classless, communist society are prepared. In other words socialism is a period of transition from capitalism to communism.

It is impossible to step into communism from capitalism directly, as though in a play when the curtain comes down on Act One and, presto, rises on Act Two. The boss-controlled media confuse socialism and communism, thereby obscuring the historic significance, the necessity and inevitability of socialism. There can be no communist society which has not gone through the socialist preparatory period.

Some say, "You cannot change human nature." The Communists declare socialism provides the best conditions for giving human nature the chance and opportunity to express itself in its best, most humane, constructive qualities. The mission of a socialist society is the most complex ever faced by humanity. It must consciously and systematically clear the road of all obstacles blocking the advance to communism and plant the seeds of the future communist society.

It must work to remove all sources of exploitation of human by human, of oppression, of nation



by nation, race by race and of gender, age and national origin discrimination. Its basic rule is: from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's work. Under communism, the basic rule is: from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's need.

Socialism must uncover, destroy and replace the contaminated soil in which war, fascism, racism, narrow nationalism, crime and corruption thrive.

It must inculcate such humane qualities as cooperation, concern for

"There is no other
road to socialism
save the road
through
democracy,
through political
liberty."

(Collected Works, Vol. 9.

the common good of all and for humanity as the guardian of ecological system and nature's beauty.

And it must do all this while taking immediate measures for housing the homeless, and providing jobs for the jobless and food for the hungry. It must meet peoples' needs which cannot wait for communism. At the same time it must take measures to defend and protect the social system from the capitalist class and its agents fighting to regain power

As life has shown, the class struggle goes on under socialism with this basic, defining difference: the controlling power must be in the hands of the working class. In other words, the control of government must belong to the producers of all the wealth, both material and intellectual and of all oppressed minorities. This is what we mean by a workers and farmers government.

Rejecting all the worst features of capitalism, socialism cherishes and retains the best that the people have own through their unity and struggles. That is why, among other

IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

reasons, U.S. Communists call the system it advocates "Bill of Rights socialism."

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Let us take a look at how a few other countries approach Socialism.

In China, poverty remains a major problem. So it was encouraging to read in *Peoples' Democracy (March, 1999)* published by the Communist party of India (M), that over one million people had been brought above the poverty line in the last five years in the northern Shanxi province, one of China most poverty-stricken areas.

The 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China agreed on such cardinal questions as:

1) recognition that China is in the primary stage of socialism, requiring focus on developing the productive forces of the country and understanding that arriving at mature socialism may take as much as 100 years.

2) the necessity to uphold and improve the basic economic system in which socialist public ownership is dominant while other forms of ownership develop side by side. Improve the socialist market economy to play a basic role in the allocation of resources under state macro-control.

3) develop socialist democracy under the leadership of the CPC by improving the people's democratic pre-eminence led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

4) recognition of the role of Marxist-Leninist in the development of Chinese socialism.

In describing itself as being in a primary stage of socialism, a new element is introduced in scientific socialist theory. At the same time it makes no claim of being a model for all others.

The misconception that social-

ism means exclusion of all forms other than state ownership of the economy comes into conflict with historic reality in the New Economic Policy (NEP) introduced by Lenin and with the policy of state and collective farms existing side by side under the Stalin-led leadership. The traditional, long-established cooperative farms in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria became part of the mixed socialist economy of those countries. Many privately-owned stores and enterprises with as many as 300 workers existed for many years in the socialist German Democratic Republic.

The 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (1996) decided that "economic renewal and the building of a multi-sector commodity economy operating along the market mechanism must be accompanied by strengthening the role of state management along the socialist line. Economic growth must go hand in hand with social progress, preservation and protection of the environment and the ecological system."

In an interview in the spring of 1999, Gennadi Zugarov, chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, affirmed that

our program is about restoring the sovereignty of the people...we are in favor of co-existence between state ownership and various other forms of ownership. We accept that a member of the party can be a religious believer. We are for a parliamentary republic. We will undo the harm of runaway privatization...true socialism cannot exist without respect for human rights and freedom...

Taking advantage of investment offers from a number of capitalist countries, the Communist/Party of Cuba has shown readiness for an open door to limited foreign invest-

ment and a mixed economy based on mutual advantage. Similar first steps have been taken by the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (North Korea) for a joint venture on its territory with a major South Korean industry and is reported to be considering others.

COMMON FEATURES OF SOCIALISM -

Experience shows that each country works out its own method for traversing the road to socialism. Basically the guideline is Lenin's admonition, "There is no other road to socialism save the road through democracy, through political liberty." (*Collected Works, Vol. 9.*)

Experience also shows that all socialist countries have certain features in common. These include:

1) the strategic heights of the economy, the means of production in basic industry, communications and transport, the armed forces and security must be in the hands of the workers and farmers' socialist government;

2) the need for a strong, mass Marxist-Leninist party with a scientifically-sound leadership close to the people;

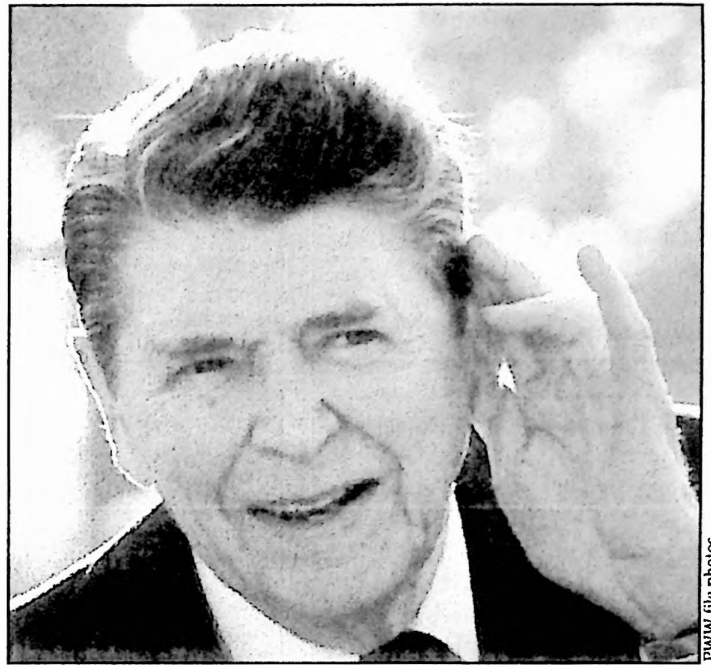
3) the government is empowered by law to control all the levers which determine the direction of the economy in safeguarding the interests of all producers in society.

It was on October 8th, 1922, that the great American socialist, Eugene V. Debs gave his opinion of the historic significance of the first successful socialist revolution: "It matters not what its mistakes have been, nor what may be charged against it, the Russian Revolution...is the greatest, most luminous and far-reaching achievement in the entire sweep of human history..."

(The foregoing is an excerpt from the concluding part of a book being written by Jim West, a member of the National Committee, CPUSA and a 70 year Communist activist.)



Above: Harry Bridges, the subject of a new anti-Communist campaign.



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Anti-Communism Old and "New"

Recently, I found myself reading on-line and trying to enter into a discussion on H-Labor, which is an internet subscription list for people interested in U.S. labor history and related topics. The discussion concerned Ellen Schrecker's recent book, *Many are the Crimes*, a non-Communist, essentially progressive history of anti-Communism in modern America.

Norman Markowitz is a contributor to Political Affairs.

Norman Markowitz

The story

**behind the right's attempt to revive
the Big Lie of the 20th century**

The discussion rapidly became one of either indirectly justifying anti-Communist repression by denouncing Communists and the "Stalinist" Soviet Union (Cold War revival scholars of the 1980s and 1990s John Haynes, Ronald Radosh, Harvey Klehr weighed in), or condemning the post-World War II purges from an unacknowledged Trotskyist perspective, namely that "the Stalinists were terrible and deserved what they got in the CIO, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Look at the terrible labor bureaucrats and the capitalist exploiters that followed them." In the discussion the "Soviet Archives" were cited to prove that Harry Bridges was a CP member and thus "lied" in his numerous deportation trials, and that the CP-led unions deserved to be purged in 1949-1950.

To be fair, many challenged these views, but the

whole debate centered around the nature of the "Communist threat" as compared to what the anti-Communists had done. It seems that the "new" anti-Communism believes that the old anti-Communism of J. Edgar Hoover and Joseph McCarthy was "not without honor," given the nature of the Soviet and/or Communist "menace." See, for example, the *New York Times* article "Rethinking McCarthyism."

What do you say to all of this? I've been a history professor for 29 years and have written to this list many times before. When I wrote a response, the director told me that it wasn't "scholarly" enough. Meanwhile I noticed that the various anti-Communist responses were, if anything, far less scholarly than mine. Finally, a summer editor of the list printed another response I made to the general tenor of the discussion, along with a further response ridiculing the entire affair, and the whole debate died down. However, I couldn't help think that Marx's dictum, "History repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce," had found a home on the internet. The new anti-Communism, like the "New World Order," isn't new; both are cosmetically altered versions of the old imperialism, the old gunboat diplomacy in the name of freedom, the old denial of elemental democratic rights to Communists and those who refuse to proclaim that they are against Communism. The following is an edited version of my original response to the H-Labor List, which reflects both my thinking and experience as a Marxist-Leninist, and my research into American anti-Communism.

In other liberal democratic countries there are Communists, non-Communists, anti-Communists, and many others between. That is what democracy is usually considered to be about, whether or not there is a Communist party. One is not ipso facto an un-American Soviet agent or a reactionary



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HUAC agent for either agreeing or disagreeing with Communists on either philosophical grounds, strategy and tactics, admiring or criticizing the activities of Communists.

In the United States, however, the basic pattern since the Russian revolution continues: there are anti-Communists and those who must prove that they are not Communists, needing to pass an intellectual loyalty oath in order to criticize anti-Communists.

In the world of media and scholarship, this continues to function in a context that 1950s French intellectuals once called "primal anti-Communism," a set of assumptions followed by screaming and name calling. Primal anti-Communism is generally associated with Vichy collaborators and Nazi occupiers in World War II, and later with U.S. Cold Warriors. The purpose of "primal anti-Communism" was to suppress all forms of critical thought and dissent; or as non-Communist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre said in the mid 1950s, "To create a ring of fire between Communists and their fellow citizens."

The purpose of anti-Communism everywhere is to divide and render the working class politically ignorant. In this regard it generally uses many of the strategies and tactics which have been central to American racism.

Anti-Communist ideology

The purpose of anti-Communism everywhere is to divide and render the working class politically ignorant. In this regard it generally uses many of the strategies and tactics which have been central to American racism.

makes Communists into invisible demons, enemies from within. To a great extent, it also does this to the general labor movement and it began to do so before the Soviet Revolution. For instance, 50 years before the Soviet revolution Allen Pinkerton's account of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 connects Communists with unions as conspirators against American freedom. Anti-Communism also manifests itself in portrayals of trade union leaders over the last century

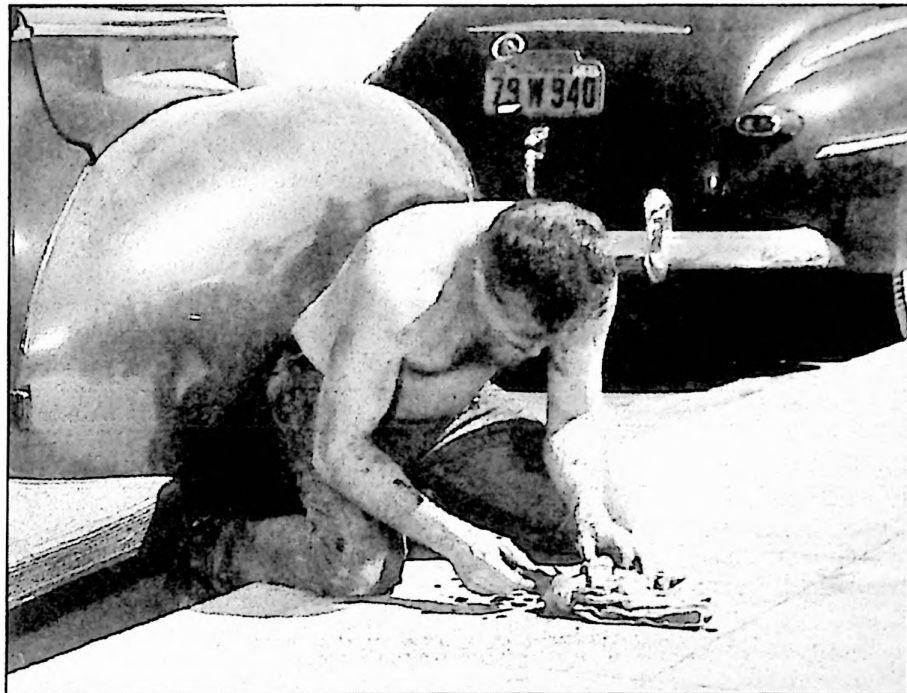
as "labor bosses" and the absence or marginalization of labor history in traditional U.S. history textbooks. Labor issues are likewise absent from the media except when strikes take place and trade unionists are routinely demonized.

It is important to consider the specific historical context of anti-Communism. After World War II, corporate and government policy was decidedly anti-labor. Anti-civil liberties legislation, the Taft-Harley law in particular, made labor into an interest group rather than a social movement. In the Democratic party labor became foot soldiers for liberal politicians who barely acknowledged their existence.

Racist models also govern the portrayal of Communists in mass media. In the portrayal of radicals generally and Communists particularly a spectrum of stereotypes that have characterized American racism for ages are constantly rehashed. The questions such assumptions and stereotypes produce are usually these: are radicals and Communists a serious threat (like Blacks in *Birth of a Nation*, or Communists in HUAC reports) or a group of harmless little old ladies passing out petitions to protect rent control.

But what about "liberal anti-Communism" which is a general term used for dissident Communist and Social Democratic tendencies in conflict with the CPUSA and the majority world Communist movement. Anti-Stalinism, liberal, and left anti-Communism has its defenders, seeking to carve out their own sphere of influence and function as the "loyal opposition" to the J. Edgar Hoovers, Richard Nixons, and Ronald Reagans.

Where does it fit in with American racism as the model for anti-radicalism? Perhaps where racism itself, historians now contend, fit in among Southern "populists" in the early 20th century: as a way to connect your politics with an already established racist consensus and use racist appeals to legitimate



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"reforms" after segregation has been established. Liberal anti-Communism, red-baiting in the name of reform a la Democratic Party politicians like Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale, or Lyndon Johnson. In the U.S. a "liberalism of fools," such as Populist leader Tom Watson's racist and anti-Semitic appeals to poor whites in the early 20th century, mirrors the "socialism of fools" that German Marxists condemned in anti-Semitic Christian socialists in Germany. In this country, consider the example of Hubert Humphrey and Walter Reuther who, while they orchestrated the purge of Communists and other leftists after the war, continued to talk about repealing the Taft-Hartley law, establishing National Health Insurance, Federal Aid to Education, public housing and public transportation.

Just as Southern populists legitimated and strengthened Jim Crow and lynch laws, liberal anti-Communists of the 1950's built nothing except a stagnating labor movement paying protection to the Democratic party; a labor movement whose anti-Communist consensus produced very weak unions, very high

military budgets, and a life lived literally on the installment plan. Also, they provided a sort of employment agency those who advanced Cold War priorities without ever repealing Taft-Hartley, establishing national health insurance, or returning effectively to the labor liberalism of the New Deal. The only non-conservatives who could cheer such outcomes were the business unionists and pre-New Deal liberals who had become closet conservatives by the 1950s-and even they were in for a hard time by the 1980s.

While I consider Ellen Schrekder's work an important progressive challenge to "primal anti-Communism," I don't agree with her use of "plausibility" to explain public acceptance of the postwar anti-Communist repression. In the big lie tradition, the less plausible something is and the more it is repeated the more effective it is. Communists struggled and continue to struggle to build an open mass party, and did so to a limited degree in the 1930s and 1940s. The destructive factional struggles with Trotskyists and others weren't the result of CPUSA organization and ideology, but a part of factionalist history

and experience of the left everywhere (Leninism was an organizational alternative, one should remember, to internal factionalism).

The achievements of Communists at that time were hidden by U.S. media, who are not and were not open to the left, or for that matter, non-Communists like Ellen Schreker. The organizations which one would normally expect to fight such repression, the unions, civil liberties and civil rights organizations (many of whom were influenced by the CPUSA and its allies), were by the late 1940 tied to the Democratic party and to a fragile liberal labor coalition, an interest group coalition against the dynamic labor-led coalition of the 1930s. In these circles, involving millions of industrial workers and their allies, the argument that if "we didn't purge the Communists the right-wing Republicans would purge us and dismantle the New Deal reforms" was the "plausible" argument of the late 1940s, not the fear of Communist subversion.

As for the espionage stories, which were brought back in the post-détente era of the late 1970s and 1980s and are now pushed with a vengeance, their importance rests on their political uses. In the high Cold War period of the 1950s the population was bombarded with them through the press, radio, and later television.

To portray the world Communist movement of the 20th century as a Moscow-directed Jesuitical conspiracy to achieve Soviet world domination in the popular and scholarly media using selected spy stories as proof, shows both the poverty and absurdity of anti-Communist conventional wisdom.

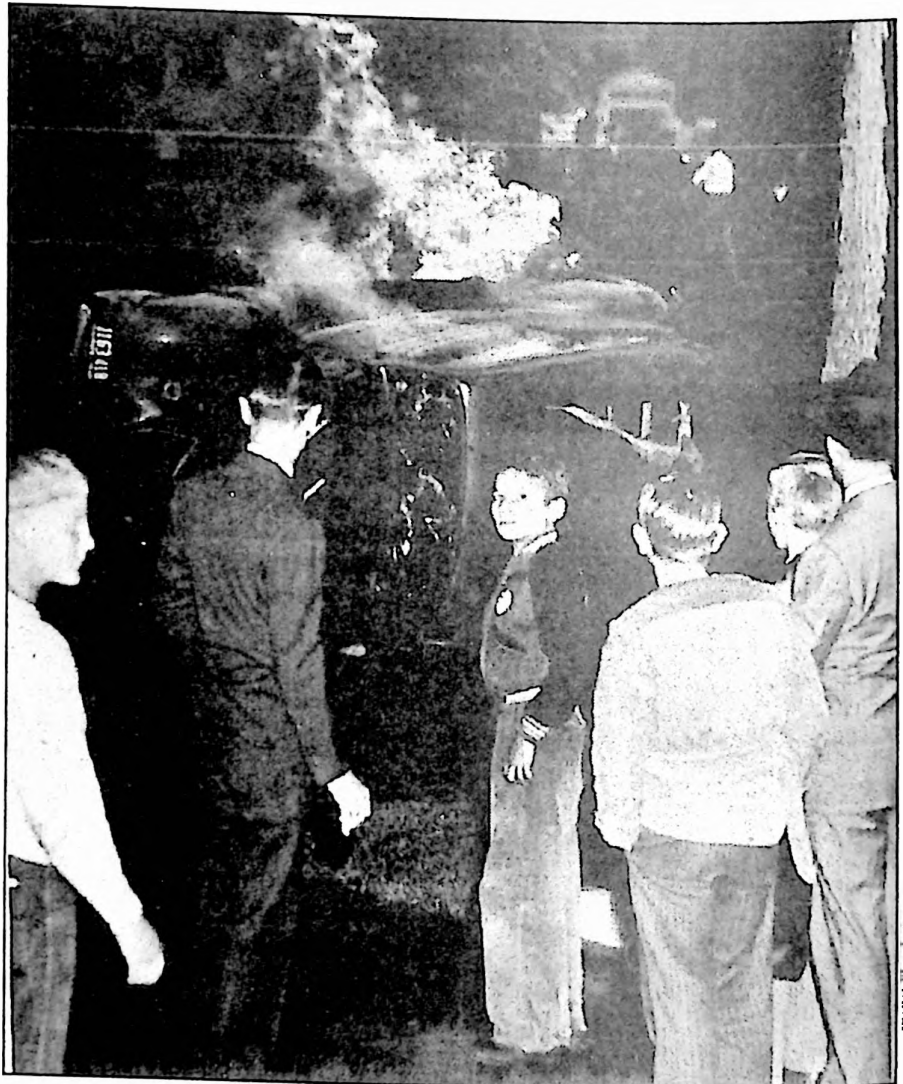
To blame Communists for the real and imagined activities of Soviet intelligence is about as sensible as blaming the "Greed is Good" ideology of conservative Republicanism in the Reagan years when the Soviet intelligence achieved its greatest coups in terms of valuable

military intelligence. One might remember Soviet General Oleg Penkovsky, who gave NATO detailed maps of Soviet missile installations, and many others who spied against the Soviets and Warsaw Treaty nations.

It can be said that the purpose of the spy stories both in the Truman era and the Reagan era (continued in the 1990s as the new anti-

NATO gunboat diplomacy.

J. Edgar Hoover (whose unprecedented political and personal corruption has now been substantiated) and U.S. political policemen, in the search for political scapegoats cared little about real spies. Bits and pieces of raw Soviet intelligence files have been used to substantiate wild charges only to be discredited (the accounts of various



Communism) was to make that old 1940s right-wing slogan, "Every liberal is a socialist, every socialist is a Communist, every Communist is Moscow's spy" resonate through our society and intimidate those who questioned the old Cold War consensus, the Reaganite Cold War Revival, and today the Clinton-

FBI informers and agents along with their Soviet counterparts show unreliable such sources can be).

Even if one forgets that Kim Philby had knowledge of the Venona Project (which has become the gospel of the new anti-Communism), spy stories tell us as little about Communist politics as

Clinton's sexual indiscretions tell us about the major policies of his administration. Soviet documents, however they may have been twisted out of context, show the Soviet leadership to be cautious during the Cold War period, walking a line in Korea and elsewhere between responding to U.S. NATO provocation, providing support for national liberation struggles, and doing nothing that might escalate into a nuclear war. What we have known for a long time about Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Reagan makes them far more aggressive, reckless and driven by anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary ideology than any Soviet leaders were driven by Communist or world revolutionary ideology.

Today, the "new anti-Communism" serves to keep alive the myths perpetrated by the old anti-Communism, to keep new generations from exploring the Communist alternative and the possibility of a Bill of Rights Socialism in the United States.

In general, those who revived the spy stories in the 1980s and 1990s because of Reaganism and the general right-wing atmosphere intensified by the downfall of the Soviet Union deserve to be taken seriously only by conservative spin doctors.

Love of capitalism, and the belief that those who challenged it would destroy civilization and freedom – the freedom of Wall Street investors, business unionists, anti-Communist intellectuals, etc., is an important to understanding American anti-Communism in a historical context. As one conservative attorney noted in the late 1940s, if you remove the profit motive, people can only be made to work through coercion and fear. The U.S. capitalist ruling class, scared to death by the 1930s left, the new unions and even the New Deal, was thrilled by the possibilities of establishing an empire after 1945 if the Reds could be defeated abroad and crushed at home.

Which brings us to the final question being bandied about in scholarly and popular circles that adds insult to a great deal of injury: Was anti-Communism "honorable?"

In the U.S., the function of anti-Communism has been to make the world safe for country club Republicans, make democracy into a slogan whose content is never examined, and to construct a political ghetto for the left, in which people are encouraged to leave the ghetto and join the mainstream, first by proclaiming that they aren't Communists, then that they aren't socialists, and, today, that they aren't liberals.

In the U.S. the CPUSA and other left groups were relentlessly targeted by the FBI and other police agents, barred from open political activity much of the time by policies that mirror de facto and de jure segregation, and then condemned by those who support their repression for secrecy and

authoritarianism.

After the Soviet revolution, for opponents of socialism, the Soviet Union was Soviet Hell. For proponents of socialism, including such social democrats as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and to all Communists throughout the world it was either history's greatest social experiment or a "worker's paradise," proof that the working class could win and build a better society. That the Soviet Union was neither a "worker's paradise" or Soviet Hell was largely irrelevant to its political uses. Where you stood in the 20th century on the Soviet revolution determined whether you were a supporter or opponent of imperialism, a supporter or opponent of labor's rights and civil rights, just as where you stood on the French revolution in the 19th century determined whether you were a supporter or opponent of republicanism, egalitarianism, and progress.

The CPUSA, its allies, and those non-Communists who refused to be bullied into Cold War anti-Communism were and are honorable. They stood for a worker's movement to for a society committed to full employment, equal rights, and social protection for everyone. They built industrial unions, civil rights organizations, anti-fascist action organizations, playing a leading role in the mass movements that produced labor's right to organize, Social Security, minimum wages, unemployment insurance, public housing and other vital reforms. Anti-Communism tried to stifle those mass movements at home and gain support to fight the Cold War abroad. Today, the "new anti-Communism" serves to keep alive the myths perpetrated by the old anti-Communism, to keep new generations from exploring the Communist alternative and the possibility of a Bill of Rights socialism in the United States. ■

The National Democratic Revolution and Our Vision of Socialism

C.P. South Africa

How socialism

will look based on the South African traditions and experiences



The Alliance has been given a fresh mandate as a result of the overwhelming electoral victory of the ANC. The vast majority of South Africans have sent a clear message – they want a thoroughgoing transformation of economic and social relations, not some tinkering with the status quo.

We therefore face the critical challenge of translating our vision of socialism within an unfolding national democratic revolution (NDR) into a practical agenda for transformation. In other words, we have been enjoined to give real content to our slogan – “Build Peoples Power, Build Socialism Now!”

What is socialism? Socialism is a transitional social system between capitalism (and other systems based on class oppression and exploitation) and a fully classless, Communist society. The socialist transition may well be of long duration. The transition may also be marked by contradictions, stagnation and major reverses. History is never a smooth process, nor does it have a guaranteed outcome.

Socialism requires working class hegemony, and it is characterized by four core features:

- Democracy
- Equality, *
- Freedom,
- The socialization of the predominant part of the economy.

Each of these core features is important, and they are all interrelated and interdependent.

DEMOCRACY

Socialism stands for the radical deepening and extension of democracy into all spheres of society. Socialism is not about the abolition of those aspects of political democracy (one person one vote, regular multi-party elections, a bill of rights, a constitution, an independent judiciary, etc.) which are sometimes (and inaccurately)



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referred to as bourgeois democracy. In South Africa, we have fought long and hard for the realization of these basic democratic rights. It was popular struggle that achieved the democratic breakthrough of April 1994. Democracy was not bestowed from above by the bourgeoisie. We shall fight to defend these gains, and we are not seeking to abolish them in the name of some higher socialist "model" of democracy. But these democratic achievements will be largely formal if we do not move beyond the April 1994 breakthrough to a broad advance and deepening of democracy in every sphere of our society, to embrace a wide range of representative, participatory and direct democracy institutions and practices. This, inevitably, will carry us into conflict with the capitalist class.

EQUALITY

Socialism is also about equality. We seek to abolish the huge differences in income, wealth, power and opportunity that characterize capitalist societies. In espousing egalitarianism we are not arguing for a mechanical, and enforced "grey" uniformity between all individuals – as our opponents like to claim. We do not ignore that under socialism there will be a division of labor, and that a managerial function, for instance, will still have to be performed. Nor do we ignore the relative uniqueness of all individuals. People have different skills, aptitudes, tastes, aspirations, cultures

and sexual preferences. It is capitalist inequality, marginalization and commoditization that stifle people's individuality.

FREEDOM

Thoroughgoing democracy and egalitarianism are also the basis of freedom. Advocates of capitalism talk a great deal about "free choice" and "individualism." But capitalism, with its immiseration of the overwhelming majority, greatly diminishes their real-life choices and opportunities. Socialism is about increasing, not decreasing, the individual and collective choices available to the majority of people.



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Socialism is about freedom from poverty and hunger, freedom from indignity and illiteracy, from the fear of joblessness, and the depredations of class, gender, race and ethnic oppression.

SOCIALIZATION

Fourthly, and critically, socialism is about the socialization of the predominant part of the economy. This is an essential condition for the achievement of thorough-going democracy, substantial equality and the expansion of freedom. This conviction is central to our strategic outlook. In the past, we tended to see socialism as nationalization plus state planning. Socialization of the economy is a much broader and qualitatively richer concept. It shifts the emphasis away from a simplistic concentration only on the legal forms of ownership, towards emphasizing the real empowerment of working people. This empowerment of workers must include the increasing control over the powers of possession – that is, expanding workers' real ability to impact on work-place decisions, for instance on the organization and management of the production process, product development, etc. And, increasing worker control over the social powers of economic ownership – that is increasing workers' power over decisions around the allocation of social surplus – investment policies, national budgetary priorities, etc.

Clearly, legal ownership forms are one (but not the only) factor in achieving socialization. Socialization of the economy needs to embrace a wide range of social ownership forms, including:

- A predominant and varied public sector, with enterprises owned and managed by the central state, by provincial and municipal authorities. These public sector enterprises would need to be subject to various forms of democratic control, including the scrutiny of trade union, work-place forums, parlia-

mentary committees, consumer councils, and the media.

- A significant and growing co-operative sector.

- The active use of social capital – for instance, worker-controlled pension and provident funds.

There will also be a private sector under socialism, mainly made up of small and medium enterprises, with an important role to play, notably, in the provision of goods and services.

PLANNING AND MARKETS IN A SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Modern capitalist economies cannot function without significant levels of government planning and coordination. Under socialism, with a predominant socialized sector, the possibilities of a much more effective and rational planning will be possible. The socialist government will set targets for key sectors of the economy – notably infrastructure and public utilities – and will plan for the provision of training, education and other services. Planning will be subject to a variety of democratic processes, including negotiation. It will also be subject to regular assessment and adjustments. Markets will continue to have an important regulating and distributive function in a socialized economy, but they will not have the ultimate say. Significant areas of society will need to be wholly or substantially



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decommodified (that is, substantially removed from the market-place). Such areas would include much of health-care, education, public housing, posts, communications, urban public transport, water, electricity, and significant sectors of culture. This does not mean that services, for instance, will not have to be paid for (directly or indirectly through taxation, for instance). It does mean that their price and distribution will not be determined by sheer market forces.

SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE

A socialist democracy is a society in which

- The socialized sector of the economy is predominant;

- Democratic, rational planning is increasingly possible.

- A democratic culture and practices reach deeply into every sphere of social life; and in which

- There is a substantial equality in wealth, income, power and opportunities for all its citizens, and thus growing freedom for all.

Such societies, and only such societies, will be able to face up

adequately to the enormous challenges of the new millennium. Critical among these challenges is the growing vulnerability of the earth's environment. Without the planned, rational, equitable and sustainable use of our globe's resources, the physical survival of humanity itself is at risk. It is a socialist democracy and not the casino economy of capitalism that can lay the only effective basis for addressing challenges of this kind.

BUILDING BLOCKS FOR SOCIALISM NOW!

Socialism for the SACP and COSATU is not just a vision, an ideal located in some distant future of which we can only dream. We seek actively to build capacity for socialism, momentum towards socialism, and elements of socialism, here and now. This is why we say: Build Socialism Now! But what, in practice, does this mean? There are several dimensions:

- Advancing, deepening and defending the NDR – building people's power is not a separate task from the struggle for socialism in the present. Building people's power builds capacity and momentum for, and elements of socialism.

- Rolling back the market – the decommodification of basic needs – health-care, education, housing,

the environment, culture and information should not primarily be commodities. The SACP is committed to struggle against the overbearing supremacy of the market which seeks to turn everything into a commodity, and all of us into simple buyers and sellers. We must struggle for the decommodification of increasing spheres of society.

• Transforming the market – the decommodification of key areas of our society does not mean abolishing the market altogether, but rather the rolling back of its empire. Insofar as markets continue to be an

measures which change, to some extent, the terms on which workers confront capitalists on the labor market.

• The effective use of state subsidies, tendering policies, regulatory controls, and the use, on the market, of public sector corporations to transform and democratize markets;

• the establishment of effective consumer negotiating forums and watch-dog bodies, and the re-introduction of more effective Rent Boards;

• socializing the ownership function;

• building a strong public sector in the context of fostering a national democratic, development state;

• fostering an extensive co-operative sector;

• assuming much more effective strategic worker control over social capital (like pension and provident funds);

• Socializing

the management function. This includes: in the public sector struggling against bureaucratic, but also new public management/neoliberal managerialism, and ensuring that we develop a public sector

managerial ethos that is attuned to our political and developmental agenda. In the private sector ensuring that the monopoly of management is not one-sidedly dominated by profit-seeking objectives. The effective use of work-place forums, and safety-committees are among the ways in which the management function can be socialized from the bottom up.

The struggle to build socialism now is, in short, deeply connected to the struggle to empower working-class and popular forces. Neither national liberation nor socialism are events that are delivered to the people. They are, rather, ongoing processes of popular and working-class self-emancipation.

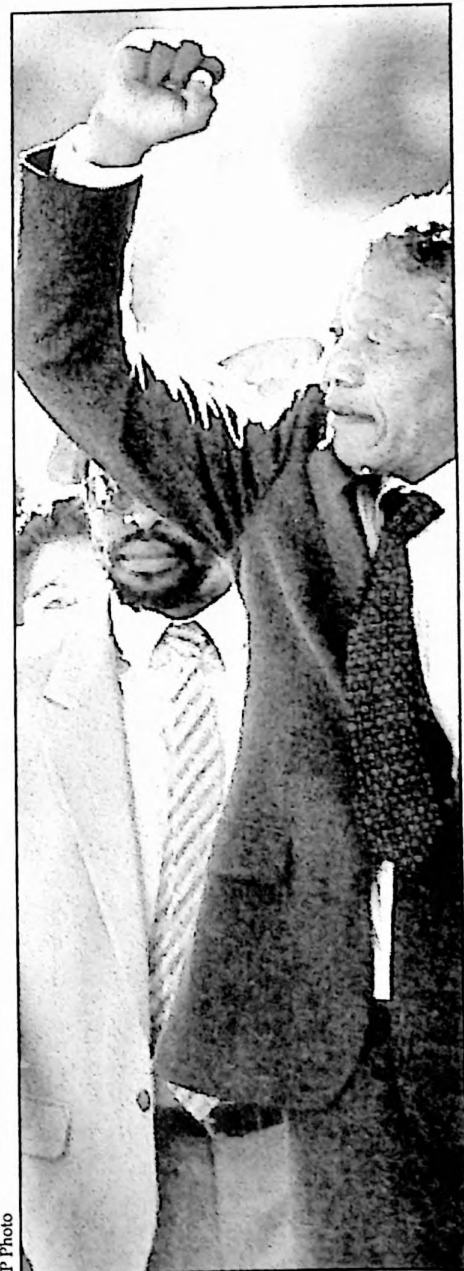
Build People's Power! Build Socialism Now! ■

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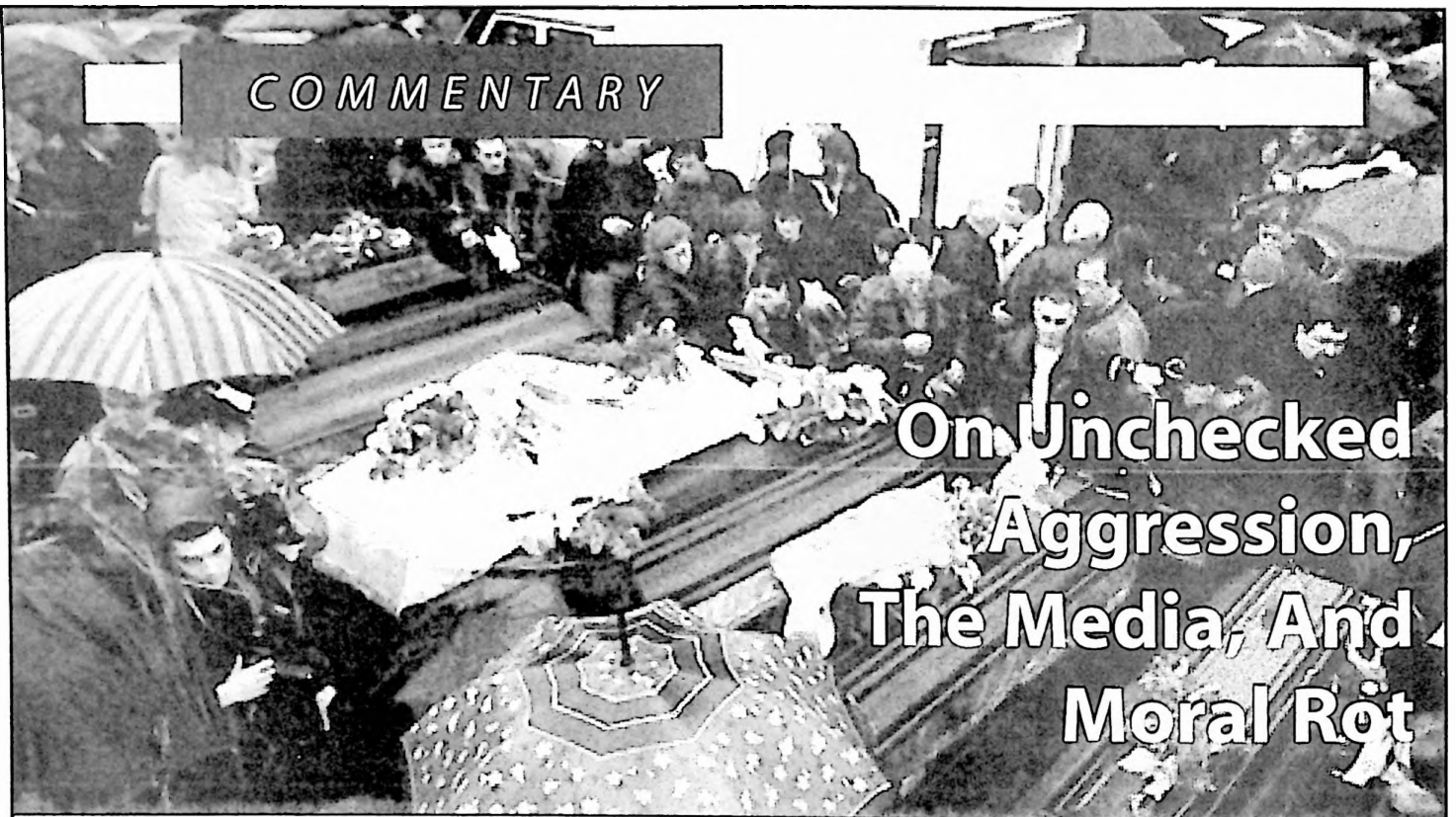


important regulator of distribution, we must also engage with them. Markets are not some "neutral" reality, and there is no such thing as a "free market." Present markets reflect the accumulated class power of capitalists. We need to intervene with collective social power on the market to challenge and transform the power relations at play within it. Struggles to transform market power relations include:

• Developing an active labor market – strengthening the power of trade unions, skills training and adult basic education. These are all



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On Unchecked Aggression, The Media, And Moral Rot

AP photo

Herbet Walker

The drive for

profits have driven the media to gross hypocrisy and double standards

The bombing of a country unable to defend itself by a lethally-armed super-power employing a hi-tech military arsenal is a cowardly act, and would remain a cowardly act even if the reasons given to justify the air strikes in Serbia were accurate.

Herbet Walker is a contributor to Political Affairs.

This kind of aggression has become easy for us during the past decade as our unanswered violations of law and justice make us increasingly arrogant. Just recently we bombed two "enemies" at once, each atrocity ignored at home thanks to the manipulation of public opinion.

We rationalized our involvement in the Balkans by demonizing the heads of states we chose to destroy, charging them with fabricated transgressions. Rather than offer justification for our interference, the media fell back on "patriotism." Anyone interested in truth can discover that the Kosovo secessionists (KLA) were clandestinely armed by the U.S. During their terrorist campaign for autonomy they committed atrocities every bit as heinous as their Serb counterparts who were inclined to use similar methods to counter it. In short, it was a bloody war in which there were no heroes, a few villains, and a multitude of victims. We asserted our superiority over the region with incessant bombing, adding a sinister mix of arrogance and vengeance to the destruction, causing thousands of ethnic Albanian Kosovars that were sympathetic to the KLA and formerly under their protection to seek refuge in the neighboring countries of Albania and Macedonia.

The U.S. wants to expand NATO, its surrogate apron. Its "allies" are decadent ex-imperialist powers completely subservient to the U.S., claiming their sover-

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eighty over all of Eastern Europe and looking with envy on Russian resources and on the Iran-Turkey oil pipeline. In reference to our bullying of Iraq, the avowed pretext of rooting out "weapons of mass destruction" is ironic.

Among Iraq's neighbors is an Israel armed with a bristling arsenal supplied by the U.S. and a nuclear capability which it is quite willing to use. One might speculate further, in the interest of justice and common sense, that the U.S. not only possesses every weapon of mass destruction developed, but has used every one of them in anger. Alone among nations, we have twice bombed civilian populations with nuclear weapons. Over Iraq, in the bombing spree of 36 days and nights in 1991 called the "turkey shoot" by its participants, more destructive power was unleashed than in all other wars of this century combined.

We've slaughtered tens of millions of indigenous oppressed throughout the Cold War while



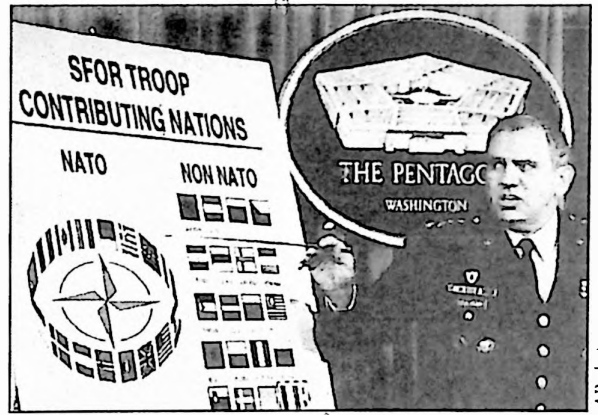
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hiding behind the catchwords freedom and democracy. Their offense? An organized aspiration to the rudiments of social decency and economic justice. We might add that military exercises of the one-sided type serve as a warning to others that might entertain thoughts of disobedience and provide live maneuvers for our rusting military machinery.

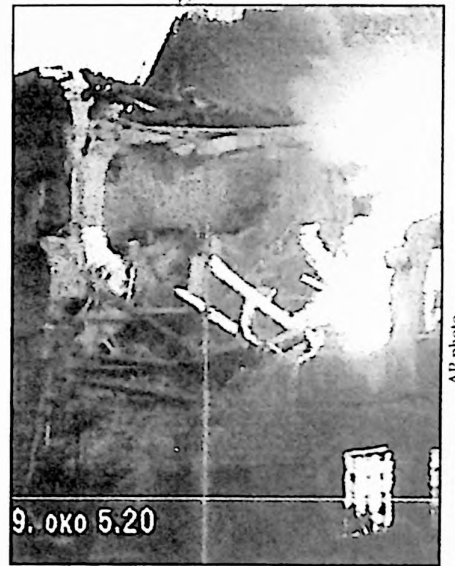
Washington's concern for human rights in the Balkans, the Middle East, or anywhere else in the world is preposterous. Have we forgotten our wanton contempt for life when they stood in the way of our base ambitions in the post-WWII era throughout Indochina, Central and South America, Africa and the Middle East? Can we forget the half-century during which we've financed the slaughter and abuse of a people in their own homeland, never raising our voice against the oppression meted out with bullets, bombs, and bulldozers by our protégés with a self-proclaimed value-ratio equating one Israeli life with 100 Palestinians? And what of our sponsorship of their brutal treatment of those we label the "enemy?" Have we been so beguiled by the media that we ignore decades of aggressions in the name of "peace" or "freedom?" Can we deny epochs as tragic as any in human history, where under the guise of anti-Communism, the Reagan administration refined the process of military blood-letting by mass slaughter of civilians, use of paramilitary death squads, kidnapping and assassination of heads of state, and yes, the brutal bombing of weaker nations?

Now are we asked to believe

that the victims in today's bombings are guilty of such crimes that avenging angels in the form of stealth bombers, invisible B-52s, and



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"smart" weapons must swoop down upon these wicked people. Further, aren't we told that the civilian population of these countries, not only unable to respond in kind but who lack the means to defend themselves, cowering beneath that destruction ought to welcome us as "liberators."

Is our propaganda presumptuous to a criminal fault or do its instigators believe the American public is incapable of reason? The results of a recent poll would indicate the lat-

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ter: 85 percent of the respondents supported the "punishment" of Yugoslavia; half of these, in a follow-up poll, correctly identified the victims of the air war as Serbs; the other half thought we were bombing the Kosovar Albanians. Note that both groups were all for it. I was reminded of Slim Pickens riding the H-Bomb to its target in "Dr. Strangelove."

The polls didn't ask the American people if they would favor waging a war against a country with the resources to bomb us back, or to bring the savagery of combat to our streets, though



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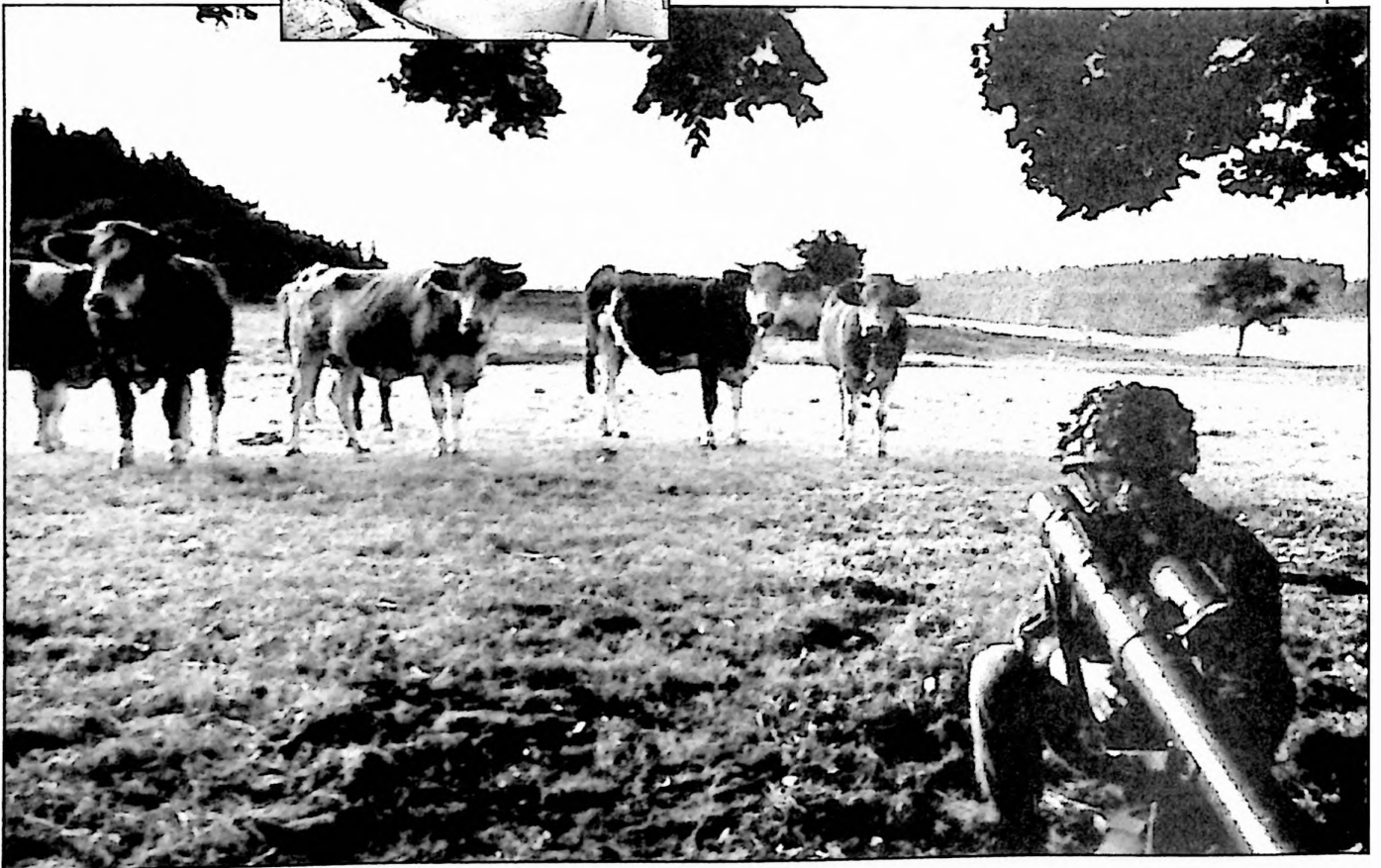
one can suspect their enthusiasm for real war would be greatly diminished. Could this be the reason that Russia, tainted and reeling under the decadence of a "market economy," nevertheless is critical of this arrogant military operation? They remember too well the horrors of their Great Patriotic War, having lost 27,000,000 lives while

repelling the invasion of the Nazi Wehrmacht.

Interspersed between reports of calculated assaults on major cities and vital infrastructure, we announced our accidental bombings of

civilian refugees in Kosovo. These charges were amid international outrage that our Pentagon and White House spokespeople are quick to deny when photographic proof is thrust under their noses. They blame the victims again, asserting that the pictures of the dead don't look natural, and obviously have been posed by Serbian propagandists. I sense an eerie rerun of a particularly ugly episode during our dispute with both Iraq and Iran in July 1988, when the warship USS Vincennes shot down an Iranian commercial airliner, killing 290 civilians. This was an accident; our forces were throwing their weight around the Persian Gulf as usual with tragic consequences. The moral outrage increased when the U.S. didn't apologize. On the contrary, we charged Iran with devi-

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ousness in their televised reports, accusing them of "floating dummies" amid the wreckage, a response too ghoulish for words, without a shred of evidence to support it. It was merely the calculated and cold-blooded defense of a morally-stunted nation, delivered through the ventriloquism of some ignorant blowhard from its right-wing. As in today's news, we are depriving our victims of their legitimate sorrow, staining their grief with patent showmanship, and pushing ourselves into the worst ranks of war criminals with a special place in the gallery grotesqueries.

A word or two on our intrepid leader and the commander-in-chief of this barbarism is warranted. For years, I defended his refusal to serve in Vietnam, convinced that it was a noble statement by an idealistic student, a principled resistance to that lengthy atrocity and certainly one of the best and courageous things he'd ever done. This was quite the opposite of his right-wing challengers in two campaigns who also didn't serve, but posed as verbal warriors in front of microphones and who slandered him with the epithetical "draft dodger." Well, all of us on the left who supported him during the absurdities of the impeachment inquisition have been taken. He has no



AP photo

such scruples. His present conduct making clear he has nothing in the way of ideals that oppose militarism. He loves the belligerent role; he just wants to be sheltered, immune, and in charge.

Finally, let us examine closely a television medium which can deplore with heavy, puzzled grief and highlighted effusions, the latest high school shootings, this time by deranged youths in Colorado.

It scarcely missed a beat for commercial breaks and led into an interview with airmen preparing for another bombing run on Yugoslavia as they marked out on their maps the tell-tale signs of hidden targets - live human beings in camouflaged compounds which their sorties are designed to kill. The narrator bestowed admiration for their dedication and courage, while the pilots were proud but self-effacing, pleased with their celebrity. Some tried to personify their projectiles by scrawling taunts and insults onto their deadly hardware.

The viewing public is seemingly captivated by what it is told without a blink of doubt or hesitation, its judgment totally captured



AP photo

by the drama of the voice over. The polarity of attitudes induces tears and a callous cheering for a deranged slaughter in a high school and organized air strikes against a defenseless civilian population. Two essentially similar events. More, there was no connection made between them by the media that does not see the surreal dichotomy in which they celebrate good weather reports on a bombing day, producing euphoria in the Pentagon, but ominous consequences for the doomed Serbs on the ground. It is not difficult to read into these happenings that which strikes a common causality - the myopia of "patriotism" leading us down the path of denial, but toward a mythology of selective morality, into a dementia which can offer high-fives all around when a bloody mission is successful. The media, like the society in which they evolved, is without conscience. ■

The Truth Behind Bombing Hiroshima & Nagasaki

William Farmer

The first and only

use of atomic weapons had another target:
socialism and the former Soviet Union.

One of the main planks in the usual bourgeois accounts of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945 claims the Japanese were intending to fight on to the "bitter end" did not intend to consider peace negotiations. In particular, it is alleged they never requested peace negotiations before the bombs were dropped.

This is simply not true. Peace negotiations were sought repeatedly. If the U.S. government had been willing to negotiate, a cease-fire could have been declared at the same time, since it was common practice to declare a cease-fire during such negotiations. It was not until the Vietnam war a score of years later that the actual battles continued while the so-called peace talks were in progress.

Before that, it was generally felt that it made little sense to continue the killing while peace negotiations were going on, for the very obvious reason that peace negotiations might just succeed.

British Major-General J.F.C. Fuller in his account of World War II states that as early as February 1944,

some Japanese analysts concluded that the war could not be won by Japan: At that very time, Rear-Admiral Takazi of the Japanese Naval General Staff, after analyzing the events of the previous six months, came to the conclusion that, on account of air, fleet and shipping losses, Japan could not win the war, and, therefore, should seek a compromise peace. But it was not until the loss of Saipan in July that those who supported him were able to bring sufficient pressure to bear to force the retirement of General Tojo, premier and head of the military faction.

A General Koiso became the new leader.

Early the next year, according to Alexander Werth in his history of the Soviet-German war, Japan turned to the Soviets before they had not yet entered the war in the East, and asked for help in arranging peace talks with the U.S. He states, "As early as February-March [1945], the Japanese sought Russian mediation in their

PWW file photo

William Farmer is contributor to Political Affairs.

desire to end the war with the U.S.A. and Britain." Translating from the six-volume *History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union* (in Russian), he notes that the Soviets were first approached unofficially by the Japanese Consul-General in Harbin, a Mr. Mijakawa [probably Miyakawa], and the "fishing magnate" Mr. Tanakamaru. Then, "On March 4, the same Tanakamaru called on Mr. J. Malik, the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo, saying that neither Japan nor the United States could start speaking [directly with each other] of peace. A 'divine outside force' was necessary to bring about a peace settlement, and the Soviet Union could play that role."

Fuller writes that "...General Koiso...was not sufficiently strong a man to stand up to the military faction...[so that on] 7th April, 1945...he was removed and replaced by Admiral Suzuki, whose one aim was to bring the war to an end."

According to the Soviet *History* as translated by Werth, "After the formation of the Suzuki government, these peace-feelers became even more explicit. Foreign Minister Togo [not the same General Tojo] asked Mr. Malik on April 20 to arrange for him a meeting with Mr. Molotov [Soviet Foreign Minister]."

Fuller writes,

Next, in May, the Japanese Supreme War Direction Council considered how this [ending the war] could be achieved, and the first step taken was to approach Russia and ask her to intercede as a mediator. As we have seen, there were approaches even before this... This clutching at a straw must have made clear to the Western allies the catastrophic position Japan had reached, if only because

the price Russia would demand for mediation could not possibly be less than the abandonment of all her conquests, including Manchuria and Korea...This approach shows that in June the war could have been brought to an end on terms highly advantageous to Britain and the United States.

that it was essential that the war should be closed on any terms short of unconditional surrender

The Soviet *History* records at this point that there were "two further meetings on June 24" between the Hirota and Malik.

"The Japanese government now tried to establish direct contact



The *History* states, "Still anxious to avoid unconditional surrender to the U.S.A., Togo sent ex-premier Hirotake Hirota to see Malik on June 3. He stressed Japan's desire to improve her relations with the U.S.S.R. A second meeting took place on the following day..."

If an end to the war could have been achieved in June, no further loss of life need have occurred on either side. The U.S. did not see fit to take these opportunities of ending the fighting, however. Fuller continues, "...on 20th June the Emperor Hirohito once again called the six members of the Supreme War Direction Council to conference in order to inform them

with the Soviet Government in Moscow. The Emperor decided to send Prince Konoye to Moscow on July 12, and Mr. Sato, the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, was instructed to inform the Soviet Government of the Emperor's desire"

Apparently the U.S. government wanted to "show off" the bomb, above all to the Soviets, and no inconvenient Japanese peace feelers were allowed to get in the way. The Russians felt that the bomb demonstration was aimed at them.



PWW file photos

The Soviets chose not to respond, but this attempt on the part of the Japanese shows once again that the Japanese were ready to talk peace.

On July 18 an atomic bomb was set off in New Mexico. Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, trying to justify the use of the bomb, said that without the bomb, the war would have continued and cost one million U.S. lives and the British 250,000. As Fuller points out, these estimates are absurd, being more than were lost by Britain and the U.S. between 1914 and 1918 in World War I. As we have now seen, Japan had asked for peace several times, negating the claim that they were "fanatically" determined to "fight on to the end."

On July 26, 1945 came the Potsdam Ultimatum, which the Japanese feared might mean the deposition of the Emperor or even his being hanged as a war criminal (neither was ruled out by the wording of the ultimatum). But the Japanese nevertheless responded promptly and positively even to this, showing their eagerness to end the war on

almost any terms, in a letter that seems to have been mistranslated in Washington. The Japanese did ask for clarification about whether the Emperor would be deposed or hanged. But Washington ignored their reply.

The bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the 6th and the 8th of August, killing almost entirely civilians.

Concerning the idea that the bombs were ultimately dropped to save lives, Fuller writes,

Though to save life is laudable, it in no way justifies the employment of means which run counter to every precept of humanity and the customs of war. Should it do so, then, on the pretexts of shortening a war and of saving lives, every imaginable atrocity can be justified...If the saving of lives were the true pretext, then, instead of reverting to a type of war which would have disgraced Tamerlane, all President Truman and Mr. Churchill need have done was to remove the obstacle of unconditional surrender, when the war could have been brought to an immediate end.

Thus the bombs contributed nothing to end the war; rather the decision to use them prolonged the fighting because Washington, having decided to use them, ignored all Japanese peace feelers thereafter. Fuller quotes several sources to the effect that the Japanese were militarily finished before the bombs were dropped. For instance, he quotes the twelve members of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, who state, "Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts, and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31st December, 1945, and in all probability prior to 1st November, 1945, Japan would have surrendered even

if the atomic bomb had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

Fuller speaks out eloquently against bombing of civilians, whether committed by the Nazis against the British, the British against the Germans, or the U.S. against Japan. In Japan, already bombed by conventional weapons, "in face of the appalling destruction, decline in morale was exceedingly slow, and was not primarily the result of bombing."

Thus the United States, confronted with a Japanese request for peace negotiations, stalled by raising two phony issues. First, the Japanese were supposed to agree to the deposition of the emperor (who in fact was not deposed when the U.S. occupied the country, showing that this was a phony issue and only meant to delay matters). Secondly, they were supposed to surrender "unconditionally," a term that had never been defined, either for Germany or for Japan, and that can only serve to strengthen an enemy's resolve to hold out. Moreover there are always conditions in any cessation of hostility.

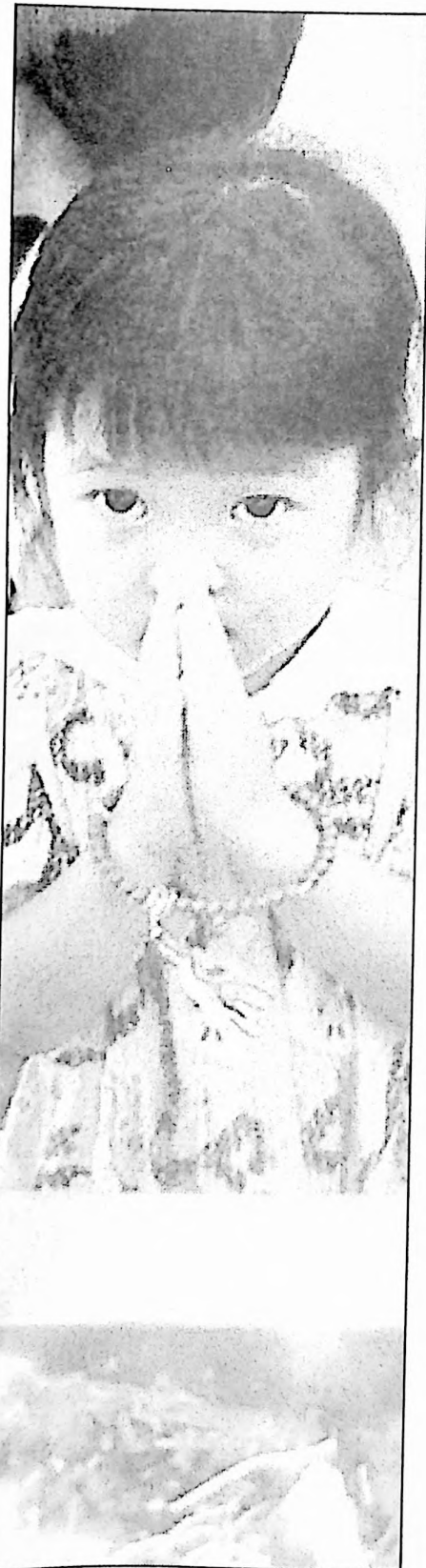
Apparently the U.S. government wanted to "show off" the bomb, above all to the Soviets, and no inconvenient Japanese peace feelers were allowed to get in the way. The Russians that Werth talked to - he spoke Russian - felt that the bomb demonstration was aimed at them. Note that targeting of civilians in time of war is a war crime under international law, which perhaps explains President Truman's falsehood about Hiroshima being "an important Japanese army base."

The conclusion was that battlefield deaths could have been brought to a close in June 1945 and that the war was deliberately pro-

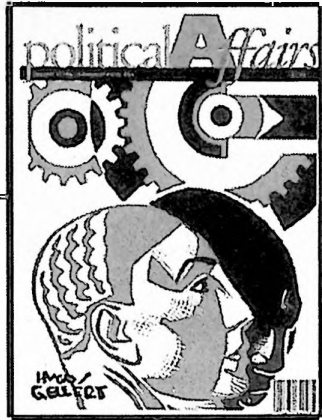
longed until the Truman régime could end it with the bombs, so as to intimidate the rest of the world. The New World Order of the time was based on the idea of world domination by the U.S. in the cause of capitalism. The message of the two bombs was, above all, to the Soviets: "This will be Moscow and Leningrad the next time you act up." Fortunately the Soviets do not seem to have been too intimidated.

The Truman-ordered bombings as a show of force against the USSR in the coming of the Cold War was a part of the grand schema by the western powers to contain the socialist experiment that was the USSR. History shows that Stalin asked for an alliance with the UK and France against the German juggernaut but was shown a deaf ear. Likewise, this was the reasoning behind the delay in the second front at D Day, in hopes that the Nazi campaign and invasion of the USSR would be successful. It tells us that the enemy was considered to be the USSR and not Germany.

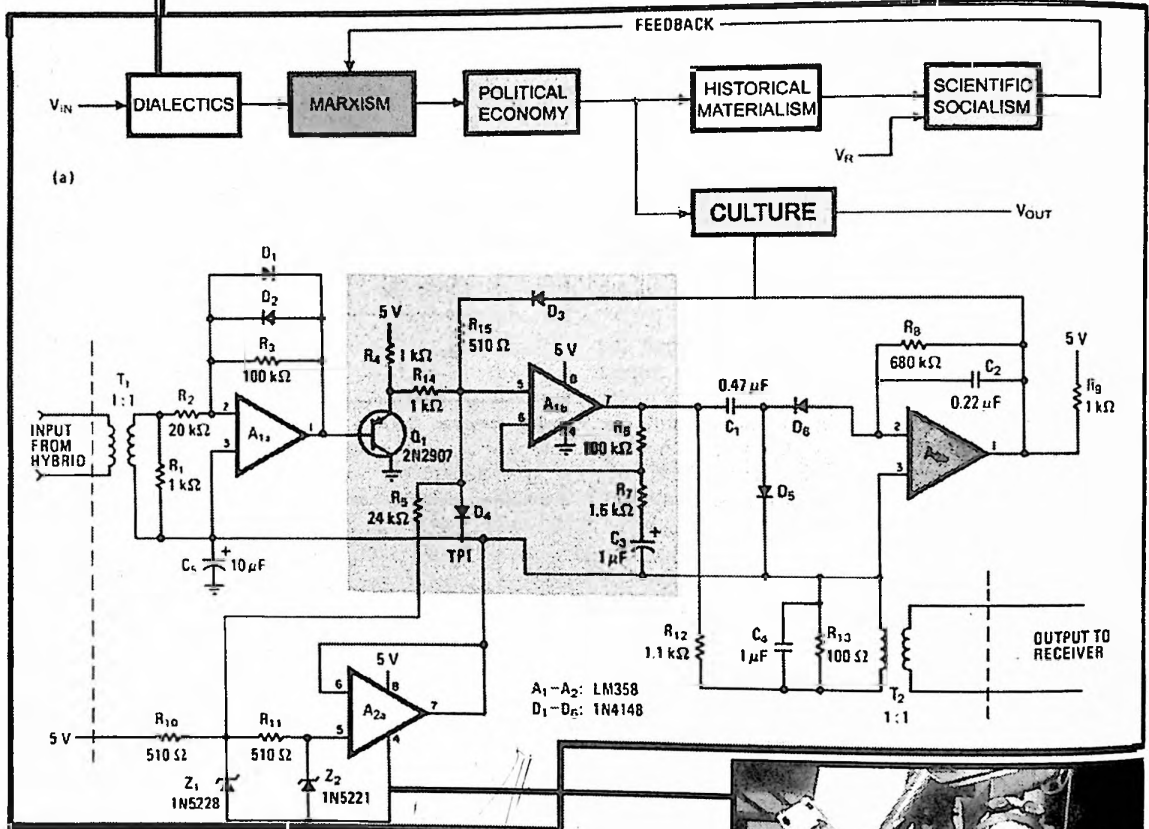
Since nothing ever occurs in a political vacuum, the Hiroshima/Nagasaki holocausts were all a part of that master plan. ■



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