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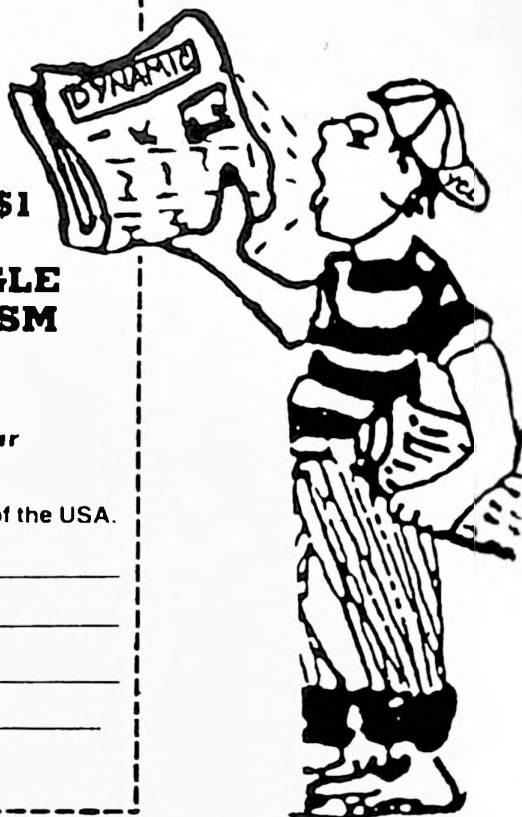
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political affairs

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We Humbly Apologize. . .

. . . for an error which makes it difficult to read an article in our April issue which much deserves to be read. Four pages in the article, "The Economic Oppression of Women," by Kate Abell, were mistakenly numbered and printed in reverse order. After page 17, the pages should be read in the following order: 21, 20, 19, 18, 22.

If you have not yet finished reading this article — because of this error or for any other reason — we highly recommend that you return to the April PA and read it.

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The New Independent Role of Labor

GUS HALL



In their own unique way, presidential elections are reflections of the class forces of the moment. In presidential election years, the dividing line of the class struggle tends to become sharper. The class issues and interests become better defined. Class economics, politics and ideology become more interconnected.

At moments like this the ruling class becomes more anxious about its long-range perspective. The working class becomes more conscious of its political role.

In the 1984 elections a number of new factors are surfacing. They are raising the role of electoral struggles to a new level of importance for all mass movements, including those of the working class.

A number of significant developments in the 1984 elections are shaking up the establishment. Among these are the new, independent role of labor; the Jesse Jackson candidacy; and the role of women. They represent a growing mass power base that can put an end to the traditional electoral system based on the two old parties of Big Business.

Fear of the Jackson campaign is reflected in the mounting racist attacks, including the effort to project Jackson as a candidate of the Afro-American people only.

Fear of the new, independent role of labor is reflected in the outcry against the labor political action committees (PACs) and delegate committees for Mondale, which are the growing and vital support-base for labor's electoral independence.

The multi million-dollar corporate PACs are business as usual. But when labor decides to build a fund for its independent electoral activities, all hell breaks loose. Why?

The fact that labor is taking part in the election campaign is not what worries the establish-

Gus Hall is the presidential candidate of the CPUSA.

ment. What is so disturbing to the establishment politicians, as well as the mass media, is not labor's participation, but its *independent* participation. That is new. In the past labor's participation was limited to contributing money and endorsing candidates picked by the old party machines.

Labor's new role is particularly disturbing to the powers-that-be in the Democratic Party, where labor's role and influence looms over the old party machines.

In many ways, the Reagan-monopoly attack on labor is reminiscent of the attacks during the New Deal on Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (1940) re-election campaign. The cliché that appeared all over was "clear it with Sidney." This was both anti-labor and anti-Semitic. The message was that labor, through its political action director, Sidney Hillman, had too much independent influence in the New Deal Administration and the re-election campaign.

Many politicians, especially the Right-wing, are afraid that labor's independent role and the Jackson campaign may play a decisive role in defeating not only Reagan, but Reaganites throughout the country.

The ruling class, the Right-wing and the establishment in general are also concerned about the role of labor at the national convention of the Democratic Party. They are nervous about the impact of labor's mass demonstration, scheduled to take place on the opening day of the convention in San Francisco. They are worried about labor's role in the convention itself because the demonstration will concentrate its attention on the Democratic Party platform.

The "special interest" hullabaloo is the anti-labor coverup to undermine labor's independent activities.

From the day the AFL-CIO made a break with its traditional policy and decided to endorse Mondale as a candidate for nomination in the primaries, the establishment's anxiety has grown from whispers in the backrooms of power and machine politics to a blaring, public, anti-labor, anti-union slander campaign which aims to divide the trade union movement. Charges of "special interests" and "immorality in trade union PACs and delegate committees for Mondale" are

appearing in speeches, newspaper articles, TV commentaries and especially in campaign rhetoric.

In the election campaign, Gary Hart has become the spearhead of this anti-labor campaign, which was initiated and is being orchestrated by the reactionary, Right-wing circles of the establishment. And the mass media are gobbling it all up. It is not Mondale they are so concerned about, but labor's political independence.

The PACs and election committees set up by trade unions provide the organized framework for labor's political independence. They are forms of independence outside the Democratic Party machine. That is why the aim of the attacks is to destroy them.

There are factors that create confusion in understanding the significance of this new role of labor and the attack against it.

Lane Kirkland's anti-Communist, cold-war foreign policy positions sow confusion and create diversions. His reactionary stands should not be seen as identical to the views of the rank-and-file, many local and middle level leaders, as well as many trade unionists in leading positions on a national level. Kirkland's positions must be rejected, but that should not overshadow the more basic question of labor's independent role.

Also, people should not be diverted by Mondale's weaknesses on issues. Labor can play a decisive role in the final platform positions, especially on major, critical economic issues.

Differences with Kirkland and Mondale should not divert one from the course of supporting labor's full participation in the defeat of Reaganism.

Independent politics, including the activities of trade union PACs that support pro-labor candidates, is a new role for labor and the trade union movement. Many mistakes have been and will be made in policy and tactics. However, the possibilities and potentials for nominating and electing pro-labor, pro-union, anti-racist candidates and supporting progressive, pro-labor, anti-racist and pro-people legislation is unlimited — if labor participates independently. That's what is shaking up the powers that be.

That's what all the fuss and fuming over the

trade union PACs is about. No one in the establishment or the tame media objects to corporate or Right-wing PACs. They are sacred cows. Only when labor begins to flex its muscles in a way that can influence and impact on elections, on legislation, on the balance of political power, does the establishment start objecting to "special interests" and "immorality" in the trade union movement.

People should not be hoodwinked into an anti-labor stance by Gary Hart's demagoguery. Hart can not possibly get enough delegate votes to win the nomination. So his motivation for mounting an anti-labor campaign at this point is, at the very least, spurious.

It can be assumed that Mondale will be the Democratic candidate. So why all the anti-labor rhetoric by Hart?

It is probable that Hart is consciously being used by Right-wing Reagan forces in their determination to diffuse and — they hope — destroy the beginnings of labor's independent political structure, not only in this campaign, but for the future.

There is an even greater fear in ruling-class circles. They fear the coming together of the independent forces of the working class, the Afro-American people, the other racially and nationally oppressed minorities. And the fear will become even greater when all the forces making up the all-people's front against Reaganism — the peace forces, the women's movement, the youth and student movements, the senior movements, the farmers and the Afro-American people — become a united fighting force.

The working class and people, as well as the politicians seeking office, must keep in mind that labor, the organized and mobilized power of the

trade union movement, is absolutely essential — is the key — to defeating Reaganism.

And, working-class political independence will be a critical factor in the struggles after the elections. Labor's independent political role is not limited to the election campaign. It is a basic ingredient of the overall anti-monopoly struggle. Labor's independent role will be decisive in countering the anti-union offensive, which includes corporate concession demands and anti-union Supreme Court and National Labor Relations Board decisions. Labor's political independence, including an independent structure, is an absolutely necessary prerequisite to defeating this offensive. And the employers know it.

Labor's political independence is an absolute necessity in the building of an anti-monopoly coalition. Political independence is necessary in the struggle against wage cuts and plant closings. It is a necessary feature of the struggles for public takeover of industries. It is necessary in the struggle against racism and for affirmative action programs. It is necessary in the struggle for peace. Without political independence the working class can not fulfill the role history has assigned it.

In this campaign and for the future it is important for working people to find ways of helping to advocate, to promote, labor's independent role; to help mobilize the working class, the trade unions and especially the rank-and-file to play their indispensable role.

The anti-labor attacks must be repelled, wherever and whenever they raise their ugly heads. The forces of the anti-Reagan all people's front must not be confused, disoriented or diverted from consistent, partisan, working-class and trade union positions.

The Big Money on Reagan

TIM WHEELER

In announcing his decision to seek a second term last January 29, President Reagan told voters he needs four more years to complete "what we began three years ago."

The words must have chilled the hearts of the tens of millions of unemployed and poor people who have felt the sting of Reagan's whip since he took office. "What more does he want?" they might well ask.

Throughout U.S. history, presidents, while serving the interests of the ruling class, have nevertheless taken pains to preserve the appearance that the Presidency stands above classes.

Reagan is the first chief executive to more or less openly embrace the dictum, "If you've got it, flaunt it." No other president has so single-mindedly pursued the transfer of colossal wealth from the pockets of working people and the poor to the bank accounts of the super-rich. His \$750 billion tax cut, symbolic of this overall heist, added more than \$8,000 to the annual income of a person making \$100,000 a year, but increased the taxes of a poverty-income family by nearly \$300.

Rolls Royce can't keep up with the demand from the rich for its \$165,000 Corniche, but median family income in constant 1982 dollars plummeted from \$26,047 in 1979 to \$23,433 in 1982 — a loss of \$2,614 or more than 10 per cent.

Afro-American families suffered an even greater percentage loss. In 1979, median Black family income was \$15,391 in constant 1982 dollars. But by 1982 it had dropped to \$13,598 — a loss of \$1,793.

In the years 1979-82, Reagan's policies helped push 8.3 million people into the ranks of the poor (now 34.4 million or 15 per cent of the population). The U.S. Census Bureau reports that 35.6 per cent of Black persons are now poor, up from 30.9 per cent in 1979.

Tim Wheeler is Washington correspondent of the *Daily World*.

Consider, on the other hand, the plight of corporate executives. In 1977, only 5 corporate executives reported annual salaries over \$1 million. By 1983, at least 38 corporate executives were receiving \$1 million per year, with 18 raking off \$2 million or more. This does not count stock options, bonuses and such perquisites as yachts, limousines and even mansions which are carried on corporate expense accounts to hide additional income of the super-rich.

Reagan has created the atmosphere for such ostentatious displays of wealth amid worsening conditions of misery among millions poor and unemployed. Yet his reelection announcement underlines that the losses working people have suffered in the past three years could be mild by comparison with what is in store in a Reagan second term.

Consider that Reagan's retrenchments have not been achieved by Congressional repeal of the substantial body of laws intended to protect workers, the elderly, the disabled, children and other sectors of the population. Instead, he has attacked and undermined these benefits and protections by administrative fiat, budget cuts and appointment of hatchetmen who are self-proclaimed enemies of the programs they are supposed to administer.

The Reaganites are intensely aware that Reagan's defeat and the election of a new president committed to reverse Reaganism could mean wholesale restoration — and even expansion — of these pro-people programs.

They regard Reagan's reelection as crucial not only for "more-of-the-same" cutbacks in human needs programs. The Reaganites' main goal in a second term is to make the rollback of human needs programs, as nearly as possible, irreversible.

Just one strategic consideration would be sufficient to make Reagan's reelection crucial for the ultra-Right: stacking the U.S. Supreme Court.

Thurgood Marshall, the only Black justice (ever), and several other moderates from the old Warren Court are likely to retire before the end of the next presidential term. Reagan's corporate sponsors want Reagan to name certified agents of Big Business to replace them. This is a critical element in achieving their agenda of undermining and destroying the body of law that protects the right to organize unions and to bargain collectively. It is crucial to their aim of hamstringing mass protest movements, stymieing political independence and wiping out Constitutional rights.

Billions of dollars in superprofits will be the corporate reward if a "Reaganized" Supreme Court finally outlaws affirmative action programs to overcome racist job discrimination.

It is estimated that Reagan and a reactionary-dominated Congress have cut human needs spending programs by \$100 billion annually over the past three years. Hardest hit has been unemployment compensation. The AFL-CIO estimates that only about one-third of the unemployed have received jobless benefits during this worst of all post-World War II economic recessions, compared to the more than half of the jobless who received these benefits during the 1974-75 recession. More than two million persons have been removed from food stamps and close to a million children have been denied child nutrition benefits.

But again, these benefit programs, however wounded, remain on the books. The Reaganites would like to create an atmosphere in which that remaining one-third are deprived of jobless benefits, food stamps and other benefits.

Reagan's federal budget agenda in a second term is most clearly spelled out by the National Association of Manufacturers. A policy statement by the NAM Board of Directors last February 10 decried the enormous \$200 billion annual federal budget deficits (caused largely by President Reagan's crazed \$2 trillion military buildup and his \$750 billion tax gift to the rich and Big Business).

NAM warns that the deficits will crowd out investment funds in the private sector of the economy, push interest rates to ruinous levels,

and choke off "economic growth." The deficits will fuel runaway inflation and worsen the already record-high trade deficits.

The budget deficits, NAM adds, "will add so much to the national debt that our ability to service much of the debt will be questionable so that annual increases in the deficit become self-perpetuating. We must avoid saddling future generations with a debt so large that the dominant government expenditure becomes that of interest payments."

This sounds like a description of the financial position of the government of Brazil, Mexico or some other bankrupt country exploited by foreign capital, not the richest capitalist power on earth. Yet NAM estimates the U.S. national debt will soon skyrocket to \$1.4 trillion because of Reagan's deficits, with interest payments to private banks on that debt soaring above \$200 billion annually. NAM-connected economists calculate that "defense, plus interest on the federal debt, will consume over 80 per cent of general revenues from 1983 to 1989," a level they concede is "clearly unsustainable."

But what does NAM propose as a solution to this deepening crisis? One might think they would call for removal of the president whose policies created such a disaster. On the contrary, they remain enthusiastic Reagan backers, eager for the rewards they expect from a Reagan second term. They fully endorse his Pentagon buildup, albeit at a somewhat moderated pace.

NAM's main attack is on "entitlements," benefit programs like Social Security and Medicare, which they complain have suffered only marginal cutbacks in Reagan's first term. Declared the NAM statement, "No new entitlement programs should be created and the growth of all existing indexed entitlement programs, including Social Security and all government pensions, must be curtailed by reducing the indexing formula to less than the increase in the consumer price index . . . a solution to the difficult Medicare situation must be found soon."

Secondly, NAM proposes a profoundly regressive, soak-the-poor "consumption tax" while rejecting increases in the corporate taxes which have been virtually repealed by Reagan.

No aspect of his game plan has more the quality of preparation for "bigger and better" yet to come than Reagan's foreign and military policy. The Pentagon recently reported that all the "necessary preparations" have been completed in Honduras in case President Reagan opts for direct U.S. troop intervention against Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In a second term he will push for his Star Wars militarization of outer space, which includes plans for an anti-ballistic-missile system in abrogation of the most important arms control treaties, SALT I and the ABM treaty. He will push for completion of the "Stealth" bomber, for completion of the buildup of nuclear first-strike weapons encircling the Soviet Union. It would be foolhardy not to see that much of Reagan's first term has been a preparation for a major war, indeed a world war, at some future time.

President Reagan has proclaimed that the U.S. must never again wage a war it does not "intend to win." Reagan blames the huge peace movement in this country for the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. If Reagan is preparing for war, it is certain that he will attempt to crush any peace movement that stands in the path of "victory."

Recently, the newspaper *Spotlight*, published by the ultra-Right Liberty Lobby, reported that Reagan has signed a top secret National Security Directive codenamed "Rex 84" to "activate" 10 huge concentration camps at military bases across the country capable of housing 200,000 inmates. The purpose of the camps, *Spotlight* declared, is to "place the country on a war footing."

It dovetails with a series of other National Security Directives and "anti-terrorist" measures Reagan has launched that would move the nation towards a police state. Implementation of these fascistic measures will also be high on Reagan's second-term agenda.

An overriding objective in both foreign and domestic policy will guide Reagan in his second term: To solve the worsening crisis of state monopoly capitalism and insure maximum profits by forcing down the people's living standards. His foreign policy has been and will continue to

seek to "export" the crisis of U.S. capitalism to other capitalist and "third world" countries in the form of the continued spread of U.S. multinational corporations, ruinous unemployment and an overvalued dollar. At home, he will help Big Business enforce a combination of ruthless job elimination, speedup, forced overtime, wage cuts and overpricing that will provide a fabulous profit bonanza. Already, the Big Three auto companies, for example, are looking forward to \$10 billion in combined profits next year.

The entire apparatus of the federal government is in the service of this Big Business offensive against the workers. The Supreme Court recently authorized corporations to unilaterally terminate union wage contracts by filing for bankruptcy even if they are profitable; the National Labor Relations Board, stacked by Reagan, recently reversed a long-standing rule forbidding corporations to "interrogate" union sympathizers.

Reagan and his chief advisers are the pacesetters, the schemers and the coordinators of this anti-labor offensive in all three branches of the federal government.

Literally hundreds of billions of dollars in profits are at stake. It is little wonder, then, that the Federal Election Commission estimates that a total of at least \$1 billion (\$1,000,000,000) will be spent by the presidential candidates and candidates for 435 House seats and 34 Senate seats at stake in 1984. This will be well over twice the \$405.8 million raised by all presidential, Senate and House candidates in the 1980 elections (including private contributions and federal matching funds).

The lists of contributions on file at the FEC (Federal Election Commission) headquarters in downtown Washington, D.C. fairly burst from the file cabinets. An interim FEC report dated April 18, 1984, revealed that twelve presidential candidates raised \$30.1 million and spent \$27.2 million *even before the start of the election year!*

Uncontested in the primaries, Reagan has spent practically none of his warchest, whereas the Democratic candidates have spent vast sums in the fiercely contested race for the Democratic

nomination. Study of the lists of contributors proves conclusively that Ronald Reagan is the first choice of the super-rich. The file drawers on Reagan include the following, by no means exhaustive, "who's who" of corporate America — mostly with the maximum permissible \$1,000 contribution: David Rockefeller, Chase Manhattan Bank; Laurence S. Rockefeller; Jeffrey Volk, Citicorp; Laurence K. Roos, investment banker; Boris S. Berkovitch, Morgan Guaranty Trust; Stephen Robert, Oppenheimer & Co.; Charlotte Ford; Henry Cabot Lodge; C. Douglas Dillon; George L. Ball, Prudential Bache; James B. McCaffrey and Peter M. Flanigan, both of Dillon Read & Co.; Harold R. Logan, W.R. Grace & Co.; Rodney Rood, Vice President ARCO; William Nitze, Mobil; C.C. Garvin, Exxon; T.B. Pickens, Mesa Petroleum; Richard M. Morrow, Standard Oil Co.; H. Ross Perot, oil and computer billionaire; William C. Douce, Phillips Petroleum; Gideon Searle, chairman, Searle Pharmaceutical; Frederick W. Corse, Hughes Aircraft; M.L. Bhau-mik and Thomas V. Jones, both of Northrup Corporation; Kenneth R. Peak, Texas Instruments; James S. McDonnell III, McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft; O.C. Boileau, General Dynamics; David Packard, Hewlett Packard; Glen McDaniel, Litton Industries; Thomas Newly, Lockheed Missiles and Space Co.; I.H. Cramer, Rockwell International; John F. Akers, IBM; A. Felix DuPont, DuPont Chemical; Paul E. Orefice, Dow Chemical; Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr., Bechtel Group; Cornell C. Maier, Kaiser Aluminum; Frederick G. Jaicks and Philip D. Block III, both of Inland Steel; Judd Leighton, Gulf & Western; Robert A. Hanson, Deere & Co.; Lee L. Morgan, Caterpillar Co.; C. Davis Weyerhaeuser, Weyerhaeuser Timber Co.; John B. Ferry, Boise Cascade; Richard J. Mahoney, Monsanto Co.

Scattered through the columns are contributions from Reagan's "kitchen cabinet," the "self-made" Right-wing California millionaires who groomed him for high office: Henry Salvatori, the geophysicist; Earle Jorgensen, the steel magnate; Holmes Tuttle, the Los Angeles Ford dealer; Walter Annenberg, *TV Guide* publisher. (Conspicuously missing are any contributions from kitchen cabineteer Joseph Coors — the Colorado beer

brewer who recently told a meeting of Black leaders that Afro-American people lack "intellectual capacity" and being brought to the U.S. in chains was a favor to Black people. It is reported that Coors may be annoyed at Reagan, who had led him to believe he would be appointed to a top White House advisory position when William C. Clark resigned as National Security Adviser to become Interior Secretary. Reagan, however, is now keeping the unpasteurized brewer at arms length.)

To evade the FEC's limit of \$1,000 on the size of contributions, some wealthy families and corporations enlist ten, fifteen, or more of their members or executives to contribute the \$1,000 maximum. Joseph Meyerhoff, the Baltimore millionaire, and three other family members gave \$4,000 to Reagan's reelection.

To guarantee an entrée for their company, no matter which Republican or Democrat is elected, many of these richest bankers and corporate executives contribute to several or even all the candidates running.

Political action committees (PACs) are another funnel for pouring tens of millions of dollars into the presidential, congressional and senate races. According to the latest FEC report, PACs now number 3,371. That report discloses that in the 1982 congressional elections, PACs raised \$199.5 million and spent \$190.5 million — 51.4 per cent more than in the 1980 congressional races. Corporate PACs and "non-connected" PACs, most of them Right-wing fronts like the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Citizens for the Republic (Ronald Reagan's personal PAC), and the National Congressional Club (Sen. Jesse Helms' PAC), raised \$13.3 million for Senate races and \$26.9 million for House races. Labor PACs, on the other hand, raised \$5.17 million for Senate and \$15.7 million for House races in 1982.

So far this election year, NCPAC has raised \$4.8 million to carry on its smear campaigns aimed at defeating targeted liberal, pro-labor and peace candidates. The National Congressional Club reports raising \$1.4 million, the National

Rifle Association, \$1.5 million, Citizens for the Republic, \$696,816 and so on.

A complete report on PACs is not yet available from the FEC but an Associated Press survey indicates that as of March 31, Congressional candidates had raised \$111 million and spent \$96 million. PACs provided about \$30 million of that.

The stakes in the Senate races are particularly high, with Democrats hoping to recapture control of that body, now dominated by a Reaganite Republican majority, 55 to 45. The Democrats must pick up six seats and are waging pitched battles to defeat Republican Senators Charles Percy (Ill.), Roger Jepsen (Iowa), Jesse Helms (N.C.), William Armstrong (Colo.), Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.), and to replace with Democrats retiring Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (Tenn.) and Armed Services Chairman John Tower (Texas).

The Federal Election Campaign Act was enacted in the name of breaking the stranglehold of big money, symbolized by the Watergate conspiracy. The aim was to set limits on how much an individual or group could contribute and to require strict disclosure of every contribution. The FECA also established public financing of the presidential election. Candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties are permitted to spend up to \$24,240,000 in the primary elections. Each candidate is entitled to receive \$10 million in federal matching funds if he or she raises an equal amount in private contributions of \$1,000 or less, plus adjustments for inflation and other fundraising costs.

The nominees of the two major parties may also choose to accept federal financing of their general election campaigns with a limit of \$40,400,000 per candidate. The money is raised from a \$1 checkoff on each individual income tax filed with IRS. Additionally, the two parties of Big Business will receive more than \$6 million each in federal funds to pay for staging their extravagant nominating conventions.

The FECA, enacted in the name of breaking the grip of big money Watergatism, instead has served to further entrench and institutionalize the two dominant parties of Big Business, the Democrats and the Republicans.

Reagan's contempt for limitations on cor-

porate contributions to candidates is revealed in a study, "Politics and Money," by syndicated columnist Elizabeth Drew. She describes how Reagan's fundraisers solicit enormous amounts of what they call "soft money," adding, "Someone who wished to could give a hundred thousand dollars or more to each of several state parties in order to get out the vote for his candidate. The money is not counted as a contribution and is therefore not reported at the federal level . . . In other words, contributions of the size that were given to the Nixon campaign in 1972 and that so shocked the nation. . . . can still be made. And the contributions by corporations that were illegal then can now be made legally."

Robert Perkins, Reagan's 1980 campaign finance director, told Drew he raised \$9 million in "soft money" unreported to FECA. Reagan's longtime political consultant, Lyn Nofziger, told Drew, "You get corporate money and spend it for damn near anything."

She cited the Coors brewing family of Golden Colorado, who reported total contributions to the 1980 elections of nearly \$150,000, over \$4,000 of it to Reagan's election. It is widely reported that Reagan has already raised so much money that he may reject public financing, which would leave him free to raise and spend as much as he wants for the general election.

On the other hand, organized labor, peace, environmental and women's groups are collecting substantial warchests of their own to defeat reactionary politicians and to replace them with independent and progressive candidates.

By far the biggest source of this anti-Reaganite money is organized labor. As of mid-April, on file with the FEC are the following reports of total contributions from rank-and-file workers: United Autoworkers' V-CAP (\$1.2 million); National Education Association (\$1.1 million); Seafarers International Union (\$1.4 million); United Food and Commercial Workers (\$1.2 million); Communications Workers (\$850,122); Machinists (\$761,532.69); Laborers (\$242,250); United Steelworkers (\$96,485); Railway Clerks (\$298,485); Service Employees (\$122,451); Sheetmetal Work-

ers (\$582,000); United Mineworkers (\$155,000); American Federation of Teachers (\$196,221); AFL-CIO Cope (\$135,729); American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (\$84,430); Carpenters (\$404,278); United Rubberworkers (\$232,024) and many more.

"Freeze Voter 84" has announced that they have already raised \$2 million and expect to raise an additional \$1 million to defeat Reagan and other targetted warhawks. The U.S. Committee Against Nuclear War has raised \$664,647; the Council for a Livable World reports it has raised \$219,000 and the Women's Campaign Fund has raised \$181,616. The Committee for an Effective Congress, a liberal Democratic group, has also raised \$494,000.

This totals many millions of dollars to help finance the struggle to defeat President Reagan and Reaganism. The Big Business circles that dominate both political parties have reacted with alarm to the fundraising activities of organized labor and other progressive organizations. The *Washington Post* unleashed such a sharp attack on Mondale for labor's fundraising on his behalf that Mondale ordered independent labor-led delegate committees across the country disbanded and announced that he was returning \$300,000 contributed by labor unions. The *Post*, however, is silent on the torrent of corporate money that is flooding into Reagan's coffers.

George Orwell could not have imagined the orgy of "doublespeak" that would engulf the U.S. in 1984 with organized labor, civil rights, women's and peace organizations branded as "special interests" while Big Business is equated with the "national interest." Of course, these mass organizations, now coalescing in a mighty united front against Reagan and Reaganism, are the real defenders of the national interests — the interests of working people, the poor, oppressed minorities, women, children, small farmers and businessmen, all the victims of Big Business domination in the U.S. today.

But if the stakes in this election are high for Big Business, they are even higher for the working class, for oppressed national minorities, and their allies. The election campaign, so far, has been marked by an unprecedented level of grass-

roots political activism, with masses determined to defeat Reagan and confident that it is possible.

Central to this upsurge has been the decision of the AFL-CIO to mobilize its rank-and-file members, to commit its financial and other resources, to the defeat of Reagan. The transformation of union halls into organizing headquarters of the anti-Reagan movement represents an important first step towards independent working-class political action. As James Steele, chairman of the Young Communist League, recently commented, "It embraces the idea that working people should determine who is the president of the United States."

Equally dramatic has been the effect of Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in galvanizing Black voters throughout the country. It is estimated that Jackson's campaign, so far, has persuaded close to half a million Afro-American persons to register to vote for the first time.

Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition," contrary to the Big-Business media naysayers, is making inroads among white voters. A recent *New York Times*-CBS poll revealed a dramatic jump in the positive impression white voters have of Jesse Jackson. In states like Vermont and New Hampshire Jackson's strong peace positions won him standing ovations from mostly white audiences. Jackson's candidacy has caused many white voters to seriously weigh, for the first time, the possibility of a Black president of the United States. Jackson has made these advances despite severe financial constraints that make it impossible for him to purchase TV commercials.

In a speech to the World Affairs Council in Philadelphia, Jackson advocated a 25 per cent cut in the military budget, and then declared:

We must learn the lessons of Vietnam. We can not have guns and butter. We do not need dangerous, destabilizing weapons systems. We do not need the hungry, the homeless, the unemployed walking the streets of America. . . . The workers who see their jobs exported to the Philippines, to Korea, to Honduras, to Haiti and Guatemala can not afford a foreign policy that props up Right-wing dictators who torture trade union organizers in their own lands.

Such positions have boosted Jackson's popularity among Black and white voters and helped shift the thinking of millions towards an anti-monopoly, anti-Reaganite outlook.

In the anti-Reagan movement, mobilization of new voters plays a key role. Voter registration by labor, Black, women's and peace groups may play a decisive role in the outcome of the 1984 elections. Consider that Reagan won New York in 1980 by a margin of only 165,000 votes, Massachusetts by 2,400, Tennessee by 4,700, Arkansas by 4,100, South Carolina by 11,000, Mississippi by 12,000, Alabama and Kentucky by 17,000 and North Carolina by 39,000 votes. Those nine states will cast 112 electoral votes to choose the next president. In all of them, new voters have registered in numbers greater than Reagan's relatively narrow 1980 margin.

Big Business is profoundly alarmed by the emergence of a powerful grassroots movement to "dump Reagan."

Their initial strategy was to pour money, media, and political support behind the candidacy of Ohio Senator John Glenn. With a Glenn-Reagan matchup Big Business could not lose, Glenn's positions being largely indistinguishable from Reagan's. In fact, Glenn was such a Reagan clone that he lifted lines straight from a Reagan pro-war speech when he spoke to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in New Orleans early in his campaign. It is a tribute to masses of voters that they instantly recognized Glenn as the "wrong stuff." His campaign crashlanded with stunning swiftness.

Since then, the bipartisan political establishment has turned to a strategy of more or less open provocation to disrupt, split and destabilize this movement. Dirty tricks of both the overt and covert variety are surfacing every few hours to be trumpeted in the pro-Reagan media.

The AFL-CIO's independent initiative in fighting Reagan is the target of a deceitful attack in which labor is described as a "special interest."

Senator Gary Hart of Colorado has led the Big Business charge against labor in the Democratic primaries. Hart has become ever more strident in baiting Walter Mondale as a "captive of special interests" because Mondale has the AFL-

CIO's endorsement and financial backing.

A comparison of Hart's and Mondale's positions on issues and their financial backers proves the demagogy of Hart's attack. In fact, Hart and Mondale hold virtually identical positions on a host of key issues. Both are advocates of "industrial policy," which calls for even more energetic federal intervention to bailout U.S. corporations.

Mondale and Hart draw their financial support from the same corporate circles. Blanchette Rockefeller has given \$1,000 each to Hart and Mondale. IBM President Thomas J. Watson is a Hart donor while Control Data Vice Chairman Lucille Schmidt gave to Mondale. Hart has received the maximum allowable contributions from nearly a dozen Sperry Corporation executives, from W.R. Grace, from Kenneth B. Kazarian, vice president of Waste Management Inc., owner of the most dangerous toxic waste dumps in the country. John L. Weinberg of the Goldman Sachs Investment firm is a Hart backer as is Harry L. Freeman, vice president, American Express.

On the other hand, Mondale's donors include E.H. Boullioun, chief executive officer, Boeing Aircraft Co.; Robert Lovell, vice president Northrup Corp.; Joseph Kimmitt, executive, Fairchild Helicopter Co.; Leo M. Krulitz, Cummins Engine Co.; Gael M. Sullivan, executive, LTV; S.P. Gilbert, president, Morgan Stanley & Co.; James Glanville, banker, Lazard Freres; Stephen E. Heaney, vice president, Crocker National Bank; Jeffrey Beck, banker, Oppenheimer & Co., and so on.

Hart won a series of upset victories over Mondale in the New England primaries largely by zeroing in on Mondale's vacillating positions on the peace question. Hart flatly promised to end Reagan's war in Central America. Mondale hemmed and hawed, stating he would leave some U.S. troops in Honduras as "bargaining chips."

During a televised debate before the New York primary, Rev. Jackson declared that the "rat-a-tat-tat" between Hart and Mondale derived from the closeness of their views. "The reason why they are having this kind of kinship struggle," he said, "is that there is such similarity in policies."

Despite the uneven quality of the debate, the Democratic primaries reveal a significant shift to the Left in the thinking of millions. Opposition to Reagan's war policy in Central America is shared by an overwhelming majority; as interest rates and federal budget deficits climb to ruinous levels and millions remain unemployed, doubts deepen over the "economic recovery." Reagan has alienated Afro-American and other minority people and women with his attacks on civil rights. John Anderson, whose seven per cent of the vote cost Carter reelection in 1980, has announced he will not run — a bitter disappointment to Reagan, who had hoped Anderson would again play the role of spoiler.

Taken together, these factors indicate that the chances of defeating Reagan are growing.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) recently had a pointed warning for Mondale or whoever else is the Democratic nominee. In an interview in the *Washington Post*, Kennedy said that any Democrat can beat Reagan but only by offering a clear alternative to Reaganism. "If you don't offer a real alternative, then you're not going to go anywhere," Kennedy said.

Gus Hall and Angela Davis, the Communist Party candidates for president and vice president, make the need for a real alternative to Reaganism the capstone of the Communist election campaign. The Communist election platform spells out in sweeping strokes just what such a

real alternative program would look like.

The anti-Reagan, anti-Reaganite movement, Hall says, must demand a "180-degree turn" away from Reaganism — a complete reversal. The Hall-Davis campaign is doing its part to build that movement by seeking ballot status in 30 states, carrying the Communist Party's program to a majority of the people.

The Democratic Party would like the great anti-Reagan movement to passively follow along behind whichever candidate is selected, supporting the Democratic version of a Big Business platform without challenge.

Yet a Democratic candidate and a Democratic platform that do not challenge the domination of Big Business and the Pentagon can not defeat Reagan. Only an independent, grassroots "dump Reagan" movement can guarantee that this kind of program is injected into the 1984 elections. Without it, the Democratic candidate is likely to retreat in the face of Reagan's onslaught of labor-baiting, red-baiting and racism.

The AFL-CIO, and a host of other mass organizations, have called for a rally and march of over one million in San Francisco during the Democratic Convention, July 16-20. This is the kind of initiative that permits grassroots pressure to be exerted on the Democratic candidates in a way that will facilitate victory. If that kind of groundswell is translated into a massive voter mobilization in every ward and precinct across the country, Ronald Reagan will be removed from office next November 6.

Trade Union Principles, Trade Union Politics

FREDERICK ENGELS

A Fair Day's Wage For a Fair Day's Work

This has now been the motto of the English working-class movement for the last fifty years. It did good service in the time of the rising trade unions after the repeal of the infamous Combination Laws in 1824; it did still better service in the time of the glorious Chartist movement, when the English workmen marched at the head of the European working class. But times are moving on, and a good many things which were desirable and necessary fifty, and even thirty years ago, are now antiquated and would be completely out of place. Does the old, time-honored watchword too belong to them?

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work? But what is a fair day's wage, and what is a fair day's work? How are they determined by the laws under which modern society exists and develops itself? For an answer to this we must not apply to the science of morals or of law and equity, nor to any sentimental feeling of humanity, justice, or even charity. What is morally fair, what is even fair in law, may be far from being socially fair. Social fairness or unfairness is decided by one science alone — the science which deals with the material facts of production and exchange, the science of political economy.

Now what does political economy call a fair day's wage and a fair day's work? Simply the rate of wages and the length and intensity of a day's work which are determined by competition of employer and employed in the open market. And

The 1880s in Great Britain saw a resurgence of independent political action of the working class. Frederick Engels, who had been deeply immersed in the British labor movement since moving to England in the 1840s, was invited at this time by the *Labor Standard* of London to write a series of articles giving his (and Marx') views of questions which faced the labor movement. Despite the far-reaching changes which have occurred in the last century, what Engels wrote then continues of have topical significance for our country today. Reproduced here are four of the ten articles by Engels originally published in the *Labor Standard*.

what are they, when thus determined?

A fair day's wage, under normal conditions, is the sum required to procure to the laborer the means of existence necessary, according to the standard of life of his station and country, to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race. The actual rate of wages, with the fluctuations of trade, may be sometimes above, sometimes below this rate; but, under fair conditions, that rate ought to be the average of all oscillations.

A fair day's work is that length of working day and that intensity of actual work which expends one day's full working power of the workman without encroaching upon his capacity for the same amount of work for the next and following days.

The transaction, then, may be thus described — the workman gives to the capitalist his full day's working power; that is, so much of it as he can give without rendering impossible the continuous repetition of the transaction. In exchange he receives just as much, and no more, of the necessaries of life as is required to keep up the repetition of the same bargain every day. The workman gives as much, the capitalist gives as little, as the nature of the bargain will permit. This is a very peculiar sort of fairness.

But let us look a little deeper into the matter. As according to political economists, wages and working days are fixed by competition, fairness seems to require that both sides should have the same fair start on equal terms. But that is not the case. The capitalist, if he can not agree with the laborer, can afford to wait, and live upon his capital. The workman can not. He has but wages to live upon, and must therefore take work when, where, and at what terms he can get it. The workman has no fair start. He is fearfully handicapped by hunger. Yet, according to the political economy of the capitalist class, that is the very pink of fairness.

But this is a mere trifle. The application of mechanical power and machinery to new trades, and the extension and improvements of machinery in trade already subjected to it, keep turning out of work more and more "hands"; and they do so at a far quicker rate than that at which these superseded "hands" can be absorbed by, and find employment in, the manufactures of the country. These superseded "hands" form a real industrial army of reserve for the use of capital. If trade is bad they may starve, beg, steal, or go to the workhouse; if trade is good they are ready at hand to expand production; and until the very last man, woman or child of this army of reserve shall have found work — which happens in times of frantic over-production alone — until then will its competition keep down wages, and by its existence alone strengthen the power of capital in its struggle with labor. In the race with capital, labor is not only handicapped, it has to drag a cannonball riveted to its foot. Yet this is fair according to capitalist political economy.

But let us inquire out of what fund does capital pay these very fair wages? Out of capital, of course. But capital produces no value. Labor is, besides the earth, the only source of wealth; capital itself is nothing but the stored-up produce of labor. So that the wages of labor are paid out of labor, and the working man is paid out of his own produce. According to what we may call common fairness, the wages of the laborer ought to consist in the produce of his labor. But that would not be fair according to political economy. On the contrary, the produce of the workman's produce goes to the capitalist, and the workman gets out of it no more than the bare necessities of life. And thus the end of this uncommonly "fair" race of competition is that the produce of the labor of those who do work gets unavoidably accumulated in the hands of those who do not work, and becomes in their hands the most powerful means to enslave the very men who produced it.

A fair day's wage for a fair day's work! A good deal might be said about the fair day's work too, the fairness of which is perfectly on a par with that of the wages. But that we must leave for another occasion. From what has been stated it is pretty clear that the old watchword has lived its

day, and will hardly hold water nowadays. The fairness of political economy, such as it truly lays down the laws which rule actual society, that fairness is all on one side — on that of capital. Let, then, the old motto be buried for ever and be replaced by another:

Possession of the means of work — raw material, factories, machinery — by the working people themselves.

The Labor Standard, London, May 7, 1881

The Wage System

In a previous article we examined the time-honored motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," and came to the conclusion that the fairest day's wages under present social conditions is necessarily tantamount to the very unfair division of the workman's produce, the greater portion of that produce going into the capitalist's pocket, and the workman having to put up with just as much as will enable him to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race.

This is a law of political economy, or, in other words, a law of the present economic organization of society, which is more powerful than all the Common and Statute of Law of England put together, the Court of Chancery included. While society is divided into two opposing classes — on the one hand the capitalists, monopolizers of the whole of the means of production, land, raw materials, machinery; on the other hand, laborers, working people deprived of all property in the means of production, owners of nothing but their own working power; while this social organization exists the law of wages will remain all-powerful and will every day afresh rivet the chains by which the working man is made the slave of his own produce monopolized by the capitalist.

The trade unions of this country have now for nearly sixty years fought against this law — with what result? Have they succeeded in freeing the working class from the bondage in which capital — the produce of its own hands — holds it? Have they enabled a single section of the working class to rise above the situation of wage-slaves, to become owners of their own means of produc-

tion, of the raw materials, tools, machinery required in their trade, and thus to become the owners of the produce of their own labor? It is well known that not only have they not done so, but that they never tried.

Far be it from us to say that trade unions are of no use because they have not done that. On the contrary, trade unions in England, as well as in every other manufacturing country, are a necessity for the working classes in their struggle against capital. The average rate of wages is equal to the sum of necessaries sufficient to keep up the race of workmen in a certain country according to the standard of life habitual in that country. The standard of life may be very different for different classes of workmen. The great merit of trade unions, in their struggle to keep up the rate of wages and to reduce working hours, is that they tend to keep up and raise the standard of life. There are many trades in the East End of London whose labor is not more skilled and quite as hard as that of bricklayers and bricklayers' laborers, yet they hardly earn half the wages of these. Why? Simply because a powerful organization enables the one set to maintain a comparatively high standard of life as the rule by which their wages are measured; while the other set, disorganized and powerless, have to submit not only to unavoidable but also to arbitrary encroachments of their employers: their standard of life is gradually reduced, they learn how to live on less and less wages, and their wages naturally fall to that level which they themselves have learnt to accept as sufficient.

The law of wages, then, is not one which draws a hard and fast line. It is not inexorable with certain limits. There is at every time (great depression excepted) for every trade a certain latitude within which the rate of wages may be modified by the results of the struggle between the two contending parties. Wages in every case are fixed by a bargain, and in a bargain he who resists longest and best has the greatest chance of getting more than his due. If the isolated workman tries to drive his bargain with the capitalist he is easily beaten and has to surrender at discretion; but if a whole trade of workmen form a powerful organization, collect among themselves

a fund to enable them to defy their employers if need be, and thus become enabled to treat with these employers as a power, then, and then only, have they even a chance to get that pittance which, according to the economic constitution of present society, may be called a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

The law of wages is not upset by the struggles of trade unions. On the contrary, it is enforced by them. Without the means of resistance of the trade unions the laborer does not receive even what is his due according to the rules of the wage system. It is only with the fear of the trade unions before his eyes that the capitalist can be made to part with the full market value of his laborer's power. Do you want a proof? Look at the wages paid to the members of the large trade unions, and at the wages paid to the numberless small trades in that pool of stagnant misery, the East End of London.

Thus the trade unions do not attack the wage system. But it is not the highness or lowness of wages which constitutes the economic degradation of the working class: This degradation is comprised in the fact that, instead of receiving for its labor the full produce of this labor, the working class has to be satisfied with a portion of its own produce called wages. The capitalist pockets the whole produce (paying the laborer out of it) because he is the owner of the means of labor. And, therefore, there is no real redemption for the working class until it becomes owner of all the means of work — land, raw material, machinery, etc. —and thereby also the owner of *the whole of the produce of its own labor*.

The Labor Standard, London, May 21, 1881.

A Workingmen's Party

How often have we not been warned by friends and sympathizers, "Keep aloof from party politics!" And they were perfectly right, as far as present English party politics are concerned. A labor organ must be neither Whig nor Tory, neither Conservative nor Liberal, or even Radical, in the actual party sense of that word. Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, all of them represent but the interests of the ruling classes, and various shades of opinion predominating

amongst landlords, capitalists and retail tradesmen. If they do represent the working class, they most decidedly misrepresent it. The working class has interests of its own, political as well as social. How it has stood up for what it considers its social interests, the history of the trade unions and the short time movement shows. But its political interests it leaves almost entirely in the hands of Tories, Whigs and Radicals, men of the upper class, and for nearly a quarter of a century the working class of England has contented itself with forming, as it were, the tail of the "Great Liberal Party."

This is a political position unworthy of the best organized working class in Europe. In other countries the working men have been far more active. Germany has had for more than ten years a working men's party (the Social-Democrats), which owns ten seats in Parliament, and whose growth has frightened Bismarck into those infamous measures of repression of which we give an account in another column. Yet in spite of Bismarck, the working men's party progresses steadily; only last week it carried sixteen elections for the Mannheim Town Council and one for the Saxon Parliament. In Belgium, Holland and Italy the example of the Germans has been imitated; in every one of these countries a working men's party exists, though the voter's qualification there is too high to give them a chance of sending members to the legislature at present. In France the working men's party is just now in full process of organization; it has obtained the majority in several municipal councils at the last elections, and will undoubtedly carry several seats at the general election for the Chamber next October. Even in America, where the passage of the working class to [the status] of farmer, trader or capitalist is still comparatively easy, the working men find it necessary to organize themselves as an independent party. Everywhere the laborer struggles for political power, for direct representation of his class in the legislature — everywhere but in Great Britain.

And yet there never was a more widespread feeling in England than now, that the old parties are doomed, that the old shibboleths have become meaningless, that the old watchwords are

exploded, that the old panaceas will not act any longer. Thinking men of all classes begin to see that a new line must be struck out, and that this line can only be in the direction of democracy. But in England, where the industrial and agricultural working class forms the immense majority of the people, democracy means the dominion of the working class, neither more nor less. Let, then, that working class prepare itself for the task in store for it — the ruling of this great empire; let them understand the responsibilities which inevitably will fall to their share. And the best way to do this is to use the power already in their hands, the actual majority they possess in every large town in the kingdom, to send to Parliament men of their own order. With the present household suffrage, forty or fifty working men might easily be sent to St. Stephen's, where such an infusion of entirely new blood is very much wanted indeed. With only that number of working men in Parliament, it would be impossible to let the Irish Land Bill become, as is the case at present, more and more an Irish Landlords' Bill, namely, an Irish Landlords' Compensation Act; it would be impossible to resist the demand for a redistribution of seats, for making bribery really punishable, for throwing election expenses, as is the case everywhere but in England, on the public purse, etc.

Moreover, in England a real democratic party is impossible unless it be a working men's party. Enlightened men of other classes (where they are not so plentiful as people would make us believe) might join that party and even represent it in Parliament after having given pledges of their sincerity. Such is the case everywhere. In Germany, for instance, the working men representatives are not in every case actual working men. But no democratic party in England, as well as elsewhere, will be effectively successful unless it has a distinct working-class character. Abandon that, and you have nothing but sects and shams.

And this is even truer in England than abroad. Of Radical shams there has been unfortunately enough since the break-up of the first working men's party which the world ever produced — the Chartist party. Yes, but the Chartists were broken up and attained nothing. Did they, indeed? Of the six points of the People's

Charter, two, vote by ballot and no property qualifications, are now the law of the land. A third, universal suffrage, is at least approximately carried in the shape of household suffrage; a fourth, equal electoral districts, is distinctly in sight, a promised reform of the present government. So that the break-down of the Chartist movement has resulted in the realization of fully one-half of the Chartist program. And if the mere recollection of a past political organization of the working class could effect these political reforms, and a series of social reforms besides, what will the actual presence of a working men's political party do, backed by forty or fifty representatives in Parliament?

We live in a world where everybody is bound to take care of himself. Yet the English working class allows the landlord, capitalist, and retail trading classes, with their tail of lawyers, newspaper writers, etc., to take care of its interests. No wonder reforms in the interest of the workman come so slow and in such miserable dribbles. The work people of England have but to will, and they are the masters to carry every reform, social and political, which their situation requires. Then why not make that effort?

The Labor Standard, London, July 23, 1881.

Social Classes — Necessary and Superfluous

The question has often been asked, in what degree are the different classes of society useful or even necessary? And the answer was naturally a different one for every different epoch of history considered. There was undoubtedly a time when a territorial aristocracy was an unavoidable and necessary element of society. That, however, was very, very long ago. Then there was a time when a capitalist middle class, a *bourgeoisie* as the French call it, arose with equally unavoidable necessity, struggled against the territorial aristocracy, broke its political power and in its turn became economically and politically predominant. But since classes arose, there was never a time when society could do without a working class. The name, the social status of that class has changed; the serf took the place of the slave, to be in his turn relieved by the free working man —

free from servitude but also free from any earthly possessions save his own labor force. But it is plain: whatever changes took place in the upper, non-producing ranks of society, society could not live without a class of producers. This class, then, is necessary under all circumstances — though the time must come, when it will no longer be a class, when it will comprise all society.

Now, what necessity is there at present for the existence of each of these three classes?

The landed aristocracy is, to say the least, economically useless in England, while in Ireland and Scotland it has become a positive nuisance by its depopulating tendencies. To send the people across the ocean or into starvation, and to replace them by sheep or deer — that is all the merit that the Irish and Scotch landlords can lay claim to. Let the competition of American vegetable and animal food develop a little further, and the English landed aristocracy will do the same, at least those that can afford it, having large town estates to fall back upon. Of the rest, American food competition will soon free us. And good riddance — for their political action, both in the Lords and Commons, is a perfect national nuisance.

But how about the capitalist middle class, that enlightened and liberal class which founded the British colonial empire and which established British liberty? The class that reformed Parliament in 1821, repealed the Corn Laws, and reduced tax after tax? The class that created and still directs the giant manufactures, and the immense merchant navy, the ever-spreading railway system of England? Surely that class must be at least as necessary as the working class which it directs and leads on from progress to progress?

Now the economic function of the capitalist middle class has been, indeed, to create the modern system of steam manufactures and steam communications, and to crush every economic and political obstacle which delayed or hindered the development of that system. No doubt, as long as the capitalist middle class performed this function it was, under the circumstances, a necessary class. But is it still so? Does it continue to fulfil its essential function as the manager and expander of social production for the benefit of society at large? Let us see.

To begin with the means of communication, we find the telegraphs in the hands of the government. The railways and a large part of the sea-going steamships are owned, not by individual capitalists who manage their own business, but by joint-stock companies whose business is managed for them by *paid employees*, by servants whose position is to all intents and purposes that of superior, better-paid work people. As to the directors and shareholders, they both know that the less the former interfere with the management, and the latter with the supervision, the better for the concern. A lax and mostly perfunctory supervision is, indeed, the only function left to the owners of the business. Thus we see that in reality the capitalist owners of these immense establishments have no other function left with regard to them, but to cash the half-yearly dividend warrants. The social function of the capitalist here has been transferred to servants paid by wages; but he continues to pocket, in his dividends, the pay for those functions though he has ceased to perform them.

But another function is still left to the capitalist, whom the extent of the large undertakings in question has compelled to "retire" from their management. And this function is to speculate with his shares on the stock exchange. For want of something better to do, our "retired," or in reality superseded capitalists, gamble to their hearts' content in this temple of mammon. They go there with the deliberate intention to pocket money which they were pretending to earn; though they say, the origin of all property is labor and saving — the origin perhaps, but certainly not the end. What hypocrisy to forcibly close petty gambling houses, when our capitalist society can not do without an immense gambling house, where millions after millions are lost and won, for its very center! Here, indeed, the existence of the "retired" shareholding capitalist becomes not only superfluous, but a perfect nuisance.

What is true for railways and steam shipping is becoming more and more true every day for all large manufacturing and trading establishments. "Floating" — transforming large private concerns into limited companies — has been the order of the day for the last ten years and more. From the

large Manchester warehouses of the City to the ironworks and coalpits of Wales and the North and the factories of Lancashire, everything has been, or is being, floated. In all Oldham there is scarcely a cotton mill left in private hands: nay, even the retail tradesman is more and more superseded by "co-operative stores," the great majority of which are co-operative in name only — but of that another time. Thus we see that by the very development of the system of capitalist production the capitalist is superseded quite as much as the handloom-weaver. With this difference, though, that the handloom-weaver is doomed to slow starvation, and the superseded capitalist to slow death from overfeeding. In this they generally are both alike, that neither knows what to do with himself.

This, then, is the result: The economic development of our actual society tends more and more to concentrate, to socialize production into immense establishments which can not any longer be managed by single capitalists. All the trash of "the eye of the master," and the wonders it does, turns into sheer nonsense as soon as an undertaking reaches a certain size. Imagine "the eye of the master" of the London and North Western Railway! But what the master can not do the workman, the wages-paid servants of the Company, *can* do and do it successfully.

Thus the capitalist can no longer lay claim to his profits as "wages of supervision," as he supervises nothing. Let us remember that when the defenders of capital drum that hollow phrase into our ears.

But we have attempted to show, in our last week's issue, that the capitalist class had also become unable to manage the immense productive system of this country; that they on the one hand expanded production so as to periodically flood all the markets with produce, and on the other became more and more incapable of holding their own against foreign competition. Thus we find that not only can we manage very well without the interference of the capitalist class in the great industries of the country, but that their interference is becoming more and more a nuisance.

Again we say to them, "Stand back! Give the working class the chance of a turn."

The Labor Standard, London, August 6, 1881

The Basis of the Structural Crisis of World Capitalism

S. MENSHIKOV

Contradictions of the modern capitalist world economy have always been the focus of Marxist-Leninist analysis. This analysis has never been limited, nor can it be limited, to the reverses of cyclical reproduction. The mechanism of recurrent ups and downs has been operating without pause since 1825, that is, for over a century and a half. But from the 1970s on, this old cyclical fever has closely intertwined with long-term, structural capitalist economic crises. Today there is a continuing structural crisis of the capitalist economy even after yet another cyclical recession has been surmounted.

Cyclical and Structural Problems Related

The deepest cyclical crises after the Second World War, those of 1973 to 1975 and 1980 to 1982, have left behind a heavy load of unresolved conflicts and outstanding problems. The recovery of production which began in 1983 has been extremely uneven and lopsided. According to official statistics, the number of unemployed in the U.S. early this year has been 8 per cent of its labor force, while in Western Europe it has exceeded 10 per cent, on average. Unemployment in industrialized capitalist countries, all told, is expected to top 33 million by mid-1984. Trade unions put the figure far higher. The most essential thing is that much of unemployment is structural, that is, long-term, resulting from permanent closure of old businesses, winding up of old production units, and from the process of manpower being displaced by new labor-saving technology. The

Originally published in *Kommunist*, No. 4, 1984. The following article, though longer than our standard, is published in full. Particularly worth attention is that it attempts to link important aspects of the present economic situation, notably the structural crises, with basic categories of capitalist development uncovered by Karl Marx. The author expresses opinions on such basic questions as long-term trends in scientific innovation, in productivity and in the rate of profit. We expect to be publishing from time to time additional discussion of the issues raised here.—*Editors*.

supplanting of living labor, typical of the capitalist mode of production, is manifesting itself in full measure today.

Even in the context of cyclical recovery, some major sectors are still in a state of deep crisis and stagnation. The situation in such sectors as iron and steel, automobiles, shipbuilding, the chemical and textile industries, differs from country to country. Yet it is distinguished almost everywhere by the reduction of production capacities, dismissal of new groups of workers and a substantial lag of output behind the peak levels achieved in the 70s.

The Structural Crisis and Its Manifestations

The cyclical crises have, furthermore, left unresolved the problem of stupendous budget deficits, amounting to between 5 and 10 per cent of the gross national product (gnp) or even more. The U.S. federal budget deficit will reach 200 billion dollars in the next fiscal year, that is, about as much as is expected to be spent on the arms buildup. Today military expenditures, an unbearable burden for the economy, are covered for the most part by emission of paper money and a swelling public debt. The pundits of Reaganomics and Thatcherism see "nothing wrong" about it; they regard budget deficits running into many billions, as well as millions of unemployed workers, as an indispensable condition for the prosperity of monopoly capitalism. Yet it is fraught with the danger of further upheavals in actual reproduction.

Budget deficits leave open the flood gates of inflation, keeping the foreign exchange and money-capital markets in an unending state of fever and swallowing up much of the free money capital which, under normal conditions, could be readily invested in material production. The sluggishness of capital investment continues to worry economic weather watchers, some of whom predict yet another recession, perhaps as early as

1985. None of them are bold enough to declare an end to *the long period of slow growth* typical of all nations of the Western world without exception in the '70s and early '80s.

Nor is there any let-up in the lamentations about the growing foreign debts of the developing nations, which now add up to \$700 billion. The vicious circle of international debts is fraught, as the experience of the 1930s showed, with the danger of national defaults and makes for disastrous production setbacks. The centers and the periphery of capitalism appear to be tied together with a money chain of by no means unlimited durability.

That the capitalist economies are experiencing long-term crises in various areas is beyond doubt. But a question that is important to pose from the standpoint of theory and method is this: Are these crises isolated and autonomous occurrences or are they all integral components of a single entity — an aggregate structural crisis of the capitalist world economy as a whole? I think it is this wider approach that deserves preference.

Indeed, processes occurring in the capitalist economies indicate that what is in question is the established economic structure in the broadest sense of the term. There can be no further advance without a thoroughgoing, even fundamental, recasting of the present sectoral structure of production; the entire system of interindustry and technological links; the established neo-colonialist division of labor between industrialized countries and developing nations; the old forms of monopoly concentration of production and existing methods of state-monopoly control of economic activity. The nonconformity of the old economic structure with the requirements of development of the productive forces and the demands of the technological revolution is expressed in the drastic decline of general economic growth rates, in the slowdown of technological progress, and in the lasting and stable rise of unemployment. Yet other manifestations of this structural crisis are: stagnation of a number of leading industries in the capitalist world economy as a whole; crisis conditions of large economic regions and whole nations; sustained dis-

ruption of the circulation and redistribution sphere (money, inflation, foreign exchange and public finances).

It would be wrong to deny the specific nature of these various forms of the structural crisis. But neither would it be right not to see that each of them is closely bound up with the others, feeds on them and interacts with overall economic development.

The crisis of the steel industry is one example. Of course, it has been brought about in large measure by specific conditions of this industry, which is forced to retreat in the face of competition from plastics, light metals and other types of materials with greater strength but lower production costs. But it is likewise certain that the steel crisis reflects, above all, overall stagnation in capital construction and modernization of machinery and equipment, and a drastic decline in average growth rates of the economy. Consequently, there has been a reduction of demand for structural materials.

Yet another cause of the crisis is the completion of the stage of the technological revolution creating enormous demand for all materials (not for steel alone), and the changeover to forms of technological progress which accent products involving lower rates of materials consumption.

The specific features of the energy crisis are different. For decades, a low price of liquid fuel was maintained by the international oil monopolies. The demand for oil grew by leaps and bounds, spurred by a sustained period of high business activity, conversion to energy-intensive production and consumption, and decline of old technologies based on coal. Little by little, the demand for oil (at a certain price) began to outstrip production capacities. When, however, the price of petroleum did finally rise, it rose sharply and unevenly, occasioning an extremely long and painful adjustment to the new conditions. The energy crisis dragged on and assumed new forms, not only due to the problems of development of the energy industry as such but also because of the overall state of the capitalist economies, their slower growth rates and uncertain prospects.

To sum up, one may conclude that the struc-

tural crisis embraces a variety of outwardly dissimilar but actually closely connected crisis developments and processes in the world's capitalist economies.

The Crisis and Its Functions

When it comes to a fundamental change in the economic structure, one can not expect it to be accomplished quickly. Common to all manifestations of the structural crisis — lasting stagnation, relative or absolute decline of certain industries, painful readjustment to new conditions — is that they transcend the limits of one business cycle, that is, 8 or 10 years.

Karl Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* contains an interesting passage referring to different ways of overcoming the contradictions of reproduction: short-lived and relatively weak recessions; cyclical and deeper-running crises; finally, long-lived crisis processes taking several cycles to resolve. "There can be no even or identical reproduction, no repetition of production in actual reality under the same conditions," Marx wrote. "Productivity changes and alters the conditions of production. The conditions, in their turn, alter productivity. The discrepancies thus produced show themselves up partly in surface fluctuations which level off within a short space of time, and partly in a gradual build-up of divergences which either lead to a crisis and to a forcible apparent reversion to earlier relations or only very gradually make their way for themselves and get recognized as the changed conditions of production." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, Part III, pp. 544-545. Russian edition.)

Naturally, the time needed to overcome particular manifestations of the structural crisis can be different; some of them drag on for two cycles and more, others are of even longer duration, almost chronic.

During its history, capitalism has experienced several structural economic crises, each involving a far-reaching change in structure consistent with the level achieved in the development of the productive forces. The changeover from manufactory to factory, the spread of corporate property, the onset of the monopoly stage, the rise of state-monopoly control and the appear-

ance of the transnational form of state monopoly capitalism have all been brought about by the objective need to overcome successive structural economic crises. In other words, structural crises are an outgrowth of the basic contradiction of capitalism and a manifestation of its historical evolution.

Structural crises in the age of the general crisis of capitalism have acquired an additional historical function. They contribute not only to modifying production relations within the framework of this order of society, but also to gradually superseding it in the historic competition with growing socialism and getting it to retreat under pressure from the various forces of the worldwide revolutionary process. In other words, nowadays they are a potent factor conducive to deepening the general crisis of capitalism.

Conflicting Trends In Technical Progress

This article does not purport to analyze all the forms and manifestations of the structural crisis. Let us dwell at length on *the causes behind the general slowdown of economic growth*, which largely determines the development of other aspects of the structural crisis. In particular, let us touch on one of the immediate causes behind this slowdown — the lower rate of technological progress in the '70s and '80s as compared with the preceding periods. V.I. Lenin more than once referred to uneven, intermittent, scientific and technological progress in the age of imperialism. On the one hand, any monopoly breeds a trend towards stagnation and, on the other hand, the sharpening competition and the giant size of corporations make for faster technological development. It is the reality of capitalism that in the contest of these trends, now one, now the other prevails. Accordingly, periods of accelerated technological development alternate with general slowdowns. "Certainly, the possibility of reducing the cost of production and increasing profits by introducing technical improvements operates in the direction of change. But the *tendency* to stagnation and decay, which is characteristic of monopoly, continues to operate, and in some branches of industry, in some countries, for certain periods of time, it gains the upper hand."

(V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 276.)

While analyzing the evolution of the monopoly stage of capitalism, Lenin pointed to the lasting state of depression of capitalist economies after the crisis of 1873 up to the mid-1890s. That sustained depression was followed by an appreciable *rise* in the growth rate of reproduction at the very turn of the century. Lenin linked that period with the transformation of monopolies into the foundations of the whole of economic life. (*Ibid.*, p. 202.) Later, there was a long period of relative stagnation and decline (that of the '20s and '30s). In the '40s, '50s and '60s economic growth picked up again.

It was noted at the June 1983 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee that capitalism managed "to maintain relative stability in its development in the post-war [i.e., World War II] period." That period saw a general proliferation of the methods of state monopoly control. But it, too, gave way to yet another slowdown when it became clear that "imperialism is unable to cope with the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, which is unprecedented in its profundity and scope."

The 'Long Wave Controversy'

The pattern of scientific and technological progress is one of the fundamental problems crucial to an assessment of the general outlook for capitalism's development for decades ahead. This problem has become an object of acute controversy nowadays, as, in fact, it was in earlier times. Western economic publications carry articles and monographs dealing with "long waves" in economic life. They have been variously explained, depending on the political stance of the particular writer, with various recommendations given for the policies of capitalist states. One can find among them the extremely conservative approach of the well-known theorist and political hawk, W.W. Rostow of the U.S., the pragmatic concept of G. Mensch of West Germany, the Left-wing liberal analysis of C. Freeman of Great Britain, and the mathematical model of "system dynamics" of J. Forrester of the U.S..

Some foreign Marxists, notably T. Kuczynski of the German Democratic Republic and P. Boc-

carra of France, have analyzed long waves. Their treatment of the present deceleration of the capitalist economy is in the context of the deepening general crisis of the capitalist system.

Traditionally, Western publications have considered that the presence of long fluctuations in capitalist economies was first postulated in Marxist literature at the turn of the century. In 1901 Parvus, who then belonged to the Left-wing of German Social Democracy, and then van Helderer and de Wolf of the Netherlands formulated the principle of alternating periods of relatively faster and slower growth being typical of capitalism. Parvus, whose writings of the time were praised by Lenin, explained the periods of faster growth by intensive breaking of new economic ground, expansion of gold mining and new major technological discoveries. Later on Parvus slipped into dyed-in-the-wool chauvinism and forfeited much of his scientific glory.

The theory of "long business cycles" appeared in the Soviet Union in the mid-20s. It was introduced by N.D. Kondratiev, who was in charge of the Institute of Current Business under the auspices of the People's Commissariat of Finance. Unlike his predecessors, he maintained that sustained fluctuations of 50 to 60 years' duration were of a regular cyclical character. Kondratiev listed the factors already noted by Parvus as some of the reasons behind "long cycles," along with the long-term renewal of durable structures, wars and revolutions, agrarian crises, the rotation of the periods of relative excess and shortage of loan capital.

Kondratiev's concept came under fire from Soviet economists, but in the '30s and '40s it became part of a number of Western theories designed to explain the particular gravity of the depression before the Second World War. It was elaborated in the fullest way yet by the well-known Austrian economist J. Schumpeter who, in explaining the "long cycle," accented activities of capitalist entrepreneurs in implementing technological innovations. In the post-war decades, interest in the "Kondratiev cycles" slackened for quite a long time, to be revived in the '70s due to the sharpening of the contradictions of capitalist reproduction. Many present-day Western writ-

ings on the subject largely repeat Kondratiev's arguments and presumptions.

Just about 60 years have passed since the earlier debate about "long cycles." A wealth of evidence has been amassed over half a century of uncommonly turbulent and contradictory development of capitalism in the period of its general crisis. We have gained better knowledge of the history of capitalist reproduction in the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. All that enables a more precise assessment of the problem of long-term fluctuations of reproduction and technological progress.

Facts and Conclusions

There can be no two opinions as far as the facts are concerned. In the '20s, factual evidence, scanty as it was, permitted only the existence of long fluctuations in commodity prices and loan interest to be stated with a more or less adequate measure of accuracy. Researchers had at their disposal very fragmentary information about material production. Today, scientists work with a hundred-years time series for national product, productivity, capital and profits of major capitalist countries, and even longer series for some countries' industrial production.

Even without going deep into history, one can clearly see that capitalist economies, by and large, have experienced several successive periods of fast and slow growth during the past hundred years alone. Consequently, the main issue today is not that of the uneven movement of capitalist reproduction and technological progress, but a theoretical explanation of that occurrence and political conclusions to be drawn.

Quite a few Western scholars have been apologetic in their treatment of "long cycles." Many of them prefer to explain the present contradictions by a combination of short-term, average, half-a-century-long and even longer ups and downs in business activity. This makes it possible to escape fundamental issues of the general crisis of capitalism as a system, the realm of class struggle and socio-economic and political contradictions; to divert attention to technology, demography, the relationship between prices of raw materials and finished products and other rela-

tively partial issues.

Likewise, certain students of long waves ignore or downplay laws of cyclical reproduction and break down the regular economic crises into long-term fluctuations in business activity. This shortcoming has been peculiar, for example, to such an exponent of the "neo-Marxist" trend as E. Mandel of Belgium who denies, for all practical purposes, the cyclical pattern of capitalist economies in the period between the 1930s and 1970s. But however large the sustained fluctuations of the rates of technological progress and growth of material production may be, they can not cancel or replace the periodic recurrence of the crises of overproduction which, as Marx put it, are an explosion of all the contradictions of capitalism. The working-class feels the impact of such crises, which lead to an absolute curtailment of production (not just a slowdown of growth rates), directly and dramatically through wholesale layoffs, factory closures, income cuts, mounting unemployment and poverty. Of course, sustained fluctuations of production growth rates do affect the course of an economic cycle and the depth and duration of "enforced idleness" and privation which befall the working people. But long-term fluctuations neither overcome nor suspend the cyclical fever peculiar to capitalism. This has been proved, notably, by the postwar record of the of the countries boasting the highest growth rates.

So it would be quite wrong, both theoretically and politically, to pose "long business cycles" against the ordinary economic cycle or to be in any way inaccurate in the treatment of their nature. But that does not suggest at all that Marxists should avoid the problem of long fluctuations, and thus yield ground in advance to their theoretical and ideological opponents.

Marx on Long-Term Contradictions

The starting theoretical propositions which make it possible to unravel the nature of long-term fluctuations of reproduction and technological progress and to gain a closer insight into the foundations of the contemporary structural crisis are set out in Marx's works. One feels that those involved in the 1920s debate on the "long cycles"

made a great mistake by virtually ignoring or bypassing *Marx's teaching on long-term structural contradictions of capitalist reproduction*. For example, they depicted as a discovery the presence of a material foundation of long-term fluctuations in the shape of a long payback time of certain components of fixed capital and a definite periodic concentration of technological discoveries and innovations. But Marx not only saw those processes but thoroughly explained them long before Parvus and Kondratiev.

Thus, having made his famous conclusion about the material base behind the periodicity of crises, he quite unequivocally stated that he meant, above all, the active part of fixed capital, that is, capital invested in machinery and equipment. And on the very next page he cited data about the varying circulation time of capital invested in implements and machinery (from 5 to 10 years) and capital invested in buildings, roads, irrigation networks (between 20 and 50 years), emphasizing that this difference was due to the nature of capital. (*Capital*, Vol. II, p. 187, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1957.) Analyzing, in particular, the replacement of capital operating "for example, as buildings, railways, canals, etc. only as a general condition for the process of production independent from it" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 49, p. 394 — Russian edition) Marx pointed out that replacement in that case was "practically infinitesimal" (*Capital*, Vol. II, p. 180). Such components of fixed capital do not require replacement in every cycle.

Marx saw, furthermore, the tremendous importance of the large-scale renewal of capital having a long service life. Analyzing the consecutive stages of the industrial revolution of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries, he called attention to a "revolution in the general conditions of the social process of production," that is, in the means of transportation and communication, and to its reverse effect on the whole process of reproduction and technological progress. "Construction of railways and ocean steamers on a stupendous scale called into existence cyclopean machines now employed in the construction of prime movers," and consequently, led to the creation of a fundamentally

new branch — machine production by machines. (See *Capital*, Vol. 1, pp. 384-385.)

Intensive and Extensive Technical Progress

But Marx was far from overestimating the significance of individual components of fixed capital involved in the periodic fluctuations of reproduction. He attached far greater importance to the role of technological progress and the change it brought about in the structure of capital and in the rate of profit. Unlike later long-wave theorists, he did not link technological progress with long-term fluctuations alone, but showed its integral connection with the cycle and with structural processes of reproduction. "The instruments of labor," he stressed, "are largely modified all the time by the progress of industries. Hence they are not replaced in their original, but in their modified form" (Vol. II, p. 170).

Consequently, every new cycle represents yet another stage of technological progress and development of productive forces. But that is not a balanced and uniform movement, monotonously repeating itself from cycle to cycle. Marx distinguished *intensive* movement "involving more effective means of production" and *extensive* movement which meant "nothing beyond expanding the field of production" upon the technological base already installed.

Some cycles are dominated by minor modification and modernization of existing machinery and technology, with new models of machines replacing old ones. Other cycles involve deeper change — one generation of technology replacing another. Finally, still other cycles see a large-scale introduction of basically new types of machinery and technology, laying the groundwork for technological revolutions. Such revolutions, like chain reactions, spread from sector to sector, embracing the whole of social reproduction and fundamentally revamping its technological base. These periods witness a fundamental replacement of fixed capital invested in the "general conditions of reproduction," that is, transport services, communications, durable industrial structures, production of basic structural materials and energy and power resources. Such a changeover may span decades. (It would be

worthwhile considering, in particular, the deep-going change, due to such revolutions, in the labor force, and in the methods and forms of organization of work and production.)

Intervals and Technical Revolutions

The alternation of qualitative leaps and quantitative evolution of technology takes place, Marx maintained, within the framework of the business cycle as well as outside it, and is somewhat cyclical:

There are intervals during which technical revolutions are less notable and accumulation appears to be, above all, a movement of quantitative expansion upon the new technical base already achieved. What begins to operate to a greater or lesser extent in such a case, whatever the actual structure of capital, is a law whereby the demand for labor rises in the same proportion as capital does. But just when the number of workers attracted by capital reaches its peak, the products become so plentiful that the social mechanism seems to have come to a standstill in case of the slightest obstacle arising in the way of their sale; it is the process of alienating labor by capital in great proportions and in the most violent way that comes into operation at once; the very disruption of production makes it imperative for capitalists to strain every nerve to save labor. Detailed improvements building up little by little are concentrated under that high pressure, so to speak; they find themselves embodied in the technological modifications which revolutionize the structure of capital throughout the entire periphery of major areas of production. (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 49, pp. 220-221, Russian edition.)

Consequently, the slowdown of technological progress (which Marx describes as occurring in "intervals") creates a wide range of contradictions which can not be resolved except through accelerated technological progress and another technological revolution. Technological revolutions bring forth new sectors and speed up the overall pace of reproduction. But as new sectors gain momentum, technological modifications become less notable and more ordinary. That leads, once again, to a slowdown of reproduction and to

sustained periods of crisis and depression. Technological progress concentrates on labor-saving devices. The "high pressure" of overaccumulation of capital and mass unemployment thus created causes the technological base to be revolutionized again. That closes the circuit. And in that respect, Marx meant a movement outrunning the limits of an ordinary cycle. New sectors are not created in a matter of years, and the succession of phases which differ from each other by the intensity and direction of technological progress can not be confined within the framework of one decade.

Capital Composition and Rate of Profit

Long-term fluctuations of technological progress are reflected in the structure of capital. One can see from the foregoing passage that Marx considered the increased organic composition of capital as a trend operating periodically. On the one hand, "the purely quantitative extension of the factories absorbs not only the men thrown out of work, but also fresh contingents" (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 454). On the other hand, at a certain stage of technological revolution, when conservation of living and objectified labor becomes the major trend of technological progress, productivity outpaces the capital-to-labor ratio, with elements of fixed capital growing cheaper at a faster rate. Marx highlighted various methods of "economizing due to the unending improvement of machines" so that "their cost, although rising in net figures, falls relative to the growing expansion of production and the magnitude of variable capital or the mass of labor force set in motion." He also noted the "economy achieved through inventions." (*CW*, Vol. 25, Part I, pp. 92, 94 and 115.)

Marx made a special point of discussing "transient fluctuations" in the operation of the law of the trend for the rate of profit to decline. Owing to a set of counteracting factors, this trend "is really manifest only under certain circumstances and within lasting periods of time" (*Ibid.*, pp. 239, 262). Without limiting himself to a theoretical examination of the issue, he indicated three historical periods in the development of Britain when the general rate of profit had either

been stable or was on the rise: The time of the initial introduction of machinery in the latter half of the eighteenth century — “the period of fast and furious activity” when, as Marx said, the “extraordinary profits” of mechanized production units were a “source of accelerated accumulation” (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 450); 1797-1813, when the rate of profit rose due to a sharp extension of the working day, increasingly cheap factory-made goods and the fall of real wages below their normal average level; and, finally, 1835-1865, when technological progress picked up again and the intensification of labor became the primary source of exploitation while the wide spread of corporate property for the first time began to obstruct the levelling of the general rate of profit. (Ibid., p. 461; Vol. 26, Part II, pp. 510-511; Vol. 25, Part I, p. 254.)

Marx linked these temporary periods of rise of the general rate of profit with the passing influence of counteracting factors and with the fact that the law behind the growth of the organic structure of capital was ultimately making its way. One factor that contributed to it was the general deterioration of conditions for the realization of surplus value, which was inevitable after the wave of major investment touched off by the definite establishment of new sectors and new technologies of production had subsided.

The Profit Rate and Turning Points

Long-term fluctuations of the rate of profit are reflected in general rates of expanded reproduction and capital accumulation. With a rising rate of profit, the production growth rates quicken, while a sustained decline of the rate of profit tends to slow accumulation and economic growth, but within certain limits. An excessive rise of the rate of profit discourages capitalists from introducing technical innovations, and, conversely, a fall of the rate of profit below a certain minimum compels capitalists to resort to new technology as a way out.

Whenever the general rate of profit is low, the old technical base of production morally wears out and an opportunity for fundamental innovation presents itself. But in this case, too, capitalists act with caution: A new technological

revolution begins with installation of machinery which enables individual production costs to be reduced, above all at the expense of living labor. Only in the second place, with overall conditions of realization improved, are new types of goods launched, giving rise to new sectors and to a “quantitative extension of factories.”

In the opening stages of the technological revolution, while individual capitalists are still using the inventions which are not yet in general use, the overall rate of profit goes up. That happens, as Marx stated, because the “temporary, but always recurring elevations in surplus-value above the general level, which keep occurring now in this and now in that line of production” are among the reasons slowing down the fall of the rate of profit subject to levelling (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 228). But subsequently, once an innovation has become a common asset, the additional surplus value disappears, while the profit derived from secondary modification and partial modernization of the new machinery is substantially lower than it is when this machinery is installed for the first time. Consequently, at a certain stage of the technological revolution, the general rate of profit must fall again.

Lenin amplified Marx’s analysis with a reference to the contradictory interaction of trends towards technological stagnation and accelerated development in the context of monopoly capitalism. He also showed that a further rise in the growth rates of productive forces expedited concentration of production and contributed to transforming relations of production within the framework of the capitalist mode of production. In other words, long-term fluctuations of technological progress exhibit the effect of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism — the contradiction between labor and capital, progressively creating the prerequisites for a revolutionary transition to a higher level of societal development.

Great Depression to Current Crisis

Marx’ and Lenin’s theory has been abundantly vindicated by capitalist realities of the last few decades. The period of the “Great Depression” of the ‘30s in no way meant a total stagna-

tion in the technology of production. In those days conveyer belts and other methods of mass production were introduced in the U.S. At first, those technical innovations contributed nothing beyond mass unemployment and a sharpening of the crisis. But as state monopoly control and social gains of the working people improved conditions for realization of the social product, isolated technological innovations merged into a flood of technological revolution. Extensive use of petroleum and synthetics, large-scale automation, the spread of television, a revolution in air and sea navigation, introduction of computers — these and many other things determined the increased growth rates of production in the '40s, '50s and '60s. The sectoral structure of the economy and the character of interindustry relations changed radically.

Bourgeois economists saw nothing but sheer "miracles" and unending "prosperity" on the surface of those developments. But a deep-going process of change was affecting the structure of capital. In the course of three decades, from 1935 to 1965, the social productivity of labor in the United States rose faster than ever in the preceding hundred years. Initially, until 1946, that did not bring a corresponding rise in the capital-to-labor ratio. In other words, the relationship between fixed and variable capital temporarily changed to the latter's advantage because productive capacities were used to a fuller extent and the labor force was relatively cheap. That brought about a drastic reduction of the capital output ratio and a substantial rise in the general rate of profit. The rate of profit increased, not only compared with the '20s and '30s, when production growth rates were low, but also compared with the more prosperous period of the early twentieth century.

From 1946 on, rapid growth of the capital-to-labor ratio resumed and, furthermore, began once more to outstrip the growth of productivity. The quantitative enlargement of the field of application of new machinery and technology played a growing role alongside qualitative technological change. The long-standing trend for the organic structure of capital to rise, for the capital-output ratio to increase and for the general rate of profit

to fall slowly, if surely, resumed in those circumstances. The groundwork for the present structural crisis of capitalist reproduction was laid in that period.

From 1965 on there was also a change in the evolution of productivity: Its growth rate fell drastically and dropped below its long-term average performance. And that despite the continued accelerated rise in the capital-to-labor ratio. In other words, a period of drastic reduction of the efficiency of production set in. As the organic composition of capital grew, workers were displaced from production at a faster rate, and real incomes went into a long decline. In spite of the increased rate of surplus value, the rate of profit dropped below its long-term average. All this predetermined the current decline of the general economic growth rates.

Technology, Computers and Armaments

Monopoly capitalism has been looking mostly for cost-cutting devices as a way out of its long-term difficulties. The main trend in monopoly activities in the '70s and early '80s was to use labor-saving technology. Industrial robots, designed to further reduce the demand for living labor and take automation a stage ahead, gained currency for the first time. The auto industry pioneered the application of robots (just as it had pioneered conveyer-belt production half a century before). But, as in the '30s, labor-saving technologies, while fostering mass unemployment, could not by themselves bring about a turning point in the long-term evolution of social reproduction.

A further distinguishing feature of the present-day protracted slowdown of technological progress is that despite substantial and even rapidly-growing appropriations for research and development, the leading capitalist countries are experiencing a clear shortage of resources needed to develop and put into production new types of consumer and general civilian goods. It is a matter of common knowledge that preceding technological revolutions developed in full measure only when they embraced the area of *final consumption and general conditions of production*. For example, new consumer essentials and dura-

bles, the development of air transport into a common medium of communication, the construction of ocean-going ships of a fundamentally new type and unprecedented capacity, installation of telephones on a mass scale and so on acted as "locomotives" of progress in the technological revolution of the '50s and '60s.

At present, for all the abundance of ingenious yet still costly and little-accessible new gadgets, like home computers, new methods for the propagation of information, as well as progress in automating clerical work, one can not so far see any clear outlines of a new technological revolution in the final product.

What is quite clear is the projected — for decades ahead — development of new, yet more destructive and dangerous types of weaponry and military hardware. The transnational military-industrial complex is rather effective in its drive to make one generation of military hardware follow another without any pause that would cause a let-up in the dynamic growth of war industry. More often than not missiles, bombers and other types of military technology become obsolete, as experts admit, even before their deployment is complete. The unending modernization of existing weaponry and the incessant search for new areas of the arms race draw off a wealth of resources, including the limited creative potential of scientific and designing thought.

Militarization and the monopolies' ambition to automate are the secret of the paradoxical situation in which technological progress finds itself in the leading capitalist countries. State monopoly capitalism not only has proved unable to meet the *social consequences* of the technological revolution, but has twisted the *fundamental direction* of the progress of the productive forces.

A lot is heard about the revolution in information: the development of the megabit chip, artificial intelligence, optical character readers, wonderful discoveries in biotechnology and genetic engineering. All this will, beyond doubt, help create new types of civilian products, discover new types of raw materials and energy and make what is today within the reach of only some individuals accessible for common consumption. But can capitalism give free scope to these social

needs in the interest of humanity? That is very much open to question.

Conservative and Liberal Recipes

In the meantime, the working people have far more pressing problems to resolve: enough jobs, adequate wages and decent conditions of life and work. To have all that, it is necessary to overcome the present structural crisis of the capitalist economy.

It is not by chance that the structural crisis should have become an object of dramatic ideological and political controversy. The policy document adopted by the 23rd Convention of the Communist Party of the United States in November 1983 emphasized that the nation was experiencing a "triple crisis" — cyclical, structural and general crisis of capitalism. The argument about the structural crisis of the national economies has likewise been characteristic of the political documents of the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Greece and other fraternal parties. They do not confine themselves to ideologically pointed exposures of the immanent flaws of capitalism and a determination to theoretically grasp the processes occurring in it. They look for real ways out of the crisis in the interest of the working people. Not a single political party can avoid answering the question of what has to be done in the face of economic contradictions and how to embark on a path to well-balanced, rather than lopsided, development. The answer shows in whose class interest the party operates.

Conservatives, whether the Reaganites in the U.S., Thatcherites in Britain, partisans of the administrative-financial reform in Japan, the governing coalition in West Germany, etc., are, as a rule, trying to ignore or deny the very fact of a protracted crisis. Their line in the field of economic policy is to try to sit out a long crisis, allowing the mechanism of mass unemployment and pressure on the working people to clear the ground for yet another upturn. The forces of reaction are out to escape an accentuation of class contradictions and a social explosion by stepping up the militarization of the economy, heightening international tensions and whipping up chauvinistic propaganda. This policy contains a

drift toward fascism and is fraught with the danger of a nuclear disaster. It has behind it the military-industrial complex and the most reactionary section of the transnational financial oligarchy.

Liberal and reformist elements acknowledge the crisis and some even admit its sustained and structural character. Their most widespread remedy for the crisis is to revert to somewhat refurbished Keynesian methods of regulation of aggregate demand, together with international coordination of economic policies, which is considered essential. This variant is promoted in its various modifications by the liberal wing of the transnational bourgeoisie (for instance, by the Trilateral Commission) or by the Socialist International (final declaration adopted at its latest congress in Portugal in 1983). So far these remedies have actually been used in very few places. In France, the economic policy of the Left-wing government has been blocked by Right-wing forces. Internationally, coordination fails as it is turned down by the conservatives in power in leading capitalist countries.

Bourgeois economists talk a lot about the necessity of a "structural" policy. Secretary General van Lennep of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development admits, "we find ourselves faced not just by cyclical problems, but also by a sustained crisis of a structural character." The Italian magazine *Spettatore Internazionale* even declares the present economic crisis to be a "general crisis of disproportions."

But in actual practice, the structural policy recommended and applied by governing quarters resolves itself into attempts to increase the particular nation's competitive power on the world market by subsidizing selected sectors and production units, closing down "depressed" branches of production and transferring them to developing countries, bringing increased pressure to bear on the living standards of the working people.

Within the European Economic Community this plan has closed scores of steel plants "according to a common plan," while Japan, as the *Financial Times* says, witnesses what the paper describes as a structural paradox, with one part of her industry dying and other sectors undergoing

something like a second industrial revolution. In other words, the structural policy of capitalist governments purports to remedy the long-term problems of the monopolistic bourgeoisie at the expense of the rights and living standards of the working people.

The Progressive Way Out Of the Crisis

It is the program to overcome the crisis proposed by progressive opinion that is bound to be the most effective one from the standpoint of the interests of the mass of the people. It is geared to stimulating scientific and technological progress — not just any progress, but that which fosters development of fundamentally new trends capable of ensuring stable economic growth and creating more jobs, while improving the efficiency of production. This implies not only dropping the capitalist accent on labor-saving technology, intensification of work and maximization of profit, but also halting the arms race, switching the resources of society to basic and applied research essential to civilian production, resolving major problems in the area of power supply, preserving the environment and raising the people's living standards. From the standpoint of progressive opinion, it is inconceivable that the present crisis can be overcome without carrying through deep-going socio-economic reforms and other changes that would limit the role of the military-industrial complex and transnational corporations in the economic field and implement democratic principles of economic management.

An all-round evaluation of the contradictions of capitalism at this juncture is a matter of extreme relevance in our Party's theoretical work too. This is essential, furthermore, for a better understanding of the economic foundations of the domestic and foreign policies of capitalist states and for a review of the prospect for the contest and struggle of the two social systems. Of special importance in this context is to consider the crisis development in modern capitalist economies in their totality, that is, not only the contradictions of cyclical reproduction but also, which is no less important, the structural crisis and its various symptoms, including uneven technological progress under capitalism.

Kings, Dukes and Humbugs — The Afghan Counterrevolution

PHILIP BONOSKY

It didn't take me a long time to make up my mind that these liars warn't no kings nor dukes at all, but just low-down humbugs and frauds.

—*The Adventures of Huckleberry*
Mark Twain

But exactly who are the counterrevolutionaries? In fact, is it correct to use the term at all?

Nothing about the war was simple to define for the counterrevolutionaries, including what to call themselves. It was clear that the war itself was defining them. But meanwhile, the question remained: Who were these men coming out of Pakistan in the dark of night to fall on a peaceful Afghan village, which they then put to fire, and to kill (after torture) those villagers who resisted?

Chided image-conscious President Reagan, addressing some newsmen: "You've used the term 'Afghan rebels' and sometimes I think the Soviet Union has been successful in their propaganda with getting us to use terms that essentially are incorrect." Having gotten the attention of the newsmen by this not so subtle hint that they had been duped by "Soviet propaganda," Reagan went on to elucidate: "Those are freedom fighters. Those are people fighting for their own country and not wanting to become a satellite state of the Soviet Union, which came in and established a government of its choosing there, without regard to the feelings of the Afghans." (*New York Times*, Mar. 11, 1981.)

J. Edgar Hoover had called his Communist villains "semantic saboteurs." Somewhat semantically jumbled as it came to those Soviet-duped reporters from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, et al., still the idea was clear: Mr. Reagan, a champion of "packaging" the

truth (as he would later make equally clear) is also a purist in political "semantics." Freedom-fighters, *not* rebels, and certainly not counterrevolutionaries. Not even "guerrillas." And "bandits"!

The term the counterrevolutionaries gave themselves might have somewhat discomfited President Reagan also — "holy warriors," *mujahaddin*. Nevertheless:

"This is a Jihad, a holy war," the commander of the camp [in "rebel-held Afghanistan"], a *mullah*, or Moslem priest from the area said. "For all Islamic countries fighting Communism it is a holy war." (John Kifner, *New York Times*, Jan. 9, 1980.)

"They wanted to send everybody to their classes, even the old men and women with 10 children, so we killed the teacher, who was a Communist, and fled," a guerrilla said, explaining what happened in his village. (Ibid.)

Peshawar, Pakistan, would be the center of counterrevolutionary politics: All the groups had their headquarters or representatives there. In fact, what happened in Peshawar was to prove more important to their futures than what happened in the mountain valleys of Afghanistan. Born in fierce inter-group rivalry, their mutual hostility reached its peak soon after December 1979, and the attempts (begun in January 1979) to weld together the disparate elements of the counterrevolution into one effective political and military force (a "Committee of Struggle") then and afterwards inevitably foundered on the rock of personal ambition, tribal rivalry and naked lust for power. Though the generally agreed upon goal was to establish an Islamic republic in Afghanistan, the means to achieve it proved to be extremely brittle.

Exactly how to characterize these and other combatants puzzled correspondents like Tyler Marshall of the *Los Angeles Times*, who had

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been looking into the various counterrevolutionary groupings that came into existence like summer midges, particularly after the December 1979 events (though some had already been functioning since April 1978). Looking closely at these various groupings, Marshall would find himself at odds with his typewriter. Though his ideological "sympathies" pointed west, his facts went east. "How much of the success against government forces is the result of banditry is impossible to determine. Guerrilla groups often form brief ad hoc alliances with local tribesmen to attack an army installation or road traffic in return for a share of the goods." (Loot?) (*Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 2, 1980.)

Tass, quoting *Agence France Presse*, would report (June 15, 1981) that a scandal had broken out within the Islamic Revolutionary Movement; its leader, Maulvi Nabi Mohammed, had been accused by Nasrullah Mansoor of having stolen \$300,000 from the "sacred war fund." Maulvi Nabi Mohammed managed to retain his post, however, boasting of a following of some 25,000, though the figure, possibly inflated to bolster his claims for money and arms, has to be taken cautiously. Very reactionary in his political orientation, he claims the support of "ulemas, tribal chiefs, landlords, pirs and sufis." (*Arabia*, April 1982.)

Bandits? It seemed to fit some of them at least. Barbarians? One can imagine the teacher "who was a Communist" might have thought so as he watched strips of skin flayed off his back before the final blackout.

But the problem of just what to call whom was solved, according to Sayed Ahmad Gailani, the leader of the National Front of Islamic Revolution, the day the Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. That event instantly transformed "bandits" into "holy warriors," and in Washington to "freedom fighters." "Formerly," according to the same Sayed Ahmad Gailani, "those we were fighting were Moslems and Afghans. Now we know who we are killing, and we will do it to our heart's content." (*Ibid.*)

But "formerly...we were fighting Moslems and Afghans"? What could he have meant by

that, since one assumed oppression had come upon the country only with the Russians?

Oh, but they had tasted much, much Afghan blood before! Although the impression has been sedulously cultivated in the West that it was the Soviet entry into Afghanistan that galvanized these counterrevolutionaries into action with "Allah-o-akhbar!" on their lips, the truth, as is usually the case, concerning pre-revolutionary Afghanistan particularly, is otherwise.

At least three of the most active counterrevolutionary leaders — Burhanuddin Rabani, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Sebogatullah — began their careers as counterrevolutionaries much earlier — earlier even than Taraki's coming to power in April 1978.

Some of them had gone into opposition when Daoud overthrew King Mohammad Zahir Shah in 1973, for they had been royalists. Daoud had declared Afghanistan a republic and proposed a number of social reforms, and this was enough to send these worthies into a bloody rage. Bloody, because in their minds murder and assassination were considered prime weapons in ending or restoring political power. As royalists they could not imagine that the people should have any say in these matters.

So they wanted to restore the King. But even they had enemies. For there were fundamentalists — the Moslem Brotherhood — among the counterrevolutionaries so extreme that they considered even the King to have betrayed Islamic principles, and their aim was to create an "Islamic state" governed by the clergy. This "state" would be such a throwback to the past that Europe's Dark Ages would seem like the Age of Enlightenment by contrast.

So who they were and what they were remained a problem. Their motives were different, and often opposed to each others, and their aims were different. But the entry of the Soviets into Afghanistan did confront the disparate "holy warriors" with not only a more serious military problem but an even more serious political one.

They would be fighting now not just "Afghans and Moslems," who were actually illiterate

peasants armed by the government to protect their land. Some of these they managed to terrorize and confuse. But they would now face an organized body of soldiers, and though the Soviets would serve mainly as a backup to the reorganized Afghan troops, a "reserve," as [President Babrak] Karmal characterized them, still their presence was a solid fact that had to be taken into serious consideration.

Secondary matters of tribal loyalty, regional attachments and inter-group rivalry and jealousy now hampered matters more than ever. Over and over the various leaders of the armed groups were urged by their Washington advisers to set all differences aside and unite into one disciplined army. But how were these groups of "warriors," suspicious of one another, milling around Peshawar, attacking each other not only with words but on more and more occasions with guns — how were they going to unite?

Still, they tried: "Afghan rebel leaders have held private meetings here this week with much talk about unity, but the goal of a common political and military front for the rebels appears as elusive as ever." (Marvin Howe, *New York Times*, May 30, 1980, from Peshawar.)

It would seem that with the "enemy" invading the country it should not have been difficult to convince like-minded patriots to set aside their differences and rise as one man to throw back the oppressor. But it became increasingly clear, as time wore on, that the various groups could not agree on who would get how much of the spoils after victory. It is interesting to note that they spoke most often of the defense of Islam against the infidel, and not the defense of country. For it was the *devil* they were fighting, and as is often the case when one is fighting the invisible devil, one tends to find him everywhere, even among one's friends and allies, even in oneself.

As for the country, they saw it not as their homeland, but only as the intangible framework within which their great estates had once existed and had been expropriated by the devil. They wanted a social system reclaimed, not a country. "Country" as a modern concept did not exist for them.

This much, however, they grasped. With the

Soviets now in the country they could no longer depend on slipping into hamlets asleep at night and slicing the throats of the peasants' leaders who had helped distribute the land — and then out again into the hills. Terror was now not enough.

So, from holy warriors they transformed themselves — after January 1980 — into holy salesmen, and began to visit friendly capitals of the world where they presented themselves as being able to sell a better war than their competitors.

This same Sayed Ahmad Gailani would hot-foot it to Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) early in January with that aim very much in view:

"We hope the Moslem world as well as the Free World [he didn't explain the difference] will realize we are fighting a just cause. Many nations have condemned the Russian aggression, but I hope they are convinced they should now support us *materially* too." (*Ibid.* My italics—PB.)

A year later, in February 1981, this same Sayed Ahmad Gailani would turn up with a companion, Moarubi, in Washington, where he had come to discuss getting arms — specifically, ground-to-air missiles — for his Islamic Revolutionary Front Warriors. And though the White House issued no statements commemorating the visit, Gailani himself had no qualms about telling the press that he had had a "very useful exchange of views on all aspects of the Afghan situation" with "high-ranking State Department officials." His language was already diplomatically circumspect, but clearly hinted at entry into potent quarters where his views were respectfully listened to. Perhaps it was mere coincidence, but in due course the counterrevolutionaries would be boasting that they were bringing down Soviet helicopters with just such missiles as Gailani had come shopping for in Washington.

Soviet sources would reveal that another leader of the counterrevolutionary grouping, Professor Burhanuddin Rabani, head of the Jamaat-i-Islami Party, had been "linked with the special services of Pakistan and the American CIA since 1973" (when the King was ousted). Tass revealed

that Rabani was getting money from the United States and Saudi Arabia "through Oman, where an account has been opened in an Omani bank in the name of Tufail Mohammed, a close associate of Rabani." (Tass, April 23, 1981.)

The Jamaat-i-Islami Party was very active in Kashmir, where it had more than 30,000 members and apparently limitless funds. It conducted schools for free — apparently from the 8.5 million rupees it received as a "donation" to its cause from Saudi Arabia and the USA. In Kashmir, India, a stretch of land close to China, it is behind the chronic religious battles, as well as inspiring demands for "autonomy" from India. Arson, assassinations, riots — the party is expert in creating chaos where an uncertain peace had reigned before. In any case, it was an open tool of Zia both in the Kashmir and in Afghanistan, and it was no organization an honest fighter for Islam would want to become part of, as the following story bears out.

In August 1980 the Afghanistan Foreign Ministry called a press conference (as it does from time to time) to introduce to the press its latest counterrevolutionary prisoner who had seen the error of his ways and was ready to tell the journalists about it.

One can choose to look at such testimony any way he wants. Obviously, all testimony given under duress is assumed to be tainted, no matter how sincere the repentance or how true the facts reported.

In any case, one such recently-captured counterrevolutionary, Mohsen Rezai by name, had something to say to the press on August 17, 1980 in Kabul. I take the following account from *Pravda*.

"Under the influence of the Islamic revolution in Iran [Mohsen Rezai is an Iranian citizen], I wished to take part in the struggle against American imperialism and Israeli Zionism and so I asked Bahbani [whom he had contacted] to assist me in going to Palestine to help the Palestinian people. Instead, he introduced me to an Afghan, Hussein. They both started telling me that in Afghanistan, just as in Palestine, the struggle for Islam is going on, as they said, against Communist unbelievers.

"Hussein brought me to the city of Meshed where he introduced me to one of the leaders of Jamiat-i-Islami, a certain Deldu. Thus, I became involved through deception in the struggle against the Afghan people, siding in fact with American imperialism. . . ."

He had set out to fight the Zionists in Palestine and had wound up fighting the Afghans in Afghanistan! "It became clear to me," he said, "that the struggle inside Afghanistan which was imposed by the imperialists is directed at restoring the old order in the country. The heads of the anti-government groupings are planning to return to rich people everything the people's power had taken away from them."

It is not unusual for an ordinary citizen of an Islamic country to speak familiarly of "imperialism," nor does he need to attend advanced classes in Marxism to acquire that language. To most of the world "imperialism" is a living reality, and in ex-colonial countries the distinction between the rich and poor is sharply drawn. What may sound like "propaganda" to an American ear (lulled by tales of American benevolence abroad) is breakfast language to an aware peasant whose heritage is the bitter one of poverty and suffering.

Meanwhile, Tyler Marshall of the *Los Angeles Times* came away with a number of conclusions: "While rebel leaders are reluctant to discuss the results of the renewed plea for help, there are indications that at least in certain Moslem countries the idea of aiding the rebels materially is being discussed more seriously than at any time in the past." (*Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 2, 1980.)

But there was always that one major obstacle — the different organizations could not get together. The divisions appear to be mainly personality clashes couched in vague ideological terms. Sometimes poor relations between groups are ascribed simply to differences in tactics. "The leader of every rebel group wants to be king of Afghanistan," said Azia Ulfat, the cultural committee chief of a breakaway faction of the Peshawar-based Hezbi-Islamic Afghanistan. . . . In the

field this lack of cooperation often has been disastrous. There are numerous accounts of rebels from one organization standing by rather than aiding guerrillas from another group under attack." (Ibid.)

"The Russians are trying to annihilate us," said Maulvi Mohammed Yunus Khalis, leader of one of six insurgent groups in the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan. "They use napalm and gas bombs. There is not a single day when they do not bomb villages full of civilians. But they still do not control the countryside and they are not even safe in Kabul." (Nicholas Gage, *New York Times*, July 20, 1980.)

So said Yunus, always quotable. But should his naked word be believed? Well:

... one night when a tribal chieftain who had come to a village was told by some local people that if he wanted arms he should contact the forces of Yunus Khalis, a leader of a guerrilla faction. The local chieftain, a white-bearded patriarch of about 70, scorned the advice. "Does anyone know who the father of this Yunus Khalis even was?" he asked in contempt. (*New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1981.)

Well, the "father" of Yunus Khalis, as well as of the others, was the CIA, though the paternity, as is usual in such cases, is not too willingly acknowledged.

Nevertheless, there were others who knew him only too well: Wali Mohammad, for instance. Captured by the Afghan government forces, he revealed:

"I spent a year in an area called Soddar Bazaar in Peshawar. Lectures on the ways and means of killing were given four times a week by military advisers from the United States, China and the Federal Republic of Germany.

"We belonged to a group headed by Mohammad Yunus Khalis. He and his cohorts taught me only one thing — terrorism, murder and the creation of an atmosphere of fear and anxiety in Afghanistan.

"There we received practical training in the burning of schools and hospitals and in the demolition of bridges and buildings. I participated in burning the Khwaja Mussa-

fir and Qala Wajid schools. We had weapons and explosives supplied by Khalis." (From *The True Face of Afghan Counter-Revolution*, published by *Haqiqat Enqelab Suar*, edited by Mahmoud Baryalai, 1982).

In 1982, Alexander Sukhoparov would report from Kabul that another of Yunus Khalis' "holy warriors," Muhammad Mubin, after being captured, confessed:

"We operated on the Quandahar-Farar Highway. Our main hideout, however, was in the Tchab Mountains [which is why the local people called them 'Tchab bandits'] . . . We got weapons and ammunition from Pakistan, and in return sent money and valuables we had seized from the peaceful citizens. We often robbed unescorted buses, cars and trucks on the highway." (*Moscow News*, No. 37, 1982.)

Busy cutting throats as the quick way to get hold of necklaces, such gangs sometimes forgot the nobler reason for their activities. The political side of their highwaymanship often eluded them.

A *New York Times* reporter, writing from Peshawar, noted in March 1980:

Depending on whom you ask, there are between 40 and 100 different armed insurgent groups operating throughout Afghanistan. If they are temporarily refraining from shooting at one another, it is because they have more inviting and hapless targets: The Soviet Army and its crumbling Afghan counterpart. (James P. Sterba, Mar. 3, 1980.)

He goes on to say:

Too many rebel leaders envision themselves as Afghanistan's emerging ayatollah and they have been unwilling to allow the practical benefits of coordination to cloud their vision.

Intelligence analysts in Pakistan [who seem so very garrulous and confiding, traits not usually associated with 'intelligence' sources] have little information about insurgent groups operating in western Afghanistan but believe that Iranians are helping to supply them in the eastern regions, nearest Pakistan. Pushtun rebels have lived up to their centuries-old tradition of fractiousness, although as a majority of Afghani-

stan's population they have most to gain from unifying. (*Ibid.*)

James P. Sterba, who had looked the "rebels" over closely, came up with some unorthodox reactions: "The best-known and most discredited [!] of the insurgent groups are those with rear bases in Peshawar. Theirs has been a game of king on the mountain that diplomats expect will break into internecine warfare if and when Soviet troops pull out of their homeland." (*New York Times*, March 3, 1980.)

If one reads this correctly, one can reasonably deduce from it that Soviet troops should make a point of staying in Afghanistan if for no other reason than to keep the various "rebel" groups from each other's throats!

But to go on:

Most of the groups want to turn Afghanistan into an orthodox Islamic state. The largest and most fundamentalist of them is Hezbe-i-Islam, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan. It is headed by a former engineering student at Kabul University named Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, whose piety is manifested in a facial expression that foreigners have never seen creased in a smile.

A rival group, the United Islamic National Revolutionary Council, is headed by Sayed Ahmad Gailani. He is noted for having close ties with the ousted king. ["Ousted" in 1973.] (*Ibid.*)

Whether piety is to be detected in an unsmiling face, or whether a close tie with an ousted king is the most distinguished achievement one can point to, it should be noted that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar at least had further recommendations, which he expressed in other, perhaps more smiling, ways. Openly identified as an agent of Pakistan's secret service, he considered his own grouping (Hezbe-i-Islam) to be a part of the Jamiat-i-Islami (Islamic Society), on which General Zia ul-Haq leans so heavily for support. Hekmatyar has the further distinction of having spent two years (1970-1972) in prison for the assassination of a fellow student. His chief source of funds is to be found in Saudi Arabia. His outstretched hand will not be unknown in Washington either.

Connected with the notorious "Moslem

Brotherhood" gang, Hekmatyar had not sprung, like some of the others, fully grown from the head of the CIA in April 1979. Expelled from military school for homosexuality, he had long been involved in subversion, including against President Daoud in 1975 because he considered Daoud (as did the Shah of Iran and the American "experts" there) as "dangerously leftist," according to Selig Harrison (*New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1980).

According to Fred Halliday (*New York Times*, May 18, 1979), Hekmatyar's party makes no bones about the fact that it "calls in its program for the reinforcement of purdah restrictions," which would mean that the thousands of women who have cast off their veils would have to put them on again and return to their ghettos.

Not incidentally, it was the Hizbe Islami that passed out photos to newsmen showing the *mujahaddin* shooting "Communist high-school teachers" near Farah in southern Afghanistan (*New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1980). Other photos showing "Communist high-school teachers" with their feet tied to the bumpers of trucks being dragged to their deaths were not published in the West, in order to spare the squeamish stomachs of readers.

One of the rare instances on record of what the counterrevolution will do if it regains power over the country was reported by UPI (Feb. 14, 1980). A spokesman for Hekmatyar's Hizbe-Islami claimed that it had retaken the town of Share Jadid in Baghian province, and, says UPI: "The spokesman said the new government was returning the land nationalized in land reform campaigns. . . . The rebels seized the cotton-processing Springer Company and 'put to fire' all 'Communist' workers and officers, the spokesman said." The workers and officers, whose "Communism" was presumably easily readable in their faces, were burned together with the plant.

It is also to Hekmatyar that we owe precise information on the dollar value placed on lives of peasants who opposed him. By 1983, his money problems solved by the generosity of Saudi Arabia and his American friends, he would pub-

lish — or make known — what the going rates for murder and assassination in that part of the world were — and by local standards they were munificent indeed.

According to two of Hekmatyar's former supporters — Abdul Gaffar and Nazrullah — Hekmatyar was ready to pay any "holy warrior" who could prove his claims, the following:

- For every Afghan army soldier killed — 5,000 to 7,000 afghani. (How did one prove he had killed a soldier? He brought in an ear — anybody's ear — man, woman or child — as they had done in Vietnam to prove a "Cong" had been killed.)

- For every Party activist (a more important bag): 10,000 to 15,000 afghani.

- For every Army officer (still more important): 30,000 afghani.

- For every destroyed tank — 100,000 afghani. (*New Times*, No. 13, 1983.)

In 1980, 43-47 afghani were worth one American dollar, officially. The average *annual* income of an Afghan peasant was hardly more than 8,600 afghani. You could get a year's pay or more in one afternoon!

The paymaster for these "ears" was, among others, the American Afghan Relief Committee, with its bank (American Express Bank) in Basle, Switzerland, where \$150,000 of a donation of \$300,000 was deposited to Hekmatyar's account. Hekmatyar's financial problems were understandably minimal. Toyota even relieved him of the worry about getting a new car — the company donated him one, as a promotional stunt.

As for Gailani, Selig Harrison, in the January 13 (1980) issue of the *New York Times*, would call him "more of a businessman than a practicing saint," the source of whose counterrevolutionary passion could be located in the fact that the revolution had "dispossessed him of his lands and properties." A man like that, who is also head of the Quaddriya sect of Islam, shunned by the Sunni and Shiite Muslims as heretical, a one-time Peugeot car dealer in Kabul, finds it difficult to convince Muslims of his other-worldliness, especially with "his two glamorous, jet-setting daughters."

A monarchist, he himself points to the fact

that his father was hanged for resisting Afghan independence in 1919.

In fact, so notorious was the inter-group fighting (in which Hekmatyar's forces played a leading part) that it wasn't long before the real reason for it was discovered: the hand of Moscow. In September, Michael T. Kaufman would report from New Delhi that, "Amid widespread reports that the Soviet-backed Afghan government is exploiting old tribal vendettas to divide the Islamic rebels, one insurgent leader (Mohammad Amin Wakman) today in New Delhi told of violent fighting between his men and other Islamic guerrillas." (*New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1980.)

Why should they fight each other? The answer was forthcoming. Quoting an "Afghan exile" — a most remarkable "exile" indeed, with "access to both rebels and [Afghan] government officials" — this "insurgent leader" reported that his informant had told him that the Soviets had worked out a plan to infiltrate the rebel groups with "people between 14 and 22" who "are being paid \$162 a month — more than deputy ministers were paid before the Soviet intervention" (and more than most Afghans made in a year) to pit one group of rebels against the other.

And indeed, it seems that one of those rebel groups which had been so successfully infiltrated — whether by the 14-year-olds or the 22-year-olds or a combination of both isn't specified — was none other than the most fundamentalist, most militant and unyielding of all the "rebel" groups, Hekmatyar's own Hezbi Islami group!

One night, presumably on Moscow's orders, his men fell on Wakman's group and the battle raged all night. At dawn, 13 of Wakman's rebels lay dead and 32 of Hekmatyar's. And what reason had Hekmatyar given for attacking this group, which was also pledged to the same goal of liberating Afghanistan from Soviet occupation? "They call us third-class Communists," said Wakman unhappily.

Mohammad Amin Wakman, it seems, heads a group which is called the Afghan Social Democratic Party. Wakman protested: "We are all good Moslems and we also are fighting against the

Russians." (*Ibid.*)

But there was no room in the holy war for a united front with the Social Democratic Party! To fundamentalists who dreamed of driving women back into their pre-revolutionary subservience a Wakman who believed in the education of women was no better — perhaps worse — than the Communists themselves!

From not too great a distance it looked more like gang warfare in Peshawar than a war of liberation in Afghanistan.

As late as May 1983 the *New York Times* military analyst, Drew Middleton, whose pipelines to the military top brass and the CIA are generally unclogged, in an article conceding that "experts in [the] West appear to favor the Soviet Union" as winning the war, put forth their reasons for thinking this. The main one was still that the counterrevolutionaries "lack unity of command and training. Generations of tribal and personal enmities remain strong. After one recent operation in which two insurgent groups combined, the Afghan guerrillas fired on each other as freely as on the Russians, according to Western sources." (*New York Times*, May 1, 1983.) It was obviously more dangerous for some rebels to meet other fellow-rebels there on the street in Peshawar than it was to meet Afghan Army forces in the mountains, who at least did not kill you if you surrendered.

So much for cooperation in a holy cause.

In Iran, counterrevolutionary bases had also been organized after April 1978. Soon some 14 major ones had been set up where 1200 men could be trained at any one period. The Iranian newspaper, *Iranian Republic*, a supporter of Khomeini, revealed (June 30, 1980) that "these U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary groups comprise the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, headed by Younis Khalis, the National Liberation Front, Jamijat-a-Islami, the Islamic Revolutionary Movement, National Unity and Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan, which have been to Egypt. . . . All these groups are treacherous and mercenary . . . serving the U.S." (Quoted by *KAR International*, No. 6, Oct. 1981.)

But these "holy warriors" also dealt in drugs and in the arms traffic, and sometimes ended up

in prison or even at the wrong end of a firing squad, as was reported in November 1980 by the Iranian newspaper *Meshhed*, announcing the arrest and death sentences of nine persons, including two Afghans, for drug trafficking. But found on their persons were cards identifying them as Islamic fighters against the Russian "invaders." Reports of opium smuggling by such "revolutionaries" were a daily occurrence in Iran, but such allies in no way embarrassed the Americans.

Ever since the various groups, with their anarchic, wild and disordered leadership and irregular, not to say eccentric, forms of organization and leadership, made their appearance on the scene, it has been the main assignment of Robert Lessard, America's CIA man in Southeast Asia, to knock them together into some kind of united, organized front that would come to heel when they heard him whistle. But it was like caging the wind. He always failed. As the *U.S. News & World Report* put it, quoting "one authority": "Political factions are more concerned with their own images than with burying their differences and fighting the Russians in a unified manner."

They were also fearful that their lucrative businesses would end!

Even the CIA, in its Special Report No. 91, issued in December 1981, admitted, in a prose style where all the rhetoric went one way and all the facts the other, that, "The mujahaddin have made great strides in cooperating within a given area and have taken tentative steps toward establishing a coordinating leadership in council in common cause against the Soviets, but the resistance movement as a whole remains fragmented."

Not only "fragmented": "Furthermore, liberation forces occasionally [!] fight each other to establish territorial preeminence," or as another premature American *mujahaddin*, Al Capone, would have put it: "Keep out of South Chicago!"

Michael Kaufman was clear enough:

Peshawar, Pakistan, Aug. 30 (1981) — Somewhat like the forlorn policeman here who perfunctorily tries to wave and whistle the carts, buses, camels and humans of the bazaar into some kind of order, Afghan re-

bel leaders are for the fourth time in a year seeking to unite the major guerrilla organizations.

So far, neither the policeman nor the Afghans who are urging unity have had much luck. (*New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1981.)

What are the "rebels" like? Kaufman goes on:

Essentially, the fundamentalists are those groups that have localized regional constituencies. Their armies are extensions of old tribal and feudal militias. In these organizations, arms and patronage as well as orders and the spoils of war are distributed along traditionally hierarchic lines.

The moderates are those groups, such as Mr. [Mangal] Hussein's organization, that essentially lack a home turf. They claim to be political parties with transcendent ideologies that they say can in themselves unite the entire Afghan nation. Obviously the two types of organizations are fundamentally in competition.

In any case, all this has been troublesome in the extreme to the Afghan desk in the State Department. Its recipe: "To succeed, these efforts at coordination will require setting aside deep divisions between fundamentalists and moderates, traditionalists and leftists, tribal chieftains and

mullahs, Pushtu and minority ethnic groups, and among numerous rival tribes." (*Op. cit.*)

A tall order! If the "leftist" Social Democratic Party continued to object to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's warriors tying high school teachers to trucks and dragging them to death, it could never hope to find a common ground with them and would have no option itself but to sleep with one eye open at night, always with guns in easy reach!

And what "common ground" could they find with "Abdul Shukor [who] one night after evening prayers and after he had listened to the news in Pushtu on the BBC and music on Radio Tashkent . . . became melancholy and talked of his loneliness. . . . He said he had seen a girl at the Bannu camp who interested him. She was 12 — a good age, he said, but her family wanted 50,000 Pakistani rupees, or about \$5,000." (Jere Van Dye, *New York Times*, Dec. 31, 1981.)

Well, \$5,000 might have been a bit stiff to this "rebel" who, at a guessed-at age of 40, longed to play with 12-year olds! But such a price would not have stopped everyone. A spokesman for the Hezbe Islam rebel group laughed the problem away. "We have lots of cash coming in. It's coming from the U.S., the Moslem countries, Iran and Pakistan." (*Los Angeles Times*, Mar. 17, 1980.)

BOOK ENDS

Frozen Vision: A Cold Warrior's History of Communists in the 1930s

NORMAN MARKOWITZ

(Harvey Klehr, *The Hey-Day of American Communism*, Basic Books, New York, 1984.)

Harvey Klehr, a political scientist at Emory University whose previous study of the social background of American Communists was published by the Hoover Institution, has written a boring, turgid and often unintentionally amusing "history" of the CPUSA in the 1930s, a decade that continues to haunt the old and young cold warriors and red-baiters of today.

Although Klehr has done extensive work in primary and secondary sources, his attachment to the worst stereotypes of the cold-war scholarship of the 1950s; his ignorance, even by contemporary anti-Communist standards, of Marxism-Leninism as theory and practice; and his inability to organize and present his material in a reasonably coherent way should make this work something of an embarrassment to some of the more sophisticated red-baiters.

Here is a sample Klehr's hoary, conspiracy-centered view of how to interpret this important strand of American history:

In all periods of history the ultimate source of Party policy was the Soviet Union. Even when the Party's tracks are clear and seemingly autonomous, one must search for their Soviet sources.

The Soviet Union, needless to say, has no Freedom of Information Act, and has a long sorry history to fit the political imperatives of the moment and to expunge embarrassing facts. The Communist Party still survives and will continue to do so, but only as an historical relic, its aging members recalling those glorious years when they erroneously thought the future was theirs.

Indeed, while establishment scholars and politicians and conservative trade unionists in the past often tempered their anti-Communist analyses by conceding that Communists had organized trade unions, raised civil rights issues, fought for important reforms and contributed to the development of anti-fascist unity before and during World War II (even if these writers and politicians always saw conspiratorial purposes behind every Communist achievement), Klehr seeks to ignore or impugn every Party achievement in ways that make it impossible to understand the rise of the CIO, the labor-oriented reforms associated with the New Deal period, and the mobilization of millions of working people to oppose fascism at home and abroad.

Like most work based on blind prejudices (anti-Communism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-woman ideas) rather than a genuine theoretic

cal framework, reasoned analysis and a commonsense approach to sources, Klehr's "study" literally reflects most of the negative qualities that he attributes to Communists: rigidity, mechanical application of concepts to situations where they do not fit, endless repetition, humorlessness, and emphasis on leadership to the complete exclusion of the life of the rank and file.

Given both traditional canons of historical scholarship and new techniques of research that have developed in recent decades, Klehr's work is primitive. First of all, he has not used oral history or the techniques of the new social and labor history on any level.

He made no effort to interview contemporary Party leaders and members who were active in the 1930s, or to reconstruct the internal life and culture of the CPUSA. Mark Naison's recent history of the Communist Party in Harlem, Joseph Lyon's *Philadelphia Communists, 1936-1956* (Philadelphia, 1982), and the recent documentary films "Seeing Red" and "The Good Fight" (the latter a brilliant account of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade), whatever their faults, deal with Communists as human beings seeking to apply their principles and values to concrete and rapidly changing political events.

For Klehr, however, all documents are interpreted and evidence amassed in order to "prove" that the CPUSA and its members existed only as part of an international conspiracy. Since the historical record disputes this, it is dispensed with in

much the same way that government prosecutors at the Smith Act trials dispensed with the real history of the Party in favor of a conspiratorial bogeyman of their own creation.

Secondly, his cliché assumption that Communists "joined" the New Deal and "liberalism" after 1934 and more completely after 1936 is blind to the fact that the content of "New Deal liberalism" changed dynamically in the 1930s and that CPUSA activists in the trade unions and other mass organizations played a leading role in developing that content.

Thus, Klehr greatly downplays the mass struggles and strikes of the middle 1930s and focuses his attention on Congress. Here he denigrates the CPUSA for introducing and fighting for the Lundeen bill (a mass, democratic approach to Social Security) and sharply attacking the final act passed by Congress. Of course, Communist Party activists, and a great many trade union militants, attacked the labor and social welfare legislation that Roosevelt and the Democratic Congress passed in 1935, since they were committed to more advanced programs — which, history has shown, would have produced a much better social service system than the one now in existence. However, it was their mass struggles, particularly the leadership of Communists in the labor, unemployed and professional organizations fighting for social security and unemployment insurance, that made the New Deal program possible to begin with.

Klehr's ignorance of Marxist-Leninist theory and the history of the Left is nowhere more vividly expressed than in his treatment of the Soviet Union and the Comintern.

First of all, the abandonment of the Marxist principle of proletarian internationalism by the Social Democratic parties of the Second Interna-

tional led the founders of the Third International to stress an international coordination that would make real solidarity among the new Communist Parties and throughout the workers' movements of different countries a living reality rather than a pious wish. Therefore, the Comintern functioned in its time to develop world revolutionary strategy in opposition to world imperialist strategy.

While the Soviet Union, then the only socialist country in the world, was certainly the most important force in the Comintern, and, indeed, given the balance of forces in the world, had to be, the various commissions of the organization were staffed by revolutionaries of many countries, and the specific applications of general Comintern policies to nations and regions were developed through consultation with representatives of the nations and the regions concerned.

In any case, the hackneyed stereotype of "Soviet domination" falls far from the Comintern's complex revolutionary reality. Different Soviet Communists were often on opposing sides in Comintern debates. Soviets participated in the Comintern with the same goals as all other Marxist-Leninists — to defend and advance socialism and anti-imperialist movements in conflict with world capitalism and imperialism. In this context, it is natural and commendable that Soviet Communists in the Comintern often made, on the basis of their wealth of revolutionary experience, valuable contributions to strengthening the CPUSA, as they did to the development of Communist Parties in many countries.

On the other hand, the input of non-Soviet Communists (Georgi Dimitrov (Bulgaria), Palmiro Togliatti (Italy), Otto Kuusinen (Finland) and too great a number of individuals to

mention from many other countries) to the formulation and implementation of Comintern policy was enormous.

Blinded by his prejudices, Klehr crudely attributes the policy of a popular front against war and fascism to "Moscow." He is evidently completely ignorant of its origins in the French crisis of 1934 and in the experiences of many parties of the world, including the American Communist Party.

There is much more in this shaggy-dog-story of a book — Earl Browder's secret short wave radio to get coded Comintern messages from Moscow, for example, for those who remember torn Jello boxes and Pumpkin papers. But one grows tired of cataloguing the absurdities, much less answering them.

For contemporary scholars, Klehr's footnotes may be of some value, although his lack of discrimination among sources (his only standard seems to be to trust that which is most anti-Communist) makes his "facts," like his "interpretations," very untrustworthy. Fortunately, there are a growing number of Marxist-Leninist and other progressive scholars of all ages to check Klehr's facts and interpretations.

Of course, an intellectual "relic" of the early 1950s like Harvey Klehr could not understand why the CPUSA has grown substantially in recent years, reaching out to young activists and participating in the world movement for national liberation and socialism that makes Theodore Draper, Midge Decter, Sidney Hook, and the other aging members of the cold war establishment with whom he identifies dream, along with Ronald Reagan, of "those glorious years when they erroneously thought the future was theirs."

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