

July 2, 1976

# The Class Character of the USSR

***Has capitalism been restored in the Soviet Union?***  
A Marxist analysis by Sam Marcy

## WWP and YAWF— a record of struggle

The Indochinese revolution inspired an entire generation in militant struggle and revolutionary internationalism. These traits are the very essence of Workers World Party (WWP) and Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF).

WWP is a multi-national, working class party based firmly on the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Its leading members were hardened and steeled during the witchhunt era, when thousands of progressives were swamped under by the prevailing right-wing hysteria. The future founders of WWP led many proletarian battles and militant strikes during this period, defying the giant steel and aerospace corporations and maintaining a revolutionary world outlook and optimistic perspective. WWP was born in 1959.

The mighty Cuban revolution and the development of the civil rights movement signalled that the witchhunt period was coming to an end. In anticipation of the events which were to rock American society in the tumultuous 60's, YAWF was founded in 1961. Since that time, it has led, initiated, and participated in literally thousands of actions. This brochure highlights just a few of these struggles and explains what makes WWP and YAWF unique in the radical movement.

### The Vietnamese have won!

On August 3, 1962, YAWF called the first demonstration in this country against the Vietnam war, calling for all U.S. troops out and raising the slogan, "Jobs at home, not wars abroad!"

This demonstration in New York City made itself felt around the globe. In an interview with Wilfred Burchett, Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese people, stated, "We appreciated such actions as . . . that of American Youth Against War & Fascism who recently demonstrated against the 'undeclared war.' Such activities are known here and greatly hearten our people."

This demonstration began YAWF's key role in the most crucial issue of the last decade. YAWF not only organized hundreds of militant actions around the country, but also fought ideologically within the anti-war movement, for a revolutionary class struggle approach to the masses. Throughout the middle 60's, YAWF mobilized thousands of people against the war—to the point where hardly any spokesperson for the imperialist establishment could appear publicly without provoking militant demonstrations and protests.

No possible arena of struggle, no avenue to the masses was neglected by YAWF in its opposition to the war. In early 1967, the Bertrand Russell Information War Crimes Tribunal invited YAWF coordinators Deirdre Griswold and Maryann Weissman to help organize the forthcoming sessions of the Tribunal in Stockholm to expose imperialism's role in Indochina.

In June, 1967, in response to requests from GI's at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, for assistance in organizing



YAWF has been the most wholehearted and consistent supporters of the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

against the war, YAWF was the only group to come to their aid. YAWF sent organizers to Oklahoma to rally legal and political support for Andy Stapp, on trial for refusing to surrender anti-war literature. After Stapp was freed, the nucleus of the GI's at Fort Sill were to go on and form the American Servicemen's Union (ASU), a mass organization of rank-and-file GI's, dependents, and veterans which had thousands of members on U.S. bases around the globe at the height of the war.

By January, 1972, the Vietnamese liberation forces were able to wrest a significant treaty from the U.S. This treaty provided for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and legitimized the hard-earned gains of the Vietnamese. When Nixon resisted signing the treaty, YAWF initiated the Sign The Treaty Now Coalition and brought thousands of demonstrators to Washington, D.C., for a big anti-war rally demanding that Nixon sign. The coalition virtually was able to convert the rally, which had leadership who wanted to confine and limit the character of the demonstration, into a "sign the treaty" mobilization.

Following the Indochinese peoples' victories in

(continued on page 8)

—Why the Soviet Union could not have become "social imperialist" without an immense and violent counterrevolution.

—Why the Chinese CP leaders made a tragic error in their class definition of the Soviet State.

—Why the really revolutionary polemics of the Chinese CP in 1961-62 influenced only a small current.

*Read the answer to these and other questions*

*on pp. 2-7 of this*

**WORKERS WORLD supplement**

# Part I

By SAM MARCY

**MAY 25**—The current controversy on the left with regard to Angola, China, and the USSR, which is reflected in the Guardian newspaper's opening of a discussion on these matters, must of necessity go beyond a debate on China's foreign policy to the question of the class character of the USSR.

First, however, the most important thing for our party is to state its own programmatic position, independently of the views expressed by others in the discussion.

## WWP'S RECORD ON NATIONAL LIBERATION

I need hardly state that so far as Angola goes, our party has vigorously and unconditionally supported the MPLA. Our support for the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola flows from our general programmatic position—which is to render firm, vigorous, and unconditional support to all oppressed people fighting imperialism and for their liberation. Moreover, we of course stand for the unconditional support of all the socialist countries, including the USSR as well as China, in the struggle against imperialist aggression and bourgeois reaction at home.

(Our support of the socialist countries should be distinguished from that which the CPUSA gives to the USSR, completely ratifying all policies of the Soviet bureaucracy. Nor should we be in any way identified with the kind of "support" which the Socialist Workers Party here still claims to give to the socialist countries. Their support is exceptionally well illustrated by the way they have hailed the Solzhenitsyns, the Sakharovs, the Amalriks, and others who are clearly and unequivocally champions of bourgeois reaction.

(The Militant, organ of the SWP, has by the way now declared its intention of entering the debate on China and Angola, although it has not supported the MPLA and has regarded it as virtually on the same footing with the FNLA and UNITA, characterizing all three as bourgeois nationalist groups maneuvering with imperialism. In its opening article there is not a word which would disclose the SWP's class characterization of the USSR, but does anyone really need to be told? Nominally, they say it is a workers' state. In practice, they treat it as an imperialist country.)

The record of our party on support to the struggles against imperialism is very clear, beginning with such concrete events as the first demonstration in the U.S. against the Vietnam War (1962) which perhaps many on the left may not have noticed—although President Ho Chi Minh did, and specifically acknowledged the support of Youth Against War & Fascism in an interview with Wilfred Burchett published in the Guardian (May 16, 1963).

Our very impressive demonstration on behalf of the Angolan people this January 17, and our work on the May Day anti-apartheid, anti-imperialist demonstrations, along with the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas and many other organizations, are most recent examples of our party's ability and willingness to take the necessary initiatives. A study of our party history reveals militant and consistent opposition to imperialist

attacks against the oppressed peoples and socialist countries, with outstanding effort on such questions as the Middle East, Indonesia, Cuba, and Korea.

## BEYOND ANGOLA, WHAT IS THE REAL ISSUE?

Angola, of course, which has currently engendered so much controversy in the movement, is not the key issue. It is merely a surface manifestation of a much deeper conflict. The real issue is the class character of the USSR. To deny this, to evade it, will lead to

check during Lenin's time. After his death, however, it began to assume more and more ominous proportions.

However, the underlying social system of the USSR is infinitely superior to that of the most developed, the most "glorious," and the most "democratic" of the imperialist states. Whatever the drawbacks of the Soviet Union, whatever its trials and tribulations, whatever false policies have been imposed on the USSR by its leaders, it has nevertheless been able to achieve

including Japan, and on the other all the socialist countries—China, the USSR, etc.—plus all the oppressed people and the world proletariat.

These in reality constitute the two great class camps in the present contemporary epoch. The fact that there is struggle in the camp of the working class, which occasionally may even break out into armed struggle, does not alter the fundamental class antagonism between the two irreconcilable class camps, the two antagonistic social systems based upon two different classes.

material and political support to a revolutionary regime in complete hostility to all the other imperialist powers? And is Angola really the exceptional situation, the sole exception? What about Cuba itself? What about Vietnam?

Need we enumerate all the situations where the Soviet bureaucracy has played a progressive role on the international arena?

The Soviet Union's assistance to Angola is merely a continuation of what it did in Cuba. And even when the USSR sent missiles to Cuba in



Part of May Day celebration of 100,000 Angolans in Luanda this month. "Those who took on faith China's characterization of the USSR as social-imperialist must ask themselves, how is it that revolutionary China supported the reactionary puppet cliques while the 'social-imperialists' supported the revolutionary cause of the Angolan people? How is this to be explained?"

greater confusion, frustration, and demoralization.

The class character of the Soviet Union has been at the bottom of the most heated political controversies in the left-wing movement virtually since the birth of the Soviet Socialist Republic. It is, at least in part, the fundamental axis of the world political struggle today, and it is impossible to construct a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist program in any single country without taking into account the class character of the USSR.

We, of course, believe neither that there is a new exploiting class in the Soviet Union, nor that there has been a return of the bourgeoisie to power there under the guide of Marxist-Leninist phraseology. We firmly adhere to the position that the USSR is a workers' state, although it has undergone a severe strain, deterioration, and erosion of revolutionary principles, and is moreover headed by a privileged and absolutist bureaucracy which limits, distorts, and has on many occasions endangered the very existence of the socialist forms of organization in the USSR. This bureaucracy arose under the desperate conditions facing the newborn workers' state in its early years, but was held strongly in

tremendous social, cultural, and material progress for the masses which no capitalist state could possibly have accomplished in the circumstances under which the USSR was originally founded and developed.

Indeed, the USSR is rooted in a socialist system superior to the capitalist system. It is our fundamental political position that, regardless of the Soviet bureaucracy, the USSR contains a new social formation, based on a historically superior mode of production, and is progressive in relation to monopoly capitalism in the same way that capitalism was a superior system in relation to feudalism, as indeed feudalism was a higher social system than slavery.

## TWO ANTAGONISTIC CLASS CAMPS

The main contradiction in world politics today is not at all what the exponents of China's new policy say it is (which in any case has undergone several changes in the course of the struggle with USSR revisionism). The main contradiction, the main and fundamental antagonism, is between imperialism on the one hand, meaning thereby the U.S. and all the other imperialist states in-

The USSR is itself a contradictory social phenomenon, on top of which sits a heavy-handed bureaucracy which has a dual character. This is most strikingly shown in its capacity to play both a progressive as well as a reactionary role in domestic and foreign policy. It is utterly impossible to understand the Soviet Union unless one takes into account this characteristic of the Soviet ruling stratum.

## SOVIET LEADERS PLAY A CONTRADICTIONARY ROLE

It explains why all those who immediately took on faith the Chinese characterization of the USSR as a capitalist or social-imperialist state now find themselves at a loss how to explain the truly progressive role the Soviet Union has played in Angola. They must ask themselves, how is it that revolutionary China supported the reactionary puppet cliques of the FNLA and UNITA while the "social imperialists" supported the revolutionary cause of the Angolan people? How is this to be explained?

Granted that an imperialist power might occasionally give material support here and there to a revolutionary cause, what imperialist power has given both

1962, did the Chinese leadership call it social-imperialist then? Not at all, although they criticized the introduction of the missiles as adventurist and Khrushchev's retreat under U.S. pressure as capitulation and appeasement, while supporting Cuba against the U.S. But whatever the validity of these sharp criticisms, they were addressed to the policies of the leadership and were not attacks on the Soviet system—as in the case of Soviet aid to Angola. Yet what has really changed since then?

The fact of the matter is that there would scarcely have been a controversy over Angola were it not for the split between China and the USSR. And conceivably there might not have been a split between China and the USSR had not the Soviet workers' state been under the leadership of a bureaucracy.

## CHINA'S LEADERS CROSS CLASS LINES

Nonetheless, whatever the origin of the struggle between China and the USSR leadership on principled political issues, as well as on matters concerning relations between states, China's characterization of the USSR as an imperialist power meant an abandonment and renunciation of class



criteria in the struggle against revisionism.

It is one thing to attack the Soviet leadership as revisionists, renegades, opportunists, and so on. It is qualitatively different and a crossing of class lines to write off the Soviet Union itself and the social system that prevails there.

The most unfortunate aspect of this struggle is that a good deal of the movement here (and abroad as well) took China's hasty generalization about the USSR on pure faith, without subjecting this new and most dangerous departure from Marxist analytical method to any discussion whatsoever!

It should be remembered that by the time the generalization about Soviet "imperialism" made its way around the world as a serious thrust by the Chinese leadership, the movement people here, and the younger ones in particular, were so enthusiastic about the Cultural Revolution they found it exceedingly difficult to criticize China for its failure to first of all initiate a discussion in China itself, a failure compounded by thrusting its new position on an unwary world movement of supporters of the Chinese Revolution.

Our party whole-heartedly supported the Cultural Revolution, and considers its achievements of singular significance, but not for one moment did we go along with what amounted to a complete break with Marxist methodology so far as the question of the USSR is concerned.

Evaluating the USSR in terms of a hostile social formation, as the Chinese leaders have done, amounts to a crossing of the Rubicon on a fundamental class issue.

#### DISASTROUS EFFECTS ON THE MOVEMENT

Of course, the leaders of a workers' state may quickly change their position on any number of fundamental questions and, by virtue of the fact that they hold state power, be able to survive it (with what damage at home, only the future can tell). But it is not at all easy for working class movements who do not hold state power to be confronted, the way the Chinese leadership has confronted its followers abroad, with Angola—and earlier Chile, Bangladesh, etc. For the movement to hold on to positions in glaring contradiction to firm beliefs, such as in Angola, means to convert the movement into an utterly unthinking, dogmatic, and insensitive group of followers who in times of great social crisis can only become a terrible drag on the advanced elements of the working class movement.

What else can one think after reading William Hinton's piece in the May 5 Guardian? It amounts to a call to become recruiting sergeants for the U.S. imperialist war machine against the Soviet Union. How can any communist, how can anybody with any real class consciousness, feel that this can be a correct policy for a workers' movement to follow, here or anywhere?

To impose such a strategy upon the working class movement is an act of folly. And, even worse, it is suicidal for those in the movement who would pursue such a course.

The theoretical exponents of the theory of capitalist restoration and social imperialism have suffered two major blows through their false generalization. Angola, of course, is the most glaring and in a way the acid test so far as support for the struggle of oppressed people goes. The other blow to their theory is, however, equally



**YAWF led a demonstration of 1,000 through the streets of New York City at the height of U.S. threats of intervention in the Angolan liberation struggle—January 17, 1976.**

damaging from an entirely different perspective.

#### THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CYCLE AND THE USSR

The last two years of the deepest and profoundest world capitalist economic crisis since the crash in 1929 have disproved the theory of capitalist restoration in the USSR. Such a deep-seated and profound economic crisis could not but be equally pervasive in the USSR if it were indeed a capitalist state, if indeed a new bourgeoisie or, as Prof. Charles Bettelheim calls it, a "state bourgeoisie," had taken over.

For whatever nomenclature is applied to it, the implication of such a theory is that the Soviet economy has been subjected to the same driving forces which motivate the capitalist system and which result in such devastating economic crisis, unemployment, and ultimately imperialist wars.

Now, all of us must retain objectivity in observing the evolution of the USSR and not close our eyes to any possible transformation of the social system from a workers' state with a planned economy and ownership of the means of production by the workers into a capitalist state.

But if these two fundamental elements of a workers' state, along with the monopoly of foreign trade, were in reality of merely technical significance, and a market economy had actually developed to the extent where it would nullify what Engels called the criteria for the bare beginnings of a workers' state, then we should have the kind of unemployment in the USSR which no government could conceivably hide. Yet this is precisely what has not happened in these two crucial years of economic crisis in the imperialist world.

It is true that there is a certain amount of "unemployment," which some pro-Chinese theoreticians claim to be the indubitable proof that capitalism has in fact been restored. But this is the kind of unforgivable exaggeration which no serious capitalist economist, however full of hatred for the Soviet Union, has yet been able to make. The "unemployment" that exists in the USSR results from technological changes and the inefficiency of the bureaucracy in finding new employment, but the reality of the situation is that there is a labor shortage in the Soviet Union, the very reverse of what our theoreticians are trying to prove.

The world capitalist economic crisis has, of course, affected all socialist countries, including China. But these stresses are the results of external influences from the world capitalist market and do not arise out of the internal dynamics of socialist construction.

#### WHAT ABOUT FOREIGN TRADE DEFICITS?

Only last week (May 22) the New York Times in an editorial tried to show that the huge foreign trade deficit of the USSR proved that the centralized economy with a monopoly of foreign trade was either non-existent or was ineffective to cope with economic problems and that the USSR was therefore on the same level or suffered from the same problems as the capitalist countries. It did not mention China, out of courtesy to its possible "new strategic ally." But it was subsequently disclosed that China, too, suffers from a trade deficit.

What the trade deficits really show is that both countries, the USSR and China, are still in great need of Western and Japanese

technology and that for the most part there is still a worldwide partial imperialist economic blockade against the socialist countries. They are not free to purchase and sell in the world capitalist market because of stringent political conditions attached by the imperialist powers and their satellites.

#### PROBLEMS OF FARM COLLECTIVIZATION

The deficit incurred by the USSR is explained by its huge purchases of grain on the world market, mostly from the U.S., which reflect not only on the bad weather conditions which have prevailed in the USSR over the last few years, but also on mismanagement and inefficiency in the policy of farm collectivization. There has been an enormous growth of the so-called private plots and an equally enormous growth of the grasping and acquisitive Kolkhoz aristocracy. And the growing social differentiations go hand in hand with a monstrous growth of privileges among the upper strata of Soviet society.

Nevertheless, it is something that the USSR has the wherewithal to purchase such huge amounts of grain and see to it that the population is taken care of. In Stalin's time the deficit in grain production would not have been made up by purchases from the world market and the needs of the people would not have been met.

Finally, as regards the foreign trade deficits of the socialist countries, it is important to point out that this does not at all prove what the imperialists and the sycophants are saying—just the opposite. Up until well into the 1890s, and even well after that, the U.S. was a debtor nation in relation to the old capitalist countries.

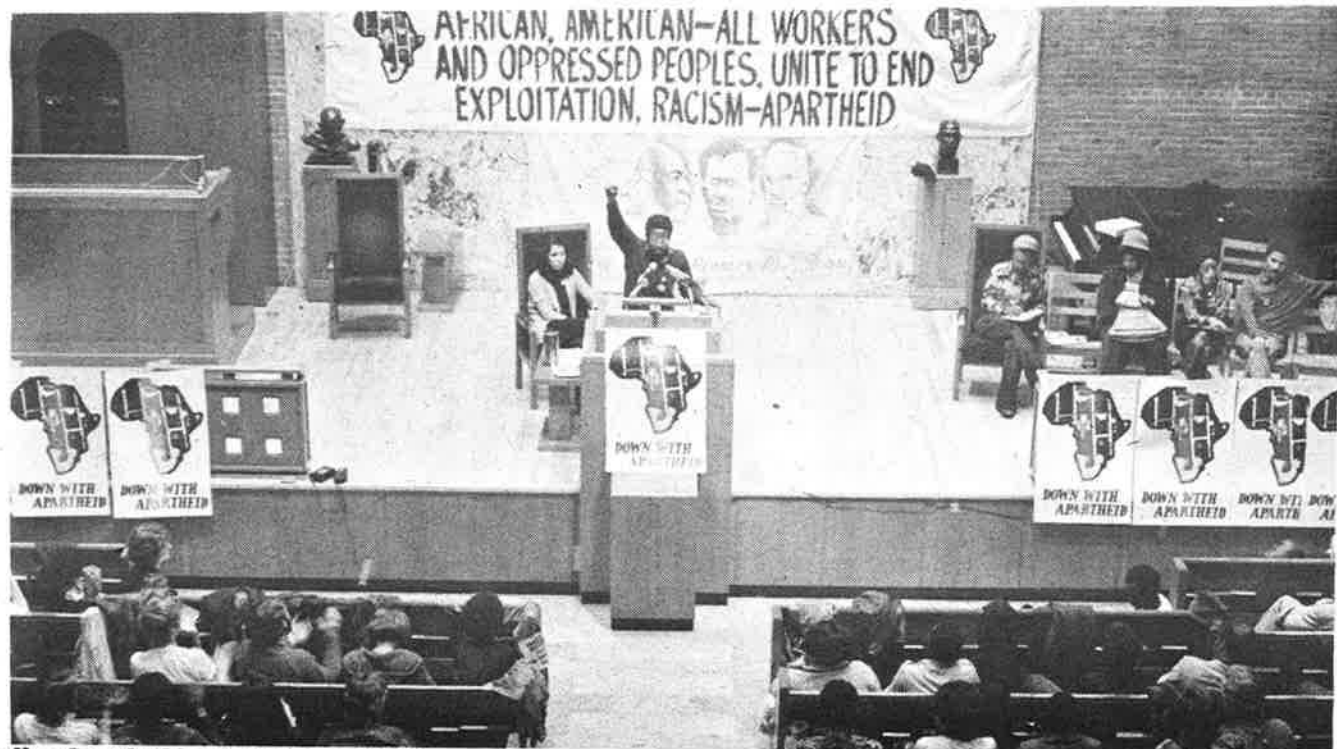
Nevertheless, it was plain as daylight that the U.S. was a growing and developing capitalist country and that the European capitalist powers were really on the decline in spite of the fact that the U.S. was in debt to them.

The fact that the USSR and China are compelled to purchase or, to put it more correctly, are planning to purchase more than they can sell, merely indicates their urgent need for further industrial development. It indicates that the basic tendency of their economies is to grow as against imperialist decline. Would that the capitalist ruling classes would

permit all the socialist countries to buy and sell without political restrictions and the more onerous imperialist strings attached. Overall, the foreign trade deficits (which in any case the socialist countries can if they desire wipe out merely by planning) simply indicate that the bourgeois mode of production is still the predominant form on a world scale, although it is in political disarray and economically outmoded.

Only the consistent and unrelenting struggle of the world proletariat and oppressed people for the socialist revolution can put an end to that.

To enter the current political controversy without first taking into account what has been said above, without clearly coming to grips with the central question—the class character of the USSR—would merely be dealing with derivative political issues. However important they may be, they cannot be discussed fully and comprehended if taken in isolation from the class character of the USSR and its reciprocal relations to China.



**At the rally after the May 1 Anti-Apartheid Day march and demonstration in New York. Supported by many individuals and groups, it was organized by the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas and Youth Against War & Fascism.**

# Part II: Some errors of the CCP

By SAM MARCY

**JUNE 2**—This Friday, June 4, is the twentieth anniversary of Khrushchev's report denouncing Stalin. Actually the report was delivered in late February 1956 to the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, but it was then secret. In a move calculated to deal a blow to the USSR and to damage the international communist movement as much as possible, the CIA, which had obtained the report, released it to the world on June 4. That's how the world movement learned about it.

It is hard to recall a comparable event which has caused as much

torture, mass deportations, and the destruction of inner-party democracy, among many other crimes.

## WHAT WAS CHINA'S REACTION?

It is a popular misconception that the Chinese leadership immediately opened an offensive against Khrushchev's revisionism or denounced his report to the 20th Congress.

It is true that at the time of the CIA release of the report, the bewilderment in the movement caused many to turn to those in the international communist

the international communist movement, and in the USSR in particular, which had been under the political domination and leadership of Stalin ever since Lenin's death.

The Chinese CP leaders had three choices. They could avoid the issue entirely and say nothing about it, which in itself, of course, would be saying a lot. They could approve the 20th Congress report on Stalin. Or, they could open a truly classic, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist polemic against Khrushchev revisionism and at the same time utilize the opportunity to reevaluate the entire Stalin era from the vantage point of Leninist principles.

This would not have been an intrusion into the internal affairs of the USSR. The question of Stalin obviously was, and still is, an international question affecting all working class and Marxist-Leninist parties. The Chinese CP leadership, without opening a sudden assault, could have called for the establishment of a commission of fraternal parties to investigate, not only the validity of the report, its contents, and its factual material, but also its significance for the international movement. (Did not the Comintern set up a commission to investigate the defeat of the Chinese Revolution in the late 1920s?)

What did the Chinese CP leadership in fact do at that great historical moment in 1956?

It approved the 20th Congress report.

This is a matter of record and cannot be denied. During the month of June, after the CIA release of the report, practically all the leading CPs in the world were in turmoil, forced in one way or another into taking a position. The French, the Italians, the U.S., others—did so, and so did China.

## CCP ENDORSED THE REPORT

The organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Jen Min Jih Pao, in an

editorial "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," said:

"The CPSU, following Lenin's behest, treats seriously some of the grave errors made by Stalin in directing socialist construction and the consequences they have provoked. Because of the gravity of these consequences the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while admitting the great services of J.V. Stalin, is faced with the necessity to reveal with all sharpness the essence of the mistakes Stalin made. . . . We Communists of China profoundly believe that after the sharp criticism which

prognosis which proved utterly false. Rather than challenging Khrushchev, the approval of the Chinese leadership strengthened his hand and strengthened revisionism at the moment when revisionism needed it most.

## PRINTED TOGLIATTI'S ASSESSMENT

The impact of Khrushchev's report was to push all of the world CPs far to the right, particularly those in Western Europe and the U.S., and most of all the key Italian CP, then under the leadership of Togliatti. It is to be noted that on July 6, when the Peking news-

The Chinese leaders' position on Angola and on the class definition of the USSR must be seen in the light of China's previous position during Khrushchev's rise to power. If it can be understood that they erred then, it is all the easier to understand their errors today.

It is a popular misconception that the Chinese leadership immediately opened an offensive against Khrushchev's revisionism or denounced his report to the 20th Congress. . . . They, in fact, approved the 20th Congress report.

confusion, as much demoralization, and as many desertions as did the Khrushchev report. More than anything else, the most energetic, most devoted, and most loyal Communist Party members, especially in the West, not only wanted to disbelieve the contents of the report but even that the report was ever delivered or that it had been unanimously adopted by the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Khrushchev's report placed Stalin in the dock of history as a mass murderer, as one who had exterminated hundreds of thousands of loyal communists, leading cadres of the party and of the military, and had resorted, through his agents, to physical

movement who had attained a pre-eminent position and prestige as a result of their revolutionary struggle. Invariably those who felt that Khrushchev's report was not merely an effort to put Stalin's role in its proper place in history, but was in reality a far-flung and sweeping effort to shift to the right, turned towards the Chinese leadership, which more than any other would seem to have the capability to challenge Khrushchev.

Of course much, in fact most, of what Khrushchev had reported on had long been known in the West and certainly in the Soviet Union. But the 20th Congress offered an opportunity to reevaluate the entire previous historic epoch in

developed at the XXth Communist Party of the Soviet Union Congress all those active factors which were strongly restrained in the past because of certain political mistakes undoubtedly will be set in motion everywhere, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be united and made one as never before in the struggle for the building of a great Communist society never yet seen in history, in the struggle for a stable peace in the entire world." (Our emphasis.)

As anyone can see, the CCP not only approved the report but also made a prognosis that the CPSU "will be reunited and made one as never before in the building of a great Communist society," a

papers carried the CPSU resolution of June 30 on the 20th Congress, which amplified the Khrushchev report, they also carried a lengthy assessment of the 20th Congress and the Stalin question by Togliatti.

The Togliatti article (contained in a collection) is important because of the inferences which he drew from the 20th Congress. Togliatti's party, although long on the road of reformism, was now taking a head-long leap in that direction. Moreover, Togliatti drew the conclusion that it was not merely the mistakes of Stalin and his repressions that were involved, but the whole Soviet system. Implied in Togliatti's conclusions was that the class nature of the Soviet state itself was in doubt.

The evolution of the USSR under Stalin certainly could give one grounds for questioning the class character of the USSR, but such a step would have to be bolstered by Marxist analysis and factual data. What Togliatti did, however, was to draw the inference, which Khrushchev's report clearly lent itself to, that the Soviet state was undergoing a bourgeois degeneration. Hence—what ultimate conclusion by Togliatti? Since the Soviet Union was undergoing a bourgeois degeneration, and might in fact be a bourgeois state, an imperialist bourgeois democracy was preferable! The so-called "Italian road" to socialism began to take on a new momentum. Abandonment of class struggle and the renunciation along with it of the perspective of proletarian revolution was on the order of the day.

When the Chinese leadership finally decided to open the offensive against Khrushchev revisionism, the historical moment for a giant shift in a revolutionary direction, and away from Khrushchev revisionism, had in fact evaporated.

Thus, the brilliant revolutionary polemics of the Chinese CP leadership, such as "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us," etc., only in-



One of the achievements of the great Chinese Revolution: "Barefoot Doctor" of Hsinlung Production Brigade, Chiangehen Commune, giving preventive injections to children. This is being done on a vast scale for the hundreds of millions.



fluenced a small current in the communist movement.

Not only, however, did the Chinese leadership fail to grasp the historical moment during the period when Khrushchev's report was receiving worldwide attention and agitating the international communist movement.

Two very important events occurred which the CCP leadership also failed to take advantage of or to raise to the level of a public polemic.

#### THE "ANTI-PARTY GROUP"

The first was the expulsion of Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov from the Central Committee of the Soviet CP, when they were indicted politically on such charges as "conspiring against the peaceful coexistence" theories of Khrushchev and on a whole series of other charges which, whatever their validity, certainly merited a public hearing, especially in the light of Khrushchev's ostentatious and hypocritical demagoguery concerning collective leadership and a renewal of inner-party democracy.

Also, two of the three leaders of the so-called "Anti-Party group" were the last of the Old Guard in the Bolshevik party. Aside from the fact that they may have degenerated along with the other leaders, arraigning them under an indictment in which they were supposed to have conspired against the theory of peaceful coexistence in and of itself made it an international question. The CCP leadership, however, evaded the issue. Instead the Chinese press merely reprinted Pravda's indictment, which was taken to mean complete approval.

Finally, Khrushchev had embarked in 1957 on a dangerous economic course with a vast and complicated scheme of economic decentralization, which had dangerous implications for the fate of the planned, socialized economy of the USSR, one of the fundamental pillars of a workers' state. Dangerous though Khrushchev's initial adventurous thrust into the reorganization of the Soviet economy was, it by no means became fatal, as the Maoist economists, using latter-day wisdom, are now saying. For a whole lot of political as well as economic reasons, Khrushchev had to back off to a considerable



Traditionally the women of Tajikistan wore veils, were denied an education and their own choice in marriage. Today they constitute 43 percent of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic's educated specialists. Here women are operating cotton combines.

degree in practice. The significance attached to Khrushchev's decentralization plan by those who are now promoting the theory that a capitalist restoration has taken place in the Soviet Union is not at all warranted, as bourgeois economists soon realized to their chagrin.

#### GAVE NO HINT OF BOURGEOIS RESTORATION

The important point, however, about the decentralization plan is that the Chinese CP leadership did not attack it. In fact, if a transition from a planned and centralized economy to bourgeois restoration had taken place in the USSR, the focal point or so-called qualitative change should have been somewhere between 1956 and 1958. One of the exponents of the theory of capitalist restoration, Martin Nicolaus, places the time of the transition in that period. But the Chinese leadership certainly gave

no hint of it then at all, nor did this presumed counter-revolution attract the attention of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists within the communist movement sufficiently to raise it as a political or theoretical problem. As a matter of fact, Mao Tse-tung, in a speech at the Sixth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee, on Dec. 19, 1958, said, "The seven-year plan proposed by Khrushchev is a preparation to enter communism."

By in fact first supporting the Khrushchev report, when whitewashing the expulsion of the so-called anti-Party Group headed by Malenkov, Kaganovich, and Molotov and closing their eyes to the decentralization danger inherent in Khrushchev's adventure in the field of economics, the Chinese leadership pursued a revisionist position and strengthened revisionism on an international scale.

It resumed a revolutionary polemical struggle against the USSR leadership later on, but this was halted with the deterioration of the polemic into a state-to-state struggle which increasingly assumed the character of nationalist rivalry.

How else can one explain the USSR's unqualified support for the capitalist regime in India (among others) and China's equally unqualified support for Pakistan? The support of the Gandhi regime or of Bhutto's regime by either of the two great socialist countries would be justified only if the support were directed to aid these regimes in the struggle against imperialism while helping the workers in these countries against the landlords and capitalists. Such aid would be calculated not to impede the struggle for proletarian revolution there.

#### ANGOLA IN LIGHT OF EARLIER ERRORS

The Chinese leaders' position on Angola and on the class definition of the USSR must be seen in the light of China's previous positions during the early days of Khrushchev's rise to power, which were not at all what they are now made out to be. If it can be seen that the Chinese leadership erred then, it is all the easier to understand its errors in a period when it is in-

involved in a state-to-state struggle with the USSR, a struggle which has completely deteriorated into utterly false polemics of which Angola is only one manifestation.

#### CLASS DEFENSE AND POLITICAL CRITICISM

This does not, however, mean that either the Soviet Union or China has ceased to be a workers' state. On the contrary. In a certain sense both of these two great socialist countries have made enormous progress in socialist construction and in the betterment of the lot of the workers and the mass of the people in general. It is important to recognize that while it is most necessary to carry on a clear and unambiguous struggle against the revisionism of the Soviet bureaucracy as well as the revisionism of the Chinese leadership, it is equally important

to affirm the progressive class character of both China and the USSR as workers' states.

Both the struggle against revisionism and the struggle for the defense of China and the USSR are two class truths that are not in contradiction to each other but flow organically from the dual and contradictory social character of both China and the USSR—both born in extremely hostile world environments, but both nevertheless progressive social systems infinitely superior to any capitalist country, no matter how "democratic" it may be.

The task of defending all the socialist countries as well as all oppressed people in the struggle against imperialism and particularly imperialist aggression is a paramount duty which no proletarian revolutionary organization can dare to forsake.



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# Part III: Answer to theories of despair

By SAM MARCY

JUNE 21—A ruling class—such as the ancient slave-holding class, the feudal class, or the modern bourgeoisie—cannot emerge or gain ascendancy over society merely as a result of political conspiracy, cunning manipulation, deceit, or ruthless oppression. A ruling class can, in the final analysis, come into existence only as a result of the deep-rooted needs of the processes of production.

That alone should give Marxists pause in adopting the spurious theory which proclaims that a new ruling class dominates in the USSR.

## RULING CLASSES AND SOCIAL EVOLUTION

Primitive communism gave way to chattel slavery because the latter was a superior mode of production, even though it was accompanied by the most ferocious oppression and exploitation. Likewise, the feudal system took form and developed, not because the feudal lords were more kindly disposed to the peasants nor because the landed gentry were endowed with superior moral and intellectual qualities. The chattel slave system was uprooted and destroyed not as a concession to humanitarianism but as a response to the need for the development of the productive forces, which were constricted by outmoded social relations.

In a similar vein, the feudal system yielded to the capitalist mode of production, not because the bourgeoisie was less repressive, more humanitarian, or extracted less of the surplus product from the producers. On the contrary, under the system of capitalist exploitation the new master class extracted more of the surplus product in the form of surplus value from the backs of the producers than all other previous modes of production put together.

None of the basic classes in history which emerged as ruling classes did so without a previous life and death political struggle, without the use of conspiracy, without cunning manipulation, and without the use of fraud and deceit of the conquered classes. Certainly all this played a great part in the final outcome of the struggle and the final ascendancy and political supremacy of one class over another and over society in general. But in the long run, each of the historical classes that assumed control over society was able to do so because it had a historic mission to perform before it gave way to a more advanced class.

Each class advanced the productive forces to a higher lever than was prevalent in the preceding mode of production. It changed the character of the relations of production precisely because the old relations of production had become incompatible with and hampered the growth of the productive forces.

## ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT TODAY

In modern times, the proletariat is the only class which can succeed on a world scale and take the reins of society from the decadent bourgeoisie, which is hampering the harmonious development of the productive forces by maintaining the out-moded, antiquated, and severely oppressive social relations based on imperialist exploitation and oppression.

The proletariat is the only class that has a truly historic mission to carry out which no preceding class could accomplish and which the bourgeoisie is utterly incapable of executing. That is to organize, or rather reorganize, society on a rational basis, purge it of the incredibly destructive economic crises born out of the anarchy of

Marxism as the doctrine of social evolution and is in effect a retreat to the bourgeois theory that chance and not historic necessity governs social development.

Many of the theoreticians who hold the view that the USSR is a bourgeois state, albeit of a new type, have explained the development on the basis of con-

and irreconcilable antagonism towards it.

## DOCTRINE OF CHANCE VS. HISTORIC NECESSITY

In constructing their conception of the USSR as a new hostile class formation, the "new" theoreticians have broken with Marxism as a doctrine of social

of the proletariat. Nevertheless, the ideology of the bourgeoisie permeates all sections of society with its message of decline.

## MONOD AND NICOLAUS

Only lately the bourgeoisie began to peddle in intellectual circles Jacques Monod's theory of "Chance and Necessity." According to him it is not social evolution, the development from lower to higher forms of society based upon new modes of production, which governs society; it is all pure chance. Chance determines everything.

What else can the bourgeoisie really rely upon?

In its youth it believed in evolution. Now when it is bankrupt it can only rely on chance, on fortuitous circumstances and historical conjunctures. Strange, isn't it, that precisely such theoretical fulminations govern in one way or another those theoreticians who have proclaimed the USSR a bourgeois state?

Martin Nicolaus' *Restoration of Capitalism*, if one reads it carefully, leads to the ultimate conclusion that it was conspiracy that determined the fate of Stalin as well as of Khrushchev, and that Brezhnev and Kosygin maintained themselves in power as a result of pure chance. In his conception of the events that led to the "restoration of capitalism," the "good guys" were overthrown by the "bad guys" while the masses slept.

A more vulgar application of contemporary American pragmatism to great historical phenomena is scarcely conceivable. The fact that there may be basic disagreements, among other things, as to who were the "good guys" and who were the "bad guys" is not even raised as an issue.

His analysis of the reforms during the Khrushchev and Brezhnev period cannot stand the light of day because they do not take into account the basic reality of the Soviet system—that the planned character of the Soviet economy and the public ownership of the means of production have remained basically intact in spite of the marauding incursions of the Soviet bureaucracy. How else explain that the worldwide capitalist economic crisis has not overtaken the USSR?—a fact so plain that only the politically blind, those who will not see, can ignore it.

## BETTELHEIM AND SWEETZ

Another version of the restoration of capitalism theory is that of Charles Bettelheim, which unfortunately has been embraced



**Red Guards in Petrograd, 1917. Have those who now discard all the gains of the Russian Revolution thought out the full implications of their position?**

capitalist production, and begin the reorganization of production for human needs and not for profit.

The proletariat is the only class capable of putting an end to catastrophic imperialist wars and destructive economic dislocation. It is the only class capable of satisfying all of humanity's needs and assuring its further existence and development. And it can do this precisely because it can free the productive forces of society from the encroachments and restrictions of capitalist private property and assure their limitless development for the good of humanity and not for narrow private interests and exploitation.

No other class is as consistent with the needs of the rest of humanity as is the proletariat. Other classes and social groupings can play a revolutionary role in society only by adopting the viewpoint of the proletariat and making their interests identical with the class interests of the proletariat.

## MARXISM CHALLENGED ONCE AGAIN

All of the above, which are fundamental postulates of the Marxist theory of social development, are once again being called into question, just as has happened before during periods of social crisis and whenever there have been setbacks to the cause of the working class and the oppressed.

The widespread disenchantment and disillusionment of certain strata of the population, and in particular of the radical petty bourgeoisie, with extremely negative developments in the USSR, both internally as well as in foreign policy, have caused them to make a headlong retreat in the direction of bourgeois apologetics and a renunciation of basic Marxist doctrine. This is reflected in a "new" appreciation of the USSR as a state ruled either by a new exploiting class or by the old bourgeoisie restored in a new disguise. In either case, the analysis is based on a rupture with

spiry, fraud, deceit, Machiavellian tactics, and what-not. Others, who have based themselves on a somewhat less superficial theory, have sought to explain their theory of the transformation of the USSR into a capitalist state on the narrow data which became available as a result of the economic reforms in the USSR under the Khrushchev era and partly under Brezhnev.

In either case, so far as the reforms go, while they started off in a dangerous direction, they merely evinced and offered the possibility of a bourgeois restoration. The trends were nevertheless arrested. The basic conquests of the October Proletarian Revolution—the planned character of the Soviet economy and the public ownership of the means of production—have by no means been eroded and in some aspects have been strengthened even while there has been a contradictory growth of social inequality and accumulating political antagonisms.

The most serious bourgeois economists and the world bourgeoisie as a whole have not for a moment abandoned their conception of the USSR as a "centrally planned" society and their mortal

evolution and have introduced the reign of the arbitrary in the domain of social evolution. For, according to them, political leaders can change social systems at will, overthrow new classes, and bring back old ones without the knowledge, let alone the participation, of the masses. Indeed, this is a throwback to pre-modern conceptions of history. Wherever a so-called material basis is offered, it can't stand the light of day. It's overthrown by reality.

When the bourgeoisie was young and full of enthusiasm, its most enlightened sections pursued the theory of evolution not only in nature but to some extent in social development as well. It is to be noted that Marx's *Critique of Political Economy* and Darwin's *The Origin of Species* were published almost simultaneously in the year of 1859. The advance of humanity from lower to higher stages of social development received wide approval and that was because the bourgeois intelligentsia saw the capitalist class as the bearer of social, political, and scientific progress. Capitalism was still on the ascending scale of history.

Today the bourgeoisie, needless to say, is bereft of all historic validity. It is declining everywhere. It has long exhausted its historic mission and its further existence can only wreak one catastrophe after another upon humanity. It is bewildered and confused by its utter inability not only to control the productive forces it has brought into being but even to maintain them in the face of revolutionary upheavals everywhere.

Their philosophy has led them for a considerable period now to renounce in the strongest terms the theory of evolution and in particular the Marxist theory of social development, which not only shows that the class struggle is the motive force of history but that the class struggle of the proletariat inevitably leads to the dictatorship



**Karl Marx**



**Charles Darwin**

by some who in our view should know better, such as Paul Sweezy. In Bettelheim's view, the basic cause of the degeneration, or rather the transformation, of the USSR into a capitalist state ruled by a "new" state bourgeoisie lies in the theoretical error presumably pursued both by Stalin and even more so by Trotsky in stressing the development of the productive forces rather than in changing social relations. It's hard to take this thesis seriously and one wonders how serious people who have devoted much of their lives to the struggle for socialism can come up with a theory that defies the very basis of the Marxist conception of history and does so much violence to the actual developments in the USSR.

Bettelheim, and Sweezy too, are comforted and bolstered in their new theory by the belief that it is also the conception of Chairman Mao—a dubious proposition which events in China, especially as they are unfolding, are sure to disqualify.

Why have Bettelheim and Sweezy found this new detour to explain social development in the USSR?

First of all there has been the strong pull of China—but the victory of the Angolan people and the reactionary foreign policy of Peking are sure to create second thoughts among many of China's followers.

But there is another reason, too, aside from the disillusionment and disenchantment which followed in the wake of successive setbacks in the USSR and which have discredited the Soviet leadership for many, many years.

If Stalin and Trotsky both thought that the main emphasis had to be put on the productive forces to develop a workers' state in a backward country, they were right—that was not an erroneous conception. Therein does not lie the fundamental difficulty faced by the new social formation, by the new society which issued from the October Revolution. It was not neglect of the social relations. That's avoiding the issue.

To put it properly, it was the growth of the Soviet bureaucracy, headed by Stalin, which perverted the social relations which issued from the October Revolution. That was possible because Soviet society was characterized by a fundamental contradiction which the bureaucracy was unable to resolve by its methods. The contradiction was that the productive forces were too meager and inadequate to give the new social relations in the USSR a socialist character.

Whereas in all the older modes of production the productive forces first outgrew the social relations and then rebelled against them, in the new Soviet society the productive forces were inadequate to assure a socialist development. Unable to pursue a revolutionary policy either at home or abroad, the bureaucracy took on the character of a coercive and repressive force and began the construction of socialism in a way which destroyed the political gains of the working class but retained the fundamental social conquests necessary to insure the existence of a workers' state but not of a socialist society.

So that what we have is not a new ruling class, not a new state bourgeoisie, but the very familiar phenomenon of a bureaucracy which has expropriated the proletariat politically while it—the bureaucracy—rules on behalf of the proletariat. In doing so, it naturally appropriates in its own self-interest a good deal of the privileges and emoluments that go with governing, but this does not

nullify the fact that the proletariat, in a historical and sociological sense, is still the ruling class, hampered by a bureaucratic upper crust.

Is this a new phenomenon in world history? Not really. If we examine other classes, both the British and the German bourgeoisies, for example, they were not able to rule directly on their own behalf until many, many decades had passed. In Germany it took Bismarck, a Junker, a feudalist, and his array of bureaucrats to unify the bourgeoisie in a national state and to dominate over them.

#### VAST DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BUREAUCRACY AND CLASS

It makes a great deal of difference whether one characterizes the ruling group in the USSR as a bureaucracy or as a social class on a historic scale with other possessing classes. Previous ruling classes have had their bureaucracies and in contemporary bourgeois society the labor movement has been led and victimized by a labor bureaucracy. While a bureaucracy attains a relative independence from the class it represents, and appropriates, or rather misappropriates, a share of the social income for its own selfish interests, it is nevertheless rooted in the class it represents.

In this sense the Soviet bureaucracy does not differ fundamentally from the bureaucracies in prior epochs. The Soviet bureaucracy is rooted in nationalized property, public ownership of the means of production, centralized planning. It cannot undo these progressive social achievements without undoing itself. It doesn't mean that there is not a neo-restorationist wing of the bureaucracy, but it by no means signifies that the latter has completely triumphed.

#### A "NEW CLASS" MUST HAVE A HISTORIC MISSION

In attributing a new sociological character to the USSR, these theoreticians have unwittingly crowned the Soviet bureaucracy with a great new historic mission. If a new class governs the USSR then the evidence of all previous class societies compels us to conclude that such a class could only come into existence by historic necessity and, as a corollary to that, that it has a historic mission which no effort by the proletariat can successfully nullify until that mission is exhausted.

Why were the proletarian revolutions of 1848 and 1871 overcome? When all is said and done, when all the political mistakes, false policies by workers' organizations, the machinations and conspiracy of the bourgeoisie, etc., etc., are taken into account, was it not because the bourgeoisie had not yet exhausted its historic mission? Capitalism still had plenty of room for development. It took some decades before competitive capitalism turned to monopoly capitalism: imperialism.

What follows from the theories of capitalist restoration is that the proletarian revolution in the USSR, the seizure of power by the proletariat, was premature. Therefore, not only were the political policies of the leaders of the revolution and their successors erroneous, but they were utopian. Marxism, even in the hands of the genius of Lenin, merely served as an ideological garb, as a cover to objectively pave the way, smooth the path, for the bourgeoisie. In

other words, Marxism as a doctrine is really comparable to the teachings of the men of the Great Enlightenment in the period preceding the French Revolution. It served to rally the masses, ultimately gave them slogans, such as Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, but in the end it turned out to be an ideological cover for a new ruling class.

Have these theoreticians of the new ruling class in the USSR thought these matters through to the end?

#### PRAGMATIC ORIGINS OF THEIR THESIS

On the contrary, it is not objective thought which has impelled them to move in this direction. It is not objective, independent thinking which has resulted in this theory which is so favorable to the imperialist bourgeoisie. It is born out of subjectivist and politically tendentious trends in contemporary politics. This theory began to come in vogue here not when the presumed transformation took place, but in 1968 and 1969, after Czechoslovakia. And what impelled its exponents to take that position was that they had turned their face to the Chinese leadership, who abruptly proclaimed the theory of "social imperialism" and left it to the foreign theoreticians to theorize what in effect was a political cuss word pronounced by one faction in the international communist movement against another.

Important as the Czechoslovak intervention was, it could under no circumstances be the starting point for a new sociological appraisal of the USSR. If the Czechoslovak intervention was such an enormously regressive action, how about Hungary? And wasn't Georgia forcibly Sovietized under Lenin? Indeed, none of these interventions could possibly serve as a starting point for a reevaluation of the class character of the USSR. It is interesting that none of these theoreticians was prompted to pronounce an anathema on the class character of the USSR for the previous interventions.

None of the interventions flow from a transformation in Soviet property relations. (In Georgia, the intervention was of course wholly progressive.) The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia (as well as in Hungary, which was approved and encouraged by Mao), was launched to stave off bourgeois counter-revolution, which in part was the result of reactionary policies pursued by the Soviet leaders and approved by the Chinese leaders.

Had these counter-revolutions succeeded, had the Soviet Union not crushed them, then they might have been the starting point for not merely a theoretical reappraisal of the class character of the USSR, but for a mighty impulse to real bourgeois restoration there.

What the theoreticians mentioned here have done is to confuse bourgeois restoration—which, of course, could happen, especially where the new workers' state and the new social system are still on shaky grounds—with political reaction.

#### POLITICAL RISE OF REACTIONARY FORCES

Political reaction has taken place in practically all of the countries where the great bourgeois revolutions occurred. But the restoration of feudalism has not taken place anywhere the bourgeoisie has triumphed.

Political reaction can last a long

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time. A political reaction in the USSR set in after the death of Lenin. It became strengthened, along with the growth of social inequality, but the socialist aspects of the Soviet economy as well as the living standards of the masses also increased. To substitute bourgeois restoration for political reaction has more than a terminological significance. Whether there is a new bourgeoisie or merely a bureaucracy has tremendous strategic as well as tactical significance for the world proletariat and oppressed.

If it is a bourgeois or "social imperialist" state, the proletariat is duty-bound to follow the same political criteria in the struggle against it as against any other imperialist state. If it is, on the other hand, a workers' state led by a bureaucracy, a wholly different set of criteria apply. While fighting against the oppressive character of the Soviet bureaucracy, it is nevertheless necessary to defend the USSR against imperialist aggression and against internal bourgeois reaction and to support the Soviet Union wherever and whenever it takes progressive measures in domestic and foreign affairs.

Understanding these criteria helps to explain the ease with which the Chinese leadership hastily characterized the USSR as a hostile formation no better than an imperialist state. Their formulation of the class character of

the USSR has the dubious advantage that it relieves them of any necessity to defend what is progressive in the USSR, both in foreign as well as in domestic policy, or to pursue a proletarian policy in relation to a sister socialist state. On the other hand, by characterizing the USSR as imperialist, the Chinese leadership are free to act without any limitation as regards the USSR. They can thus bloc with the imperialists against the USSR and claim that they are pursuing a Marxist-Leninist thesis. Their position sanctions collaboration with the real imperialists, whereas if they confined themselves to treating the USSR as it really is they would of necessity have to continue what they began in the early 1960s—to fight the Soviet bureaucracy for collaborating with imperialism rather than themselves allying with imperialism.

The difference in the two divergent class appreciations of the social nature of the USSR is fundamental to the cause of the working class. With the Chinese formulation of the question, one of necessity is impelled to embrace a strategic world outlook on the same barricades with imperialism. With the other we are on the class barricades of the world proletariat, all the oppressed people, and all the progressive elements in the USSR which, like China, is still a fortress of the world revolution in spite of the Soviet bureaucracy.



# —A record of struggle

(continued from page 1)

mid-1975, YAWF held numerous victory celebrations and solidarity meetings around the country to explain to the workers of America why the Vietnamese victory was their victory too.

## Stop the war against Black America

The acid test for any revolutionary group in this country is not only its position but its practice in the fight against racism. More than anything, it is racism which divides the working class, breaking down the necessary unity so urgently needed for a common struggle against the bosses. WWP stands solidly for the Leninist position on the right of oppressed nations to self determination. Since its inception WWP has tirelessly defended the liberation struggles of the Black, Latin, Asian, Chicano, and Native American peoples and has mobilized against the ultra-right groupings. Wherever there are YAWF branches, the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, Nazis, and other similar groups have been met with serious and militant actions and slogans

## 'We say NO to racism!'

Boston, Mass., 1974 and 1975 has been the focal point of a nationwide, right-wing racist offensive. Using the codeword "anti-busing," white mobs have been whipped up to stone little children, attack Black people on the streets, and create a climate of racist hatred throughout the city. In October, 1974, as the white racist violence escalated, WWP decided something had to be done to combat the racist terror. YAWF together with other organizations initiated a mass campaign, which culminated in the historic December 14 March Against Racism. This demonstration mobilized 25,000 people in Boston, giving a tremendous impetus to the anti-racist struggle and in some measure setting back the racist hysteria.

Since then WWP has poured enormous energy into the anti-racist fight in Boston and throughout the



The historic Dec. 14th March Against Racism in Boston.

country—wherever the "anti-busing" movement has reared its ugly head. WWP members have participated in picketlines, rallies, and even self-defense squads physically to protect Black families under attack by racist mobs.

## Break traditions' chains

The women of YAWF organized themselves into a women's caucus in February, 1970, and held its first action to revive the traditions shared by revolutionary women around the world by celebrating International Women's Day on March 7 of that year. One thousand women and men supporters rallied in Union Square, N.Y., and marched to the Women's House of Detention in protest of the inhumane treatment of women locked up there.

Recently YAWF Women, together with the PSC, played leading roles in the defense of Joann Little, a Black woman prisoner incarcerated in the dungeons of North Carolina and accused of first-degree murder when she righteously killed her jailer in self-

defense against an attempted rape. Thousands of supporters were mobilized throughout the country. This included a rally of over 400 in Richmond, Va., where Joann spoke, and the organizing of the picket line on the final day of the trial outside the courtroom in Raleigh, N.C., a picket line which later turned into a celebration when the verdict of not-guilty was announced.

## Smash gay oppression

WWP is virtually the only Marxist grouping in the country which has a revolutionary position on the gay question. WWP recognizes that the sexist oppression of gay, people stems from the same capitalist system which is responsible for racism and the oppression of women. The gay liberation movement which began with the Stonewall Rebellion in June, 1969, has altered the lives of millions of people—gay and straight. The active gay caucus of YAWF has participated in many anti-sexist struggles and has tried to inject the gay



YAWF organized around the country in support of the Native American takeover at Wounded Knee.

movement with a class perspective. It has published several brochures analyzing the roots of gay oppression and showing how to fight it.

## Defend the socialist camp

Struggle is the essence of Workers World Party. But struggle doesn't mean street actions alone. In the very heart of world imperialism and bourgeois ideology, it is also necessary to struggle vehemently against any and all ideologies which seek to divert and disorient the revolutionary movement. The most dangerous of these misconceptions in the leftist movement is the one which seeks to discredit the tremendous achievements in that third of the world where capitalism has been overthrown—in the socialist countries. In the struggle against imperialism, WWP stands unconditionally in defense of the socialist camp—from the Soviet Union to Albania, from Cuba to the People's Republic of China, and from Indochina to North Korea. In all these countries, hunger, slums, unemployment, and poverty have been eradicated and housing, medicine, and education are all provided for by society. This does not mean that WWP is uncritical of the leaderships of some of these countries, however. WWP will criticize those leaderships when their policies conflict with the interests of the world's workers and oppressed. Nevertheless, any theory of "Soviet social imperialism" or "Chinese dictatorship"—particularly in light of the constant danger of war from the U.S.—objectively aids the class enemy and must be fought.

## U.S. troops out of Korea

One manifestation of WWP's internationalism is its defense of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. Now that the Indochinese people have ousted the U.S. from their home, imperialism in its wanton lust to recapture stolen profits has concentrated its energies on another part of the Asian continent—Korea. YAWF has played a vanguard role in alerting the American public to Pentagon war threats against People's Korea. On June 25, 1975, the 25th anniversary of the Korean war, WWP and YAWF sponsored demonstrations across the country to educate the American people to the dangers of war on the Korean peninsula.

## Jobs at home, not wars abroad

While WWP is imbued with internationalism and active defense of the world revolution—be it in Portugal or Chile, Angola or Indonesia—in many ways the center of the international situation is right here in the U.S. It is the mighty American working class, Black and white, women and men, gay and straight, which has the power to bring down forever the world's worst oppressors. The American labor movement, has in recent years begun to awaken. With the world's greatest economic crisis since the Depression, coupled with the political defeats for U.S. imperialism around the globe, a working class upsurge of considerable proportions is long overdue.

WWP devotes its constant energy in reaching the workers and developing class consciousness among them. WWP members are active in factories, offices, and shops organizing among the workers. WWP members have participated in a wide assortment of organizations and struggles around economic issues facing the workers. Some of these struggles include: the transit fare increases; utility rate hikes; the struggle against high food prices; organizing unorganized shops; the fight for unemployment rights; and many more.

WWP sees no contradiction whatsoever in fighting on a broad range of working class issues while at the same time raising high the banner of revolutionary internationalism. Over 15 years of struggle has earned Workers World Party a nationwide and worldwide reputation. It is actively building the type of party that will be able to unite the massive U.S. working class, forge the necessary unity and class solidarity, and lead the struggle for socialism in this country.

## Get in the struggle with Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World Party!



Workers World Party and Youth Against War & Fascism are organizing and responsible for many of the struggles you read about in the pages of this paper. These groups are made up of women and men, Black, white, Latin, Asian, and Native American, young and old, straight and gay, working, students, and unemployed, who fight on all the issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society.

If you would like to find out more about Workers World and YAWF, or if you would like to join them in their struggles, contact the branch nearest you from the list below.

ATLANTA—Workers World Party, P.O. Box 424, Atlanta, Georgia 30301. (404) 523-8990.

BALTIMORE—Workers World Party, 2402 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218 (301)-366-3713.

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