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Reagan's Delusions of Grandeur

GUS HALL

The present policies of the Reagan Administration are based on a balance of world forces that is not only long gone, but will never again see the light of day. These policies are based on delusions of grandeur, a fantasy-mania that the U.S. can gain nuclear military superiority over the Soviet Union simply by shoveling trillions of dollars into the Pentagon military-industrial complex.

The Reagan miscalculations are based on the self-deception that economically, politically and ideologically the socialist world is falling apart.

They are based on the false assumption that by arming counter-revolutionary groups, by a financial squeeze and military pressures the U.S. can get the developing countries into its grip and thereby halt the process of national liberation. They want to once again turn them into vassals of a system of neo-colonialism dominated by the U.S.-based multinational corporations. These plans are based on the miscalculation that counter-revolution is exportable.

The Reagan policies are based also on the illusion that the rival capitalist countries can be forced to go along passively under the command and tight control of U.S. imperialism.

Finally, the Reagan policies are based on the false assumption that the people of the U.S. can be forced to carry the burden of the trillion-dollar military budgets, the high taxes, spiraling inflation—while big business racks up unprecedented profits from such policies.

However, because the policies are unreal, because the Reagan-Haig rhetoric is based on the very essence of the Big Lie, does not make them any less dangerous. In fact, the Reagan policies are all the more dangerous precisely because they are based on all-sided miscalculations. These policies are a ticking strategic nuclear time bomb. These policies are not only based on illusions, but they

The above is excerpted from the main political report delivered by the General Secretary Gus Hall, to a meeting of the Central Committee, CPUSA, June 1981.

are totally out of step with the direction of objective developments. The world will not conform to the Reagan-Haig-Crocker turn-the-clock-back designs of U.S. imperialism.

Resistance and Counter-Actions

For the first six months of the Reagan Administration, the strongest momentum has come from the push by the Right-wing reactionary forces. But this is now rapidly changing. The flow of the main stream is reversing its course. Because it persists in misguided policies and stubbornly refuses to respond to the rising new realities, the Reagan policies are becoming unglued and unraveled.

The rising resistance to the overall Reagan policies is very wide and diverse. Different sections of monopoly capital, for their own reasons, are against some specific components of the Reagan program. Depending on how it affects their bank books, some are against the military budget increases. Some are against the nature of the tax cuts. And there is growing concern in big business circles that the huge government budgets will throw the economy out of kilter and into a tailspin.

There is also a growing concern about the overall direction of foreign policy. This was clearly reflected in the proposals of George Kennan for a 50 per cent mutual reduction in strategic nuclear weapons. It was also reflected in a May 7 *New York Times* editorial on the Mideast arguing that "Washington's call for Soviet help was a healthy antidote to some of the sloganeering that only recently was passed off as a new American foreign policy. Recognizing reality is the best beginning for a sound diplomacy."

It is becoming clear to increasing numbers that a policy of war threats and cold war rhetoric is not in accordance with world reality.

Sections of monopoly capital and the Establishment weigh policies, especially in the arena of foreign affairs, as to whether they fit into the concept that policies should be the "art of the possi-

ble." These sectors see much of the Reagan-Haig rhetoric as a reflection of the "art of the impossible." The arrogant ultimatums issued to Angola, Cuba, the Soviet Union and the anti-imperialist countries and movements in Africa in relation to the independence of Namibia are perfect examples of the "art of the impossible."

On the world scene, the Reagan foreign policy is beginning to be buffeted by the winds of the world revolutionary process and the contradictions between the major capitalist countries. The contradictions and tensions between Japan and the U.S. are the sharpest since the Second World War. In spite of Helmut Schmidt's visit to Washington, the contradictions between West Germany and the U.S. are sharper.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and especially the section on USSR foreign policy, is a clear challenge of peace to the warlike policies of the Reagan Administration. Up to this moment there has been no real response by the Reagan Administration. But the favorable response by most of the rest of the world is creating problems for the cold warriors in Washington.

In general, the world is not accepting the Reagan concept of U.S. domination. The real world is quite different from the Right-wing audiences Reagan has been delivering speeches to most of his life.

The world balance of forces is tilting against imperialism. There is a rising people's mass upsurge against the reactionary policies.

Reagan's Reactions to the Real World

How is the Reagan Administration reacting to this real world? It is stubbornly trying to stick to its guns. There is a lot of tough talk and Right-wing rhetoric.

But there is also some squirming and maneuvering. When the policies are as extreme as Reagan's, even maneuvering becomes somewhat of an adjustment to the new reality. In some specific cases, such as the proposed social security cuts, the cuts in black lung benefits, the grain embargo and some developments in the area of foreign policy, the maneuvers have turned into backtracking.

The question being asked, or at least thought

about, by millions is: Can the Reagan Administration be forced to maneuver on other issues? And even more important, can these maneuvers be turned into retreats and can the retreats then be turned into defeats?

Because the Reagan policies are moving against the objective mainstream, I believe that with militant struggle, working-class unity, mobilization, organization and fightback, we can take on the challenge of this moment in history—and win.

Many-Sided Economic Transition

Economic developments of this period are also in flux and unusually complex. In a sense, the United States is in a period of many-sided economic transition. The economic landscape of U.S. monopoly capitalism is in the process of being restructured.

There is now some movement away from the crisis side of the economic cycle. However, just as each downside of the cycle has its unique features, so too each recovery period is different. The uniqueness of each phase is a reflection of changing, longer-range objective developments. Economic cycles can never repeat themselves. Therefore, more than in any other recovery period, the present one is uneven, shaky, unpredictable and faltering. And of course there is no recovery for tens of millions of workers and the racially and nationally oppressed of our country.

There is hesitation and reluctance in monopoly circles to make capital investments for industrial expansion. This is partly the result of well-founded fears and uncertainty about some features of the Reagan program that they think may lead only to greater inflationary budget deficits and financial and credit crises. There is also the backwash effect of the continuing economic crisis in Great Britain, France, Italy and West Germany.

The enormous military budgets are increasingly having a destabilizing effect on the economy, on production, natural resources, finance and technology. The military budget is also having an effect on the patterns of the economic cycles. High interest rates and continuing trade deficits are factors influencing the erratic movement of the economy.

As with all other areas, the main factor influenc-

ing the economic cycle and especially the upturn phase is the high degree of monopoly control over the economy. Their control is ever tighter. With this tight monopoly control they are able to manipulate and to some degree predetermine interest rates and the effects of the relationships between supply and demand and between prices and shortages.

The Decaying Sectors

Most of the major industrial cities of our country are clustered around the older industrial sector of the economy that most likely will continue to deteriorate. What is the perspective for these industries and the older industrial urban centers?

The Midwest and the Eastern seaboard will continue to suffer economic blight. Because of the reluctance by finance capital to invest there is a lack of investment capital in the old-line manufacturing industries. As a result, the rate of productivity gains will continue to decline. And the corporations will work to make up for this decline by ever greater speedup and a higher rate of exploitation. An example of urban decay in old-line industrial production cities is Detroit, where 50,000 families have now used up their unemployment benefits and have no real prospect for re-employment in and around Detroit.

Like everything else about capitalism, the dislocations and distortions brought about by structural modifications are racist to the core. These economic displacements and structural modifications leave 50-60 per cent of Black youth unemployed and completely locked in a racist cycle of unemployment, poverty and hopelessness.

The structural transformations in the economic complex are having serious and disastrous effects on the quality of life of the Afro-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities. They carry a disproportionate load of the layoffs and the majority of the jobs in the labor-intensive, low-technology industries. They are the main victims of the rapid decline in social services in the crumbling urban centers. Racism makes it more difficult and often impossible to move from one part of the country to another to seek jobs.

New industries have come on the industrial scene before without creating serious crises. The

present transformations must be seen in the context of the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the negative effects of the dominant role of finance capital, the declining position of U.S. imperialism in the world market and the role of the multinational corporations.

On the other hand, there are cities in the so-called Sun Belt, clustered around new technology industries, electronics and energy, where unemployment is at a relatively low level.

The Urgency of Industrial Concentration

Deterioration and economic transformation is not limited to the Midwest and East. The older urban centers in the rest of the country also face some of these same problems of dislocation. These older industrial centers are not going to die out and disappear. They are and will remain centers of even sharper class struggles. And this will intensify and accelerate the process of radicalization. All the contradictions of monopoly capitalism will be in ever sharper focus there. Therefore, the policy of industrial concentration takes on even greater importance.

Much of the high technology-energy sector is located in smaller communities in the South, Southwest and some of the Western states. The workers in these industries are for the most part unorganized. This adds to the urgency of a drive to organize the unorganized generally. The efforts of the coal companies to expand the number of non-union mines is symbolic of the fact that in almost every industry and trade the non-union sector is growing.

The banks and corporations view these crises as a great opportunity. In fact, the Reagan Administration applauds the increase in unemployment as "a very positive and encouraging development."

Besides the problems stemming from the overall structural alterations there are the specific problems due to the new chip and robot revolution. This latest and least talked about technological revolution, now in its initial stages, will be the most devastating innovation in its effects on the working class. The construction of new factories and the manufacturing of chips and robots did create some new jobs. But because the chips can be mass produced and some of the production

facilities have been transferred to low-wage countries there are layoffs and even plant closings.

The structural alterations together with the chips and robot revolution are creating serious problems for the class struggle and the trade union movement. The bottom line is whether to cave in and retreat or whether to fight. The coal miners have once again set a splendid example. They chose to fight.

I want to place some special emphasis on the nature and role of monopoly capital because when new developments appear on the economic scene there are some tendencies to deal with them without reference to their basic roots and relationships within state monopoly capitalism. Assessments and projections that are not rooted in the basic feature, the main contradiction of monopoly capitalism, tend to float aimlessly in a classless context. Such a classless approach to and treatment of questions and issues can not guide or prod the mass movements into antimonopoly struggles.

We must keep in mind that while Reagan, Stockman, Regan and Friedman are the articulators and defenders of present policies, the actual policy-makers are the dominant sections of monopoly capital. The policies are responses of big business to the problems of the new stage of the general crisis of monopoly capitalism.

As the general crisis of capitalism deepens and its reserves become depleted all the economic processes tend to lead to crises. Increasingly, the system lacks the reserves for both maximum corporate profits and solutions to existing crises without creating new ones. No sooner do they find a solution for one crisis than it becomes the cause for a new one. And in each of the new stages of the general crisis the anarchistic nature of capitalist production becomes ever more sticky. That is why capitalism can not get its act together. Because the Reagan-Stockman policies are designed for maximizing corporate profits and minimizing social welfare programs, they are not solutions to crises, old or new.

Structural Modifications

The Reagan Administration's anti-people supply-side economics must be seen within the

context of some of the new economic trends and changes in U.S. monopoly capitalism.

For example, without plan or design, the U.S. economy is going through some rather basic structural modifications and technological developments. These alterations are creating serious dislocations and new crises. The sick and dying industries and disastrous urban crises are features and a product of these transformations. These on-going structural modifications are basic and long-term factors influencing all economic processes, including the economic cycle.

On the one hand, there are the dynamics of the newer and faster-growing energy-electronics-technology sector of the industrial complex. On the other hand there are the more stagnant sectors—the older, basic, "smokestack" manufacturing industries such as steel, auto and rubber. This modification of the industrial complex is affecting all economic processes—growth rates, productivity, investment patterns and financial matters generally. And it is creating a dead-end economic crisis for tens of millions of workers and their communities.

There is a world of difference in how the various phases of the economic crisis are affecting these two sectors. The crisis is in "remission" in the smokestack sector while the energy-electronics-technology sector is in the initial stages of recovery. There is a qualitative difference in how investment capital flows in these two sectors, resulting in a difference in levels of productivity and technology. One sector is for higher tariffs and the other is for open door trade policies.

These economic transformations create new divisions, new dissension in monopoly capitalist circles over questions of taxes, tariffs and other government priorities. This explains the current debate over the nature of the tax and depreciation swindles. Different sectors of monopoly capital have differing interests and therefore push for the kind of programs that will best further their corporate self-interests. There is no such thing as "one for all and all for one" in the top circles of finance capital.

These fundamental differences between the sectors will continue indefinitely. It can be summed up as the difference between sick and dying indus-

tries and new and dynamic industries. This assessment leads to many important political and tactical questions.

The response of the class collaborators such as Douglas Fraser and Lloyd McBride is different. They have chosen to support policies of cutting workers' wages and increasing corporate profits. And there are some top trade union leaders who are for cutting corporate taxes and transferring ever more of the tax load onto the backs of the working people. This is all done in the name of saving the smokestack industries and making them competitive with foreign imports. But they are all completely silent when it comes to the chips and robots.

There are no solutions along the line of class collaboration. For workers it leads only to a dead end. The only viable solutions are along the path of militant class struggle. The key link is mobilization of the people for a real fight to save the cities and to save jobs, to force a halt to plant closings.

It is also obvious that the campaign to nationalize these plants and industries now becomes even more urgent and a realistic prospect. These developments give our Party's policies of industrial concentration both a new urgency and a new dimension.

Shop-Floor Class Collaboration

There is one more piece of the class-struggle crossword puzzle that must be put into place. That is a newly-designed variety of class collaboration. It has been designed to meet monopoly capital's specifications and concrete needs of the present moment. It is an attempt to get workers to give up all struggles and instead to give full support to the corporate drive for maximum profits.

Class collaboration has always been a problem and an obstacle to class-struggle trade unionism. But with the new, complex crisis problems in the economic arena there is emerging a new concept of "labor-management partnership" and "social peace." As a rule, servile class-collaborationist policies have been a built-in feature of top trade union leadership circles. Throughout the years the forms of collaboration have changed, but the content has remained essentially the same. In essence, this means selling out the interests of the

working class to big business.

Today, because there are new economic problems, there is also a new variety of class collaboration which is already affecting tens of millions of workers. Its code name is "quality of worklife circles." This new monopoly enslavement gimmick is being promoted by the biggest corporations, with General Motors as its leading advocate. The shop-floor bosses of U.S. Steel have just completed a year's training, so they are now ready to lead these "circles."

The gimmick is a variation on the same old theme: "What's good for GM is good for its workers." Basically, this time it is class collaboration on the shop floor. It is an effort to hoodwink the rank and file into cooperating with class collaboration schemes. The hard-sell sales pitch goes something like this: "Through the quality of worklife circles the workers gain a voice in decision-making on the shop floor." These "circles" have many different names, such as "self-managed work teams" and "labor-management steering committees."

The corporate pitchmen hawking this line say: "There's no longer management's turf and workers' turf. There's just a sharing of the management of the business." Privately, the big business think tanks admit this is monopoly capital's way of dealing with "the lower growth rate, declining productivity and the competitive market." It is obvious the net result of these "quality of worklife circles" is a higher rate of worker exploitation resulting in a higher rate of corporate profits. The semi-feudal class relations in many of the industries in Japan have become the model and goal of U.S. corporations.

In too many cases the "quality of worklife circles" are replacing the shop-level trade union grievance machinery. This is especially true in shops and industries where the grievance machinery has already been dismantled and discarded. But there are also cases where these corporation-sponsored "circles" have taken over, usurping the union grievance setup.

This is not a fly-by-night operation. The corporate-funded think tanks at Harvard, Yale and Stanford are turning out books, studies and documents to be used for ideological propaganda. Management personnel are being carefully "re-

trained" and "reeducated" in special Dale Carnegie-con artist type of programs in order to put over effectively the new concept of shop-floor class partnership.

This new hoax is very clever because it is based on an understandable and just desire of workers to have something to say about conditions on the shop floor. Workers want to have some decision-making power.

The "quality of worklife circles," in both philosophy and application on the shop floor, are designed to take advantage of this real need and desire. But like all class collaboration schemes, it is a well-laid trap. Our Party must take on and expose this latest corporate scheme to derail class-struggle trade unionism. We must exert greater efforts to build and rebuild the shop-floor trade union structure, including the grievance machinery and rank-and-file organizations.

The Parasitic Sector

Current economic developments are further affected and aggravated by the increasingly rapacious, parasitic nature of U.S. monopoly capital. There is a rapid growth of the non-productive sector. The rich have all kinds of channels for getting welfare.

Besides the coupon clippers there is an explosive growth of banking, of money markets and credit-card vampires. There is a \$55 billion dollar, tax-free expense account giveaway. Over and above premium payments, the insurance company leeches collect over \$100 billion a year. There are 7 to 8 layers of fat-cat corporate managers. Sixty billion per year is wasted on advertising. The Pentagon alone spends \$2½ billion dollars each year on hired consultants, most of whom are retired military brass. And \$100 billion goes to the banker loansharks as interest on the federal debt.

This rapidly expanding, parasitic, deadbeat, freeloading sector is sustained by the ever increasing rate of exploitation of the working class. In order to feed this insatiable parasitic sector of leeches the rate of exploitation of the working class has gone from 150 per cent to 270 per cent. It has almost doubled in some 30 years.

The new economic problems, the new developments and modifications, the continuing offen-

sive of monopoly capital, the reactionary, anti-labor, racist policies of the Reagan Administration must all now be taken into consideration in formulating our trade union tactics and policies. They are all features of the new reality.

All of the developments in the field of economics, and especially the Reagan budget cuts, are severely affecting every sector of society—except of course big business.

Because of lack of time, I can not now go into all the effects. And to be perfectly honest, we—including the national departments and sections of the Party—have not yet studied the effects on the different sectors.

Let me just mention some of them.

While the Supreme Court decision on equality of job classification is a step in the right direction and can become an instrument for struggle against the 50 per cent lower wages in so-called female jobs, the overall economic developments have a very special negative effect on women in general and especially on working women.

These new economic developments hit farmers hard. They are already \$108 billion dollars in debt. It has reached the point where the banks consider farmers in the highest risk category. And their buying power is now at the 1930 level.

Scientists who do not work in military-related jobs, professors, teachers, social workers, cultural workers, small- and medium-size businesses are all getting the supply-side economic ax.

But of all the sectors, the sharpest and deepest cuts are motivated by racism.

The Reagan-Stockman policy of "no entitlements" in general, added to their basic racist premises, spell a policy that Afro-American people have never been and are not now entitled to equal rights in any area of life. So far there have been no retreats on racism by the Reagan Administration.

Because of the Reagan policy against integration in education, the busing programs are being killed. Because of a policy of racism in civil rights, the 1965 Voting Rights Act is in serious danger. Because of a policy of racism in the economic arena affirmative action programs are being discarded. The sick and dying industries, the plant closings, the structural dislocations, the chips and

robots—all add an additional devastating dimension to the old patterns of racism and discrimination. These new developments can very quickly wipe out whatever gains have been made in the past in the struggle against racism.

The new economic developments further cloud the future for youth. The budget cuts will cut off whatever hope or possibilities there were to "earn, learn and live." The new generations of chips and robots are displacing the young people now growing up by taking their jobs. The new generations of nuclear missiles are threatening the very existence of present and future generations.

And for senior citizens the cuts literally mean cutting years off their lives. For millions of our elderly, handicapped, sick and disabled, as well as veterans, it means cutting off their lifelines.

For the millions on welfare, food stamps and other subsistence programs it means cutting down to bare existence, if that.

The Reagan budget cuts spell disaster, despair, poverty and hopelessness for millions in all sectors of our society.

The Mass Upsurge

As long as one doesn't brag or boast about the positives or fume and fret about the negatives it is helpful to take a quick glance back at past developments to gain some hindsight and to help put things in proper perspective. Last December, after the presidential elections, many leaders on the Left, as well as some liberals and progressives, took a very dim, pessimistic view of the period ahead. Many spoke about a period of retreat, defensiveness and hopelessness. They doubted even the remote possibility of a fightback. Many accepted the erroneous idea of a popular swing to the Right in the country. Some even feared fascism was at our doorstep. These fears were not without some basis.

The truth is that we didn't take any of those positions. In fact, we spoke about a very short honeymoon and then a new, mass militant upsurge. In my report to the Central Committee in December 1980, we made the following assessment and projection:

There are new problems. But there is nothing, absolutely nothing, in the new situation

that justifies moods of retreat or tactics based on withdrawing from struggles or of going on the defensive.

And more than anything else, the people are on the alert—waiting and watching—with a growing conviction that we are entering a period of heightened struggles.

When this assessment was projected, some friends—and even some in our Party—said we were being overly optimistic, even Pollyannish. There are some important lessons in such assessments. One important lesson is the fact that many of those who did not see the developing fightback were not prepared for the upsurge now sweeping our country.

Today there is no need to argue whether there is an upsurge because we are right in the thick of a mounting, militant people's fightback. What we have to do now is to assess the character, the key issues, the main forms and forces that are involved in this mass upsurge. We also have to examine how we as a Party are participating and how we can make a much bigger, more effective contribution, as well as to more clearly define the nature of the Party's role during this period.

While the hundreds of marches, demonstrations, rallies, lobbies and mass actions on a wide variety of issues are the result of organized efforts by different forces, the basic catalyst, the energizers of the present upsurge, are the spontaneous grassroots eruptions and explosions all across the country. We have to study and evaluate both the organized initiatives and the nature of the mass sentiment. We also have to determine on what issues there is the strongest popular response and why.

Because of the grassroots nature of the upsurge, more than in past periods the mass actions are mainly taking place in the cities and state capitals in all regions of the country. The most effective mass actions are taking place in the basic industrial centers. The key issues are the budget cuts in vital social and human welfare programs; the bloated military budget; taxes; inflation; racism; layoffs and plant closings; social security; nuclear power; utility and rents; El Salvador and Africa.

The most explosive domestic issue so far is the proposed \$100 billion cut in social security retire-

ment benefits. There was an immediate outburst and mass rebellion because these proposed cuts would affect millions of workers who are now making plans to retire. Although the Administration and Congress responded with a temporary retreat, the battle is far from over. And the people know it. There is no "safety net" under social security.

There is an important lesson in the rebellion that took place against the proposed social security cuts. The 96 to 0 Senate vote against the proposed Reagan cuts, together with the retreats on rent control, black lung benefits and other backtracking maneuvers, show that at this stage of the struggle it is easier to influence members of Congress than it is to move the Administration. The lesson in this is that members of Congress are more vulnerable and responsive to public pressure than is the Administration, at least at this moment.

This also applies to city and state legislative bodies. Wherever mass pressure has been applied, more than at any time in the past, these lower governmental bodies have responded on both domestic and foreign issues.

This should come as no surprise. The deepening decay and crisis of the cities is changing the very nature and role of the city and state governing bodies, including their class and racial composition. They are now closer to the people who are most seriously affected by the crises. It is increasingly more difficult to hide from the people in the cities.

The recent U.S. Conference of Mayors, held in Louisville, provided clear proof of this. Most of the mayors were very critical of the Reagan policies and in a resolution demanded a share of the funds for the cities and social service programs at least equal to those that go for the military budget.

We must take the important, changing political patterns into consideration in our mass work generally and especially in our electoral work.

More than any period since the 1930s, the most active and effective force has been and is the working class. This is adding a new dimension as well as a new quality to the mass upsurge. The rank-and-file pressures have pushed the trade union movement into initiating and participating in most

of the mass actions. In fact, many of the demonstrations were initiated, sponsored, endorsed and led by the trade union movement. A large section of trade union leadership is active in the upsurge.

Besides mass actions in cities and in state capitals, there have been some 15 national mass rallies and marches in Washington, D.C. Again, in these national actions the most active and in many cases the leading force has been the trade union movement.

A very important feature of these mass actions is that the working-class, trade union contingents are multiracial and multinational. They express a new level of unity.

The response to the TUAD-initiated jobs march idea, though still spotty, has been enthusiastic, especially in cities like Buffalo and Detroit. This is clear evidence of the explosive nature of the sentiment on the grassroots level and in the ranks of the trade union movement generally.

We should also take note of the fact that within a year's time there have been over 200 church-sponsored conferences on peace and against the Reagan Administration's policy of aggression against El Salvador. Sections of the Catholic Church are very active.

"Year of Coalition"

This is fast becoming the year of people's coalitions and alliances. As never before they are sprouting up all over the place like mushrooms, by the thousands, on a variety of issues. Again, the burning issues are the budget cuts, plant closings, unemployment, health, housing, education, inflation, transportation, social security and the ultra-Right threat to democratic rights. There are now increasing numbers of broad coalitions that include members of state legislative bodies, city councils and mayors—generally organized around the slogans "Save Our Cities" and "Save Our Jobs."

This means there is a need to reassess and give higher priority to electoral work as well as to mass activities around bodies such as city councils, state legislative bodies, community boards, school boards, mayors, county and township officials, etc. The inclusion of local public officials in the coalitions and alliances gives them added prestige

and status. This also adds greatly to their potential.

The mushrooming coalitions and alliances are the main form of the mass upsurge. Some are still of the one-shot, ad hoc type. But increasingly they are coming together for long-range goals and longer periods. Some are still single-issued oriented. But increasingly they are dealing with multiple and related issues. And most important, increasingly there are contacts and relationships developing between different coalitions for the purpose of achieving common goals, for strength and for added pressure and clout. This is a reflection of the fact that the inter-relationship between different issues is generally better understood. For example, it is becoming clearer that the cuts in funds for social services are directly related to the increase in the military budget.

Not only are the working class and the trade union movement involved beyond passing resolutions, but in many areas there is also a growing working relationship between the trade unions and other sectors of the fightback movement. The June 18 New York City rally against the Reagan budget cuts, co-sponsored by the Congress of Senior Citizens of Greater New York and the New York City Central Labor Council is a good example of this developing relationship. The senior citizens coalitions are generally on a very high and militant level. An alliance between labor and senior citizens can be a very potent force.

There is a new level of working relationship

between members of the Congressional Black Caucus and the people's coalitions, and especially the trade union elements, which strengthens and brings into sharper focus the struggle against racism and the Reagan budget cuts. The new role of the Congressional Black Caucus was demonstrated in the 60 Congressional votes for the Black Caucus alternative budget.

There is a growing, closer relationship between the peace movement and the movements around other issues. For example, there is the interesting and important campaign led by the International Association of Machinists against the military budget and for a transfer of funds to non-military production.

It is important to recognize and to understand the full significance of the coalitions and alliances and their growing inter-relationships. This adds not only a new quantity, but a new qualitative dimension to the developing mass upsurge.

And most important, the mushrooming coalitions and alliances are the current form and the new level of the anti-monopoly movement. They are a reflection of the new level of mass radicalization and militancy.

Also important is that these blossoming coalitions and the mass upsurge prove beyond a doubt that Reagan's election was not a popular mandate, not a swing to the Right, and that Reagan has no real mass base from which to put over his ultra-Right reactionary policies.

Electoral Perspectives for 1981 & 1982

SI GERSON

Many signs point to sharpening class and social struggles in the immediate months and years ahead. The militant strike of the miners and the mounting nationwide resistance to the savage assault on social programs by the Reagan Administration are only some of the elements of these struggles.

Increasingly this mass resistance will be reflected in the electoral arena, necessitating a higher level of response by all progressive forces, not least of all by the Communist Party.

For the purpose of this discussion, I want to limit my remarks to two immediate questions—the local elections of 1981 and the mid-term congressional elections of 1982. But before plunging into these questions, perhaps a few general observations are in order. Three phenomena should be noted:

1. Alienation of great sections of eligible voters from the electoral process continues apace. As noted on previous occasions, nearly half the eligible electorate does not participate in the voting process. There is apparent wide frustration or outright disgust with both major parties, with "politics," that has led to mass abstentions.

2. At the same time there is a growing mood of independence on the part of those who do participate. It must be noted that more than 7 million people voted outside the columns of the two major parties in the 1980 presidential elections.

In a word, there are millions who refuse to associate themselves with either major party. A recent survey in New Jersey, for example, showed that the number of independents in that state is larger than the combined total of declared Democrats and Republicans. And there are indications that this is a national trend. This explains, in part, the fact that John Anderson and some of his associates are talking of forming a third party for 1984, some-

thing he shrank from in 1980.

In the ranks of organized labor there is more and more discussion of the need for a third party or, at the very least, the election of unionists directly accountable to labor to various legislative bodies on no matter what ticket. This discussion is getting very little media attention, but it is obviously a central issue for a working-class Party like ours.

3. And, third, we must note the growing decay of the traditional two-party system. We were always aware of monopoly control of both major parties, notwithstanding some differences in their social bases. We recall that Congress has frequently been controlled by a coalition of conservative Democrats—the so-called Dixiecrats, for example—and Republicans. But today there is a new element: the increasingly open alliance between the most conservative elements in the Democratic Party and the Reagan Administration on major policy issues.

This was evidenced most clearly by the votes on the Reagan budget, with its vicious slashes of social programs while allotting new billions to the Pentagon's war budget (\$1.36 trillion in the next five years). Reagan not only shamelessly bartered favors for votes but promised not to campaign against Southern Democrats who would go along with him on his budget and tax legislation. He exulted publicly that winning Democratic votes meant that "a new coalition" was emerging.

On a local level this "new coalition" of reaction was evidenced by the action of the New York City Republican leadership in designating Mayor Ed Koch, a nominal Democrat, as their candidate, the first time in the city's history that both major parties endorsed the same candidate.

This is hardly accidental. Koch, the erstwhile Reform Democrat, today carries through in slavish fashion the dictates of big capital, the great banks and realty interests, against labor and the Black and Hispanic peoples. He has given support, direct and indirect, to ultra-Right Republican candi-

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dates. He ostentatiously invited candidate Reagan to City Hall in the 1980 campaign, and he knifed Elizabeth Holtzman, the liberal Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, thus helping the extreme Right-wing Republican Alfonse D'Amato to a narrow victory. He likewise endorsed a number of Republican hacks for lesser offices.

Koch, it might be noted, is being touted by the media as setting a national trend. It was not for nothing that he was on the cover of the widely circulated *Time* magazine as an example to mayors throughout the country. This does not mean that the Koch example will be followed everywhere; the process will be an uneven one.

But the developments in Congress and various localities indicate clearly that monopoly capital, in its drive to destroy social gains, cut wages and depress mass living standards, seeks to remove what might be termed the possible margin of error. It is moving to wipe out effective political opposition, even to the point of arranging bipartisan candidacies, openly or covertly.



But an opposition is developing throughout the country. It is generally reflected in various coalitions around issues, particularly in the battle against Reagan's budget-cutting assault on social programs, and is even mirrored to some degree in the Congress as the pressure from the grass roots mounts. In this connection, the Congressional Black Caucus has performed yeoman service to the working people of the country by its persistent struggle, frequently leading the fight where some of their faint-hearted liberal colleagues shrank from doing open battle.

This opposition is also evidenced by wide resistance to military aid to the butcher junta in El Salvador. As far back as March, mail to the White House on military aid ran 10 to 1 against, and various polls showed that at least 70 per cent of the people opposed such aid. Even on the sacrosanct military budget, doubts are being expressed. Mississippi Senator John Stennis, an old warhawk, worried publicly about the vast billions being poured into the war machine. And CBS-TV ran a five-part series on its national net-

work which raised serious questions about the war budget. While these expressions are by no means couched in the fundamental terms that the fight for peace requires, they indicate a growing disquiet in many circles about the direction of Administration policy of feeding the Pentagon and starving the people.

In a word, the guns vs. butter debate is beginning to surface, perhaps not always in its clearest form, but in a qualitatively new way.

Despite some of his parliamentary victories, Reagan is by no means invulnerable, as evidenced in the firestorm created by his attacks on the social security system. When he was voted down by 96 to 0 in the U.S. Senate he and his henchmen beat a hasty retreat. The vote was termed by Tom Wicker in the *New York Times* as "Reagan's Bay of Pigs." A poll a few weeks later also reflected mounting public dissatisfaction.

In a fragmentary way, this resistance and search for new political alternatives can be seen by occasional gains made by independent candidates in local elections held in recent months. In Burlington, Vermont, a self-declared socialist with no party affiliation won the mayoralty race, as did a third party councilman. Similarly, in Santa Monica, California, third party people won council seats in a non-partisan election. While definite figures are not yet available, there have been similar developments in some other towns.

This rising resistance will affect the 1981 and 1982 elections and in the first place the cities hardest hit by the Reagan budget cuts.



This November there will be mayoralty elections in about 88 of the larger cities of the nation. Most of these campaigns will center around municipal budgets and the decline of services, particularly as the full impact of the Reagan slashes hit home. With aid to the cities cut sharply, school lunches will be reduced or dropped, meals-on-wheels for the elderly eliminated and a score of other services reduced or abolished. In industrial cities where plants have been closed and supplementary assistance and unemployment insurance have run out, welfare rolls will

grow to new heights and municipal budgets will be strained to the breaking point. School, hospital and library closings and layoffs of city workers will be the order of the day.

The effects of such developments are obvious, especially since many cities are already in crisis. Take mass transit, for example. Finance capital and its agents in city government have for generations been milking transit systems when privately owned and starving them when publicly or quasi-publicly owned. Mass transit systems in Boston, New York and Chicago are in a shambles, with local authorities raising fares even as service deteriorates to the point of endangering public safety.

Particularly hard hit are the inner cities where Black and Hispanic people live, not least of all most of the 14 cities which have Black mayors and which can no longer look to the federal government for substantial aid. The big corporations and the Reagan Administration have placed many of these cities in a cruel dilemma.

Look at Detroit, one of the nation's largest cities with a Black mayor. Mayor Coleman Young, who has a trade union background, presides over a city suffering from the sharp decline in the auto industry and the worst unemployment situation in the country (17.7 per cent officially). With nearly one out of every two Detroiters receiving some form of government assistance, a diminishing tax base and little or no federal aid forthcoming, the city faces bankruptcy. Detroit and Coleman Young, it can fairly be said, are being held hostage by the big corporations and the Reagan Administration.

Facing a \$119 million deficit June 30 and a projected \$150 million deficit in the next fiscal year, Mayor Young in desperation hired Felix Rohatyn, the Wall Street investment banker, as a consultant and has already paid him a \$100,000 fee. Rohatyn sold him a version of a plan he put over in New York. It includes a 7 per cent wage cut for firemen and cops, a 5 per cent cut for the non-uniformed city workers and a one-year wage freeze. He also proposed raising the city income tax by one per cent both for residents and commuters, a proposition that went before the voters in a referendum June 23 and which was reluctantly adopted by the voters. Understandably, the labor movement op-

posed this "solution" to the city's financial crisis.

Our Party in Michigan examined this question in a most responsible fashion. Our comrades understood well the plight of the city administration but they would not go along with the Rohatyn-type "solution." There was no quick fix to meet a June 30 deadline.

The real answer lies in a mass, united struggle against the monopoly corporations and the Reagan Administration, an Administration which has no intention of equalling—or coming close to—the total of \$1.3 billion Detroit got in federal urban-aid grants between 1971 and 1981.

Obviously, Detroit is an extreme case. But with only differences in degree Boston, Chicago and many other cities are in the same situation. The economic crisis, plant closings, mass layoffs and the guns before butter policies of the Reagan Administration—an acceleration of the worst features of the Carter Administration—means further mass layoffs of city workers, wage cuts, hospital closings and slashes in virtually every city service, as well as new local taxes.



The resistance to these cuts has already begun and will undoubtedly take on more militant forms as their full impact is felt this fall. But will these struggles be carried over into the electoral arena?

Generally speaking, the answer is that they will carry over only where independent forces take the initiative. Except for the Black Caucus members and a few liberal Democrats, the real fightback in the municipal elections will have to be initiated by independent forces who can stimulate wider groupings in the fightback in the electoral arena.

In this respect, New York has set something of an example. Independent forces encouraged—and helped to bring forth—an opponent, former longshoreman and New York Assemblyman Frank Barbaro, to the ostensibly invulnerable Mayor Koch. While the fight at this point is being waged in the Democratic primary, independent grassroots coalitions are being developed in labor, among the Black and Hispanic peoples, among tenant organizations and other groups. It is hoped that whatever the result in the Democratic pri-

mary, Barbaro will run on an independent line in the November general election.

Detroit Communists will work to elect a progressive majority in the City Council, and notwithstanding their criticism of Mayor Young's position on the fiscal crisis will help to repulse his ultra-reactionary opposition. In California, Communists and other progressives have been active in political coalitions in Berkeley, Oakland and other cities. In Illinois, Communists and other progressives have been especially busy in the fight to prevent the gerrymandering of three Black members of Congress.

In respect to Communist Party candidates, Cleveland has advanced Rick Nagin for mayor in the city's non-partisan race and is building a united front committee of Communists and non-Communists around his candidacy. In New York, the Party plans to run one or two City Council candidates while working together with other grassroots forces on a city-wide scale.

It goes without saying that while we work everywhere to build electoral coalitions reflecting the new mass upsurge, we must constantly seek to have our own candidates to express our own views. Far from weakening any coalition movement, such candidacies can help clarify the issues before the people and thus advance the coalition.



Now a word on 1982. It is not too early to think, plan and organize for '82. Certainly, the ultra-Right is preparing. It already has its hit list of liberals whom it has marked for defeat.

We must not forget that many liberals were driven out of public life by the ultra-Right. Last November, Senators McGovern, Culver, Church, Nelson, Bayh and Durkin were defeated and replaced in the main by extreme Right-wingers. Two years before Senators Clark and McIntyre were victims of the ultra-Right assault. Earlier, Senator Fulbright was defeated and populists like Fred Harris and James Abourezk gave up the ghost.

These men were not flawless liberals, but by and large they were pro-detente and pro-labor and most voted in support of civil rights programs. All were targets of the ultra-Right. The ultra-Right

intends to continue this pattern in 1982 and win complete control of the Congress for nuclear maniacs, racists and sworn enemies of labor.

Organized labor and many liberal and progressive forces are alarmed. Clearly, Left forces, while playing an indendent role, must be an active part of the wide movement to repulse the extreme Right in 1982. Certainly, the opportunities for a wide counter-offensive of Left and progressive forces exist in the growing mass upsurge.

But such a wide movement can only develop if it is begun *now* and if the 1981 mayoralty elections are seen as helping to create the basis for great changes in 1982, first of all by involving in coalition activity, on all fronts of struggle, including the electoral front, masses of people who have hitherto been relatively passive.

Within the framework of a broad movement against the ultra-Right, the advanced independent forces can make an enormous contribution, both ideologically and organizationally. They can not only help to defeat the ultra-Right, but can turn the situation into its opposite by helping to weld a bloc of independents in the Congress that will be a counterweight to the extreme Right and be a constant prod to wavering liberals and Center forces.

In this connection the role of the Congressional Black Caucus is crucial. It is the most advanced bloc in the Congress and therefore it is no accident that reaction is moving heaven and earth to whittle down its strength. One of the forms this takes is the effort to gerrymander out some seats now held by Black Caucus members in the current reapportionment as well as to draw congressional district lines so as to prevent additions to the Black Caucus. This is extremely serious. Of the 12 congressional districts listed as having lost the most population in the 1970s, 7 are represented by Blacks and 1 by a Puerto Rican, all from urban areas.

Beyond helping to hold the line, Left and progressive forces must go further and fight for increased Black representation. Blacks form at least 12 per cent of the U.S. population but have only about 4 per cent of the representation in the House and none in the lily-white Senate. The fight to change this situation is an organic part of the

struggle against the ultra-Right. Strengthening of the Black Caucus means strengthening the fight for peace and democracy.

These then are some of the electoral perspectives for 1981 and 1982.



In these struggles we have great responsibilities. Are we prepared to carry them out? Let us ask ourselves some frank questions. Have we elevated electoral and legislative work throughout the Party to the levels necessary to carry out our great responsibilities? Are we intimately acquainted with the problems of the cities, for example? Are we prepared with concrete answers? Are we developing the necessary knowledge and expertise to speak authoritatively? Do we have the contacts necessary to carry on effective coalition activities?

Do we have in at least the major districts func-

tioning political action committees, small or large, that can help prepare the Party well in advance of election time? Or do we still scurry around a few weeks or months before the elections to work up a program and candidacies?

Above all, are we carrying the fight for independent political action into the labor movement? Are we systematically encouraging the fight for labor candidates? Increasingly, there is the feeling among trade unionists that they must be directly represented in various legislative bodies. What are we doing boldly and persistently to stimulate this mood and implement it?

These questions must be resolved if we are to be an effective force and fulfill our proper role in advancing an antimonopoly coalition.

If we organize ourselves correctly for the coming election, I am confident that we can make an enormous contribution for peace, democracy and socialism in the next period.

The Correlation Between Theory and Policy

JAMES E. JACKSON

Sometimes in the pressure of the work unfolding the concept of the utility of ideology and theory becomes remote, something put on the back burner, on the shelf, to be deferred until a holiday. And when the holiday comes around, one is too exhausted to deal with the tomes of theoretical works! Theory is probably one of the least exercised aspects of the complete Marxist-Leninist person.

But, to be a complete Marxist-Leninist person, going about the business of preparing the transformation of the world we live in; to accommodate real people, to satisfy human needs, to function with purposefulness, one needs the guiding light of the summarized, generalized experience of history.

Therefore, it is not possible to be a whole Marxist-Leninist without constantly considering that a vital aspect of one's being is the study and absorption of the digested essence of working-class experience.

No one personally can encounter in living experience the equivalent of scientific theory, which neatly compresses and expresses the essence of a multitude of practical experiences. Therefore there is a dialectical interrelation between theory and practice, between ideology and policy, between theory and real politics, the politics of actual existing situations and circumstances.

It is a well-known saying that "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." This is a quotation from Lenin. Yet, this truism is observed more in the breach than in the practice. There is a certain natural tendency to an impatience with thought in general—contemplation, reflection, consideration of a long view and examination of the relationship between what we must do in one instance and how it relates to where we perceive we must go.

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But from the standpoint of motivating people for the solution of basic problems and to maintain a constant review of the generalized world and historic experience of the working class, a constant return to the fundamentals of the theory of Marxism-Leninism is necessary.

Marxist-Leninist theory is the guiding light that facilitates the passage *from* where we are to where we must be to realize the goals of our purpose—our purpose being to advance the class struggle to victory, to the emancipation of the toilers and the oppressed from their enthrallment to the exploiters and oppressors.

It was the catch phrase of Bernstein that expressed the substance of revisionism and opportunism in politics and which celebrated the false dichotomy—the division of theory from practice. Bernstein, the notorious, modern father of revisionism, lends revisionism his name—Bernsteinism. Bernsteinism is revision of Marxism from the Right.

Bernstein gave us this cliché: "The movement is everything; the ultimate aim is nothing." Without reference to the precise quotation from Bernstein, in practice we very often offend with this. We think there's some special chemistry in the struggle, in the movement *per se* that will carry us to the goal and relate the practical to the objective *without* theory. So theory becomes a kind of unwelcome appendage to practice rather than the guiding light of our practice. The headlight on the locomotive of practice should be our theory if we are to look ahead, penetrate the fog and the uncertainties and to render the practice efficient and meaningful.

And if we are to motivate the troops for battle, we build confidence in our cadre, in the forces for social change, in the membership of our Party, by expressing the confidence that we know what we are about, of how the present relates to the future. We should show that we have examined how we arrived at the present from the past, and that we

have the confidence of that knowledge which makes meaningful the so-called marching orders of the day.

Marx, Engels and Lenin, the authors of our fundamental tenets of theory, were the great masters who boiled in the cauldron of their genius the essence of a wide range of human experience, class experience and historical knowledge, and capsulated it all in the writings and teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, we have the advantage of thousands of class struggle experiences and thousands of pages of human history ready at hand in the theory, in the fundamental teachings, of Marxism-Leninism.

Out of our practical activities—our practice—we will develop authority, prestige as leaders, based on services rendered, tasks performed, on building of the Party; leading successfully the mass struggles of the workers to accomplish the necessary goals of today and relating them to tomorrow. But in the meantime, and even after we achieve some things, we will need the authority that only invoking the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin can give us. Sometimes one can not persuade a person to do what evidently needs to be done. So let them argue with Lenin (!) why they should “remain pat” and not step out in this or that direction which the collective perceives as a necessary practical task.

Striving to master the fundamentals of our theory, the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, is a practical aid in giving practical leadership in carrying out agreed-upon policies and programmatic tasks from day to day.

“An army doesn’t travel on its stomach alone.” (It may travel on its stomach, but it doesn’t fight from a full stomach.) Economics is very basic to social, human, historical progress, but to enter into struggle there has to be additional motivation—motivation that only ideology can give. Therefore, ideological insight links up the pragmatic tasks of today with the task of changing the world tomorrow. It shows the correlation between the doing of practical day-to-day deeds with this noble vision of changing the world as such to make it worthy for the human race, to make it a justified environment for men, women and children.

A whole leader needs to have at least three elements. They must be activists in the struggle; they must be among the masses (not as preachers but as participants, interacting with the masses); they must be somewhere in the front ranks or near the front ranks on the issues of the day, of the concerns of the people.

The question of leadership requires an attitude of being a permanent student of the theory of social revolution, of the theory of how to move from where we are to where history has already mapped out that we must go—toward the freedom of the people, the emancipation of the class, and the realization of the conditions for the fulfillment of the human personality.

We have to ask ourselves quite candidly and quite often—how competent are we in explaining what we’re about, over and beyond immediate quotas on the newspaper, a leaflet distribution, or as we relate to the economic or social task of the neighborhood, or shop, or union? Are we convincing people in defining the socialist objectives, that it is socialism alone which can emancipate the class and create the basis for the solution of the problems which stand in the way of social progress?

Let us quote an excerpt from Lenin’s *Marxism and Revisionism*:

To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat in the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment, such is the policy of revisionism. And it patently follows from the very nature of this policy that it may assume an infinite variety of forms, that every more or less new question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it changes the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the briefest period, will always inevitably give rise to one variety of revisionism or another.

Revisionism is, in general, the endeavor at adapting Marxism and the policies of the move-

ment and of the Party to the status quo—bending it and reducing the tempo of its development to accommodate to capitalism and the influence of capitalism. Therefore the amending of Marxism to accommodate to pragmatic practicalness is a danger. We refer generally to it as opportunism of the Right. It is a living present danger that emerges to smother the revolutionary fervor, enthusiasm, and diminish the energy of our cadre, our members, in situations where we neglect ideology and theory. Ideology sets the beacon light, it sets the chimes, the bells that herald the dawn of the morrow of our victory, in the minds of the masses.

One of the important areas of ideological challenge from the enemy to our Party takes place on many levels and is constantly and continuously a bill of fare in the media. It is found on the television, in the trade union press, the daily newspapers, etc., and in ordinary conversation; as a result, we must more and more address ourselves to the problem of anti-Sovietism.

To understand the Soviet Union is an absolute imperative for Communists. There are no Communists worthy of the name who do not understand the historic significance of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union can be likened to a fulcrum upon which an Archimedes lever rests that can raise the world to a new level of human achievement. Without this fulcrum on which rests the lever of the world revolutionary process, the world revolutionary process could come to an end. It is necessary to understand the uniqueness of this mother of socialist achievement—the Soviet Union. This pioneer—the first—this generator of energy and support to the entire world revolutionary process in all of its aspects. It is a great force for peace which gives muscle and bone to the aspirations and wishes of human beings for peace.

In the Soviet Union 20 million people went to their death in the war against the Nazis. There is nothing “normal” about standing in the face of tanks and blazing turret guns, saying one will die to defend the liberties of others who will come or live after. How could that take place on such a mass scale? It could only take place thanks to the power of ideology.

It is important for all peoples of the world to

know the truth about existing socialism as distinct from some mirage in the minds of people. Existing socialism, in living colors, is well and flourishing from Moscow to Havana; from Berlin to Addis Ababa. Real existing socialism thrives on the earth today with unprecedented achievements to herald and daring tasks yet to achieve, with problems and needs still to be resolved. Partisanship toward, and appreciation of the meaning of the working-class in state power is the mark of advanced working class consciousness, identity and loyalty. This is the basis for building all of our future expectations for a peaceful earth flourishing and suitable for human beings to realize their dreams for a better life. Understanding this socialism, in the Soviet Union first of all, and in the community of socialist countries already existing, is the truth that can save the world and that can set all peoples free.

Denigration of the working class as the ruling class, denigration of the working class in state power is the denial of a working-class attitude. It doesn't mean anything to have a pro-working-class attitude toward workers in a given shop or workers on strike in a given union and then have an equivocal capitalist-oriented attitude to the workers in state power—the Soviet Union, Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, wherever. We must make better use of readily available material to enlarge our capacity to explain socialist achievements and our own understanding of why it is vital in order to do an effective education job among the masses.

In our country, with its national pragmatic philosophy, so to speak—(“I'm from Missouri: Show me!”)—we have to be able, with facts at our fingertips, to show that socialism works, in terms of socialism in the Soviet Union, and socialism in one socialist country after another. We have to show why it works for them and why it can work for us. Indeed, it has been said that our masses are likely to get ideas of socialism more from shopping in the world's marketplace, by way of looking in the windows of the world through tourist excursions than from books.

It is the state power achievements of the world working class that give the guarantee of the successful and victorious progress of the world revolutionary process in all of its aspects—for world

peace, democratic progress, socialist victories, etc. The outstanding theoretician B. N. Ponomorov in his latest book states the following:

For centuries relations between nations were based on inequality and the relations between states were built on the subjugation and the enslavement of the weak by the strong. And it was only with the consolidation of existing socialism that a new type of relation between nations and between states began to take shape.

Without the working class in power in the Soviet Union there would not have been 100 initiatives since the end of World War II for getting peace on the track. If there have been thirty-five years of peace in Europe, it is thanks to these one hundred initiatives. And **only** the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states took any of these initiatives. Only the working class in state power consistently takes initiatives of concern for the fate of humanity.

Existing socialism occupies an extremely important place in the world revolutionary process. A correct understanding of this is immensely significant for the success of the struggle for social progress throughout the world. At the present stage the solidarity of the world revolutionary forces with existing socialism is expressed above all in disseminating the truth about the socialist countries, foreign policy of peace, which meets the vital interests of all peoples, and the experience of re-making society on socialist principles and in giving effect to the ideals of socialism.

This means emphasizing the immense opportunities socialism opens to any country by truthfully describing the paths traversed by the peoples of the socialist states—states which have been born of socialist revolutions, and the character and scale of the difficulties they have had to overcome. This means describing objectively the ways and

means of solving a variety of problems—social problems. We have to argue and compare economic problems, political and cultural questions, nationality questions. How are these solved in the socialist states? We need to explain the challenge of this achievement to our own, emphasizing that all this is being done, in the final analysis, in the interests of the working people, the people as a whole. All this is of immense importance to the struggle for the socialist ideals and to daily class struggle in our own country.

Pretending to champion the development of the science of socialism, the advocates of abolishing Leninism—so-called Eurocommunism—whatever their intentions, objectively play into the hands of those who declare Marxism-Leninism outdated, in general, and would like to ideologically disarm the working-class movement.

Years ago the Republican Party was in flower in the time of Lincoln's presidency and shortly thereafter. When the Republican Party still wore the halo of the "party of emancipation," that is, the party championing abolition of chattel slavery in the United States, it was under sharp challenge from the Right and the Left. The great abolitionist Frederick Douglass counseled loyalty to the Party. Said Douglass: "The party is the ship. All else is the sea."

We do not say today, "All else is the sea." But we do say the Party, the Communist Party, is the flagship of the fleet of the working-class and people's organizations. And the working-class fleet will put into no port of socialism without the flagship of the Communist Party, guided by the compass of Marxism-Leninism on the congealed essence of the theoretical treasure trove of world and historic working-class experience. Without such a party as custodian of such wisdom in the van, no fleet of progress will put into any port of socialism.

China's Political and Social Problems

Y. SEMYONOV

Since the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in August 1977 both the foreign and domestic policies of the Chinese leaders have veered to the Right. This has been particularly noticeable of late in China's external policy.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held in June 1980 pointed to the rapprochement between the aggressive circles of the West, notably the USA, and the Chinese leadership. The meeting stressed that "the partnership between imperialism and Peking hegemonism is a new dangerous phenomenon in world politics, dangerous for the whole of mankind, including the American and Chinese peoples."

Drawing on the help of the imperialist states, Peking expects, in a short period, to considerably bolster its military and economic potential, which it could use to attain its great-power chauvinistic goals. While the Chinese leaders are not abandoning their intentions to pit the USA and the other imperialist states against the Soviet Union, they are being drawn more and more deeply into the mainstream of pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet policy. The danger of this type of partnership is also compounded by the fact that the Chinese leadership has not shelved its hegemonistic and expansionist policy, its stake on world war, and methods of perpetrating armed aggression against neighboring countries. It is already pursuing the policy in reality. This is evidenced by such facts as the aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1979 and the ongoing Chinese armed provocation on the Vietnam border, Peking's support of the remnant bands of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, and its desire to exacerbate the situation in Indochina and impose its will on the ASEAN countries. Along with the American imperialists the Chinese leaders organize, subsidize and arm counterrevolutionary bands invading the territory of Afghanistan from without. Peking's policy re-

mains a serious source of international tensions in Asia and the world as a whole.

The new features in Peking's foreign policy are closely linked to the changes taking place in China's internal life. Since the death of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese leadership, having set the aim of creating a powerful militarized state by the end of the 20th century, has been focusing more on economic problems. Gradually, the task of "four modernizations" seemed to replace Maoist calls for "continued class struggle." Nevertheless, the Chinese leadership still adheres to the basic nationalistic great-power ideas of Maoism.

Having adopted a course for political, economic and military cooperation with the West against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, the Chinese leadership has tried to gear its ideological doctrine to that course in a kind of facelifting of Maoism. Leftist Maoist slogans are not fashionable nowadays. Instead, the emphasis is placed on Mao's Right-wing nationalistic ideas. This task is facilitated by the fact that Mao's ideas reveal no system and no coherent scientific approach. His contradictory and sometimes mutually exclusive pronouncements present a mixed bag where one can find dogmas and premises to suit any taste.

The complexity and contradictory nature of the situation in which the Chinese leaders have placed themselves stems, on the one hand, from the fact that they have to scrap some of Mao's more odious principles and ideas and, on the other, are trying to salvage and even consolidate the battered and discredited "banner of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung," to preserve it as a system of "national unity" and "continuity between generations." In "correcting" and reinterpreting some of Mao's premises, the Chinese leaders seek to preserve and consolidate Maoism as the ideological and political basis for the activities of the Party and state and to present "Mao's ideas" as the "result of the collective wisdom of the Party."

The insolubility of this contradiction has been

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demonstrated particularly graphically of late. A farce of a trial, a crudely staged political show—such were the assessments both abroad and in China itself of the trial late last year of “counter-revolutionary groupings” headed by Jiang Qing and Lin Biao, which concluded on January 25 of this year in a sentence passed by a special court.

From the very start of the already drawn out process, the initiators of the trial were unable to push things through smoothly. It was announced that the accused were put on trial on charges of “criminal acts”; however, the indictments brought up against the defendants transcended by far the narrow confines of the criminal code. In effect, political charges were made against them—persecution of Party and state officials, senior personnel and the popular masses, the engineering of a coup d’etat aimed at the seizure of supreme power in the Party and country, and attempts on the life of Mao Tse-tung.

This trial was unprecedented in the 30-year history of the PRC and in the prominence of the participants as well. Nine of the ten defendants were former members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and political and military figures who were closest to Mao Tse-tung. But it was precisely this close connection between Mao and the crimes of the “ten,” or, to be more precise, Mao’s leading role in the misdeeds committed during the Cultural Revolution that the organizers of the trial wanted to hide from the people.

The initiators of the trial would like to put the entire blame for the harassment and repression of 100 million people, including Party and state figures, during the Cultural Revolution unleashed by Mao and the other mass political campaigns which plunged “the whole of China into a whirlpool of white terror”—on the “counterrevolutionary groupings” led by Lin Biao, the former “close associate of the great leader,” and Jiang Qing, Mao’s widow, as well as two other lieutenants of Mao, the “ideologist” Chen Boda and the hangman Kang Sheng. (*Guangming ribao*, September 30, 1980.)

As could have been expected, the trial in Peking developed into a “settling of scores” on the part of the winners with former as well as presently active rivals in the struggle for power. During the trial no

means were shunned in airing the dirty linen of the vanquished in public.

The numerous “facts” and “arguments” released only served to confirm something already known to all: that the military-bureaucratic dictatorship implanted by Mao Tse-tung created in the country an atmosphere of arbitrariness and lawlessness, terror, extensive surveillance, denunciations, libel, persecutions and physical repressions against everyone deemed unsuitable for political or any other reasons. Nevertheless, in spite of the plans of the organizers of the trial, sitting in the dock were the “theory” and practice and the entire political system of Maoism.

Aside from this, the trial clearly unveiled a picture of the ever exacerbating struggle for power in the top Peking echelons, and of the instability of the political situation in the country.

The social and economic situation in China is marked by some complex processes whose final consequences have not jelled yet. Many crisis phenomena in the economy and public life of China have yet to be overcome. On the eve of the 12th Congress of the CPC, factional struggles in Peking’s elite on issues of Party and economic policies are intensifying. In addition to differences over ways of implementing the “four modernizations” and the direction of the country’s social and economic development, there is an ever more apparent clash of interests over the “redistribution of power” and concrete posts in the ruling hierarchy. There is growing tension between young and old officials, between “experts” and “revolutionaries.” Another contentious problem for the Chinese elite is the official assessment of the results of 30 years of the development of the PRC, the historical role of Mao Tse-tung, his ideological and political legacy, the assessment of the Cultural Revolution and a series of other political campaigns.

Admission to Failure

Internal development in China in recent years provides ample evidence of the failure of the Maoist political course which had been pursued since 1958 mainly under Leftist adventurist slogans. The Communist and Workers’ Parties of

other countries have repeatedly pointed to the inconsistency and fallacious nature of this line. This is admitted today in official documents and statements of Chinese leaders.

Faced with numerous irrefutable facts, the Chinese leadership also has to admit certain crimes against the people committed during the past 20 years. And although the culprits are identified as the "counterrevolutionary groupings" led by Jiang Qing and Lin Biao, it is an open secret that behind them stands the figure of Mao Tse-tung, who bears the main responsibility for the enormous moral and material damage caused to the Chinese people.

In a report on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the PRC, Ye Jianying stated that during the cultural revolution China "was in effect ruled by a dictatorship of completely corrupt and odious fascism with an admixture of feudalism," and that the country had been plunged "into splitting and chaos," into "an atmosphere of bloody terror," into "the abyss of suffering," and put on the verge of economic ruin. For this "truly shocking, monstrous misfortune" the Chinese people "later had to pay a dear price." Speaking about the consequences of the cultural revolution, *Renmin ribao* pointed out in July 1980 that "it would take 20 to 30 years to heal the wounds inflicted by the 10 years of misfortune. If we are not careful enough we may prolong the sufferings of our country."

The third session of the Fifth National People's Congress held on August 30-September 10, 1980, was a milestone in the preparation for the 12th CPC Congress. The Chinese leadership wanted the session to be a major event in the country's political, economic and social life. However, with the continued jostling for power, differences over key matters of state and adherence to Maoist anti-scientific dogmas, the session failed to come up with a scientifically-backed economic and political platform. Lack of unity among Chinese leaders was evidenced by the fact that there was no plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee on the eve of the session and that the report of the premier of the State Council on the work of the government, a traditional feature, was not delivered. Moreover, at the last moment the item of changes in the PRC Constitution, adopted only

two years before, was put on the agenda.

Another piece of evidence of an acute struggle in the Peking leadership was offered by the fact that the session effected a reshuffle in government unprecedented in the history of the PRC: the premier of the State Council of the PRC and seven of his deputies resigned. Besides, five deputy chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress were relieved of their duties "for reasons of age and health." The government reshuffle was continued, as promised by Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, in his concluding address to the session.

Problems facing China on the economic front are just as disheartening. The session sharply criticized the "Leftist course" of economic management in the period between 1958 to 1976.

However the main guidelines for the ten-year plan for 1976-1985 drawn up after Mao's death also proved unrealistic. The targets turned out to be so ambitious and the development of various industries was so unbalanced that, as the session admitted, "there was no sense in adhering" to that plan.

Foreign observers draw attention to the ease with which Peking proclaims, modifies and abandons plans of economic agreements with other countries and abrogates previously concluded agreements and contracts. This causes serious dismay among business circles in the West and in Japan as to China's reliability as a trade and economic partner, especially now that the myth about the vast resources of the main export item, Chinese oil, is gradually being dispelled. On the eve of the French President's visit to the PRC in October 1980, the French newspaper *Le Quotidien de Paris* wrote: "China is a difficult and moneyless client. Washington and Tokyo found this out at their own expense. The Chinese miracle turned out to be a mirage and the Japanese have repeatedly made it clear that the political concessions they made in exchange for major contracts have not been paid for."

Behind the optimistic assessments of China's current economic situation set forth at the third session of the National People's Congress there are many difficulties and miscalculations. The

country is in dire financial straits. In 1980, China was 20 billion yuan in the red and will be unable to eliminate the deficit in the coming years. As the session of the National People's Congress admitted, one reason for the large deficit was the increase of military spending in connection with the Chinese aggression against Vietnam.

The Chinese leaders are telling the people that "because of the shortage of financial and material resources the state is unable to raise living standards quickly and to a substantial degree." (*Renmin ribao*, January 24, 1980.) Meanwhile military spending (40 per cent of the country's budget) continues to grow, exceeding the government allocations for agriculture by 15 per cent and allocations for science, culture, education and health by 30 per cent. The country spends much more on arms than its economic potential allows.

Although there is now more awareness among the Chinese leadership as regards problems of the economic and social life of the country, this awareness is proving insufficient for formulating and advancing a constructive and realistic program of economic development. So far one hears more promises, statements of intent and ungrounded plans whose practical effect is but marginal.

Marking time, stagnation, slumping production rates for the main items are observed in many areas of the economy. In September 1980 the Chinese press wrote with alarm about a shortage of electricity and fuel which was so grave that the country "faced the problem of an energy crisis." (*Renmin ribao*, September 10, 1980.) Because of the shortage of electricity 20 to 30 per cent of the country's industrial capacity was idle in 1980. For that reason China's industry reported shortfalls in production to the tune of 70 billion yuan. Moreover, obsolete equipment consumes too much fuel and energy per unit of output. The newspaper warned that the energy problem will continue to be acute in the coming years. (*Ibid.*) Speaking about the results of China's economic development over the last 30 years, member of the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee Wang Renzhung told Yugoslav journalists in October 1980 that the so-called Great Leap Forward of 1958 caused "great damage" to China and that during

the Cultural Revolution the country was "on the brink of a veritable catastrophe." Describing the current situation in China, Wang Renzhung noted the unsatisfactory state of agriculture, heavy industry, the power industry and transport and the extremely low incomes of farmers.

With reference to the bankruptcy of Peking's internal and external policy, the Vietnamese paper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* noted: "The ten-year plan had to be cancelled. The national economic plan of last year, which was revised several times and the great expedition to beg for alms from the imperialists and international reactionaries, including the USA, were of very little avail."

Renmin ribao's traditional New Year's editorial looked rather pessimistic. It stated that "serious mistakes" were made in the "four modernizations" program in recent years, "impractical slogans and targets" were offered, while the "measures advanced proved ineffective." As a result, the state of the economy at the start of the new year was "fraught with dangers," such as a big financial deficit, inflation and increasing prices for consumer goods. All of this, the newspaper pointed out with alarm, can "cause a serious financial and economic crisis" in the country.

Hopes for assistance from the imperialist powers and monopolies were not justified. "Owing to lack of experience," *Renmin ribao* complained, "the volume of imported complete units of equipment exceeded actual demand and the potential for its use." In other words, the people's money, spent on the purchase of expensive equipment abroad, was squandered. Extensive plans to utilize foreign capital in China's economic development have been called into question.

Concessions to the Bourgeoisie

The "Left-wing" course is now being replaced by a new policy. This represents a continued offensive by the nationalist forces, already elaborated at the 3rd Plenum of the CPC Central Committee (December 1978) and continued at the latest session of the National People's Congress (September 1980), a development which is pushing the country further and further to the Right.

The Chinese leadership has launched sweeping economic reforms which envisage the prolonged

coexistence of disparate economic modes (socialist, state capitalist, capitalist and small-scale commodity production), the introduction of market levers to stimulate the economy, and the activation of the private sector.

Actually, the new measures stimulate spontaneous petty-bourgeois trends, and strengthen the social and political position of private entrepreneurs, of petty and national bourgeoisie.

The Chinese leadership has also announced a political reform which, according to Zhao Ziyang, the new premier of the PRC State Council, includes the "transformation of the system of state leadership and the cadre system." The third session of the National People's Congress took a decision to revise the PRC's Constitution and has set up a commission which is carrying out the work and will apparently submit a new draft constitution to the next session of the National People's Congress. One of the reasons which prompted the decision was that the Chinese leaders have deemed it necessary to give a new definition of the state system whereby the PRC will now be described as a "state of dictatorship of people's democracy." (Peng Zhen's speech at the plenary meeting of the session on September 2, 1980.)

The new formulation goes back on the provision of the 1978 Constitution, which defined the PRC as a "state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." Apparently, the revision was necessary for the Chinese leadership in order to provide a legal and constitutional basis for its course for restoring the private sector in the economy. It also extends the rights of the national and petty bourgeoisie.

Contrary to the current constitution which declares in Article 8 the inviolability only of "socialist public property," it is now asserted that the economic laws and civil rights should protect the interests not only of the national and collective sectors but also of the private sector in the economy. It should be noted that Article 5 of the present constitution of the PRC allows individual enterprise only on condition that the owners do not exploit the labor of others, while the state "guides them gradually towards the road of collectivization." Today these fundamental provisions

are hardly ever mentioned.

The state capitalist sector, based on the resources of the national Chinese and overseas bourgeoisie, including the *huaqiao*, is getting a boost. Laws have been passed to legalize the activities of foreign capital on Chinese territory and to grant major tax privileges to foreign investors.

Peking leaders are opening the door wide for foreign capital, which has been granted special rights and privileges in setting up mixed enterprises. Present-day legislation practically allows, fully or partially, foreign-owned enterprises in China. The possibility that mixed enterprises would become the property of the state in the future is not even mentioned. "Special economic zones" have also been established in which foreign monopolies have the right to run production in their own capitalist way.

Capitalistic trends are already apparent in various branches of the Chinese economy. The Chinese bourgeoisie now has more elbow room. In cities, capitalists have been given back their bank deposits and other property confiscated during the cultural revolution. Representatives of the national bourgeoisie who have retained administrative posts have been given higher salaries. They have the rights and opportunities to invest in enterprises and even create joint stock societies. The petty bourgeoisie, which had been lying low, was quick to take advantage of the freedom of private enterprise granted by the state. By the end of 1980, China had more than 500,000 private merchants and craftsmen, which is three times as many as in 1978. And yet *Renmin ribao* has lamented that the private sector is "developing unevenly and the restoration is not rapid enough." (*Renmin ribao*, August 21, 1980.)

The official press welcomes competition between state retailing enterprises and cooperatives and private firms. Pandering to small merchants and shopkeepers, the press noted as a positive phenomenon the fact that "the monopoly of state trade has been challenged" and called for "creating a trade network and services through the efforts of the working collectives."

The advocates of the revival of private enterprise went so far as to declare publicly that "the time has not yet come in the PRC for the complete

elimination of exploitation." They say that exploitation is allowable "over a whole historical stage" because it "contributes to the development of productive forces." Brazen attempts are being made to argue that exploitation has historically played "an exceedingly necessary role." According to provincial newspapers, the introduction of the "directives to buoy up the economy" and develop the private sector has already led to the revival of "a little exploitation." (*Heilungjiang ribao*, October 15, 1980.)

In the countryside, the new economic policy involved redistribution of land, agricultural implements and cattle owned by production brigades between teams and individual peasant households. By the end of 1980, that system had already covered 20 per cent of agricultural brigades and the reform has had a tendency to spread. The population finances more and more the so-called collective enterprises which are not covered by state planning and operate as group enterprises.

The Chinese leadership has pledged itself to supporting wealthy peasants, returning to them previously confiscated property, tools and money. This course is being followed. The Chinese press reports that some wealthy peasants are buying trucks, tractors, and other agricultural machinery. The newspapers are calling upon the authorities to allow the peasants everywhere to buy agricultural machinery and means of transportation, emphasizing that "the Party and the government have never prohibited the purchase of major means of production by private individuals." (*Zhongguo nungmin bao*, October 9, 1980.)

In the spring of 1980, the Chinese press noted that "there emerged in the countryside a clearly indentified small group of wealthy households whose incomes had 'risen greatly.' In this connection most of the poor peasants have expressed their discontent over the fact that 'the village has become disorganized and stratified into two groups, that the poor have been growing poorer and the rich richer, and that speculators have reared their heads everywhere.'" (*Beijing ribao*, August 29, 1980.)

Judging by the Chinese press, the measures of the Chinese leadership to revive the private sector

are not meeting with popular support. In September 1980, the newspaper *Beijing ribao* printed readers' letters which showed that the majority of the population is critical of the revival of private enterprise in the Chinese economy. Readers expressed the opinion that the newly set up private shops and enterprises "will follow the capitalist path."

The same newspaper expressed anxiety over the fact that the propagation of private farming "contributes to the sway of speculation, private property sentiments and other negative social phenomena" and "gives the green light to the development of capitalism."

By contrast, the Chinese as well as the foreign bourgeoisie hailed the new economic policy of China's leadership, viewing it as an opportunity to push China towards the capitalist road. An American government official described the changes in the policy and administration of China as "a great leap towards the West" with all the consequences that entails.

Zigzags and frequent failures in the policy of Peking leaders, their flirting with the most reactionary and bellicose imperialist circles, their hostile attitude towards the socialist countries and the "opening of doors" to China for Western and Japanese monopolies—all this is bound to provoke bewilderment, mistrust and discontent among the Chinese people. For one can not erase from the memory of generations the history of the people's struggle against the British colonialists, the American imperialists and the Japanese invaders and make people forget about the fraternal help and support the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries rendered China when the latter was going through difficult times, and one can not dismiss the efforts of the Chinese working people in laying the foundations of socialism in their country. It is impossible to fool all the people for a long time. Many in the PRC are beginning to be deeply concerned over the destiny of their country.

Bleak Outlook

As the Chinese leaders themselves admit, new political, economic and social problems are emerging while the country has yet failed to come to

grips with the old ones. There are serious difficulties as a result of the weakened role of the state and planning in the economy, plus the colossal financial deficit, imbalances in the development of various branches of the economy, inflation, unemployment, the low professional and cultural standards of administrators, the unwieldy bureaucratic apparatus, to name just some.

There is today a particular shortage of skilled administrators and experts in various fields. And no wonder. For at least 10 years the Cultural Revolution in the country closed all higher education institutions, as a result of which the nation found itself short of a million young qualified specialists.

Hungqi magazine, speaking about a large contingent of Party cadres and administrators (*ganbu*), of whom there are 18 million, lamented that too few of them have professional training and specialized knowledge. Their cultural level is generally low. There are too few middle-aged and young people in the top echelons. The magazine believes that the problems of cadres (which has been dealt with for three years now) would take at least two or three more years to solve. (*Hungqi*, No. 16, 1980.) Experience has shown, however, that preparing qualified personnel requires much more time than that.

The low level of education in China as a whole is an impediment to its social and economic development. A survey conducted in 1980 revealed that out of 20 million industrial and office workers 80 per cent have not even completed secondary school. Needless to say, the educational level in rural areas and among ethnic minorities is even lower. A representative of the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region told the session of the National People's Congress that 45 per cent of the farmers and 10 per cent of the factory and office workers in Xinjiang are totally illiterate.

All told, official (most probably, conservative) estimates show that there were 150 million illiterates in China in 1980. Even in the army more than 40 per cent of the enlisted men can neither read nor write. Another 300 million can be described as semi-literates. It would take decades to rectify the situation. And yet China today spends 200 times less on education than the USA on a per capita basis. Secondary school teachers themselves are

poorly educated; 60 per cent of them have no higher education.

Prospects in the field of education and in combatting illiteracy are far from bright. The state obviously is not spending enough on education—trying to make the working people themselves share that burden. As a matter of fact, many schools are still used as barracks and offices, which has evoked protests among students. According to the Chinese Public Education Minister Jiang Nanxiang, only 300,000 out of the 7 million secondary school leavers are admitted to colleges and universities. The rest usually join the army of the unemployed, which is the largest in the world (over 20 million). *Renmin ribao* noted that "in the future at least 10 million school leavers annually will be denied the opportunity to enter higher education institutions...Several million teenagers will be unable to continue their education at secondary school and a considerable number of children can at best hope to get elementary education and have no chance of entering secondary school. Some children will be unable to finish even primary school."

The material conditions of the working people remain difficult. In September 1980, the Chinese press noted that "living standards in China have not appreciably risen since 1949, i.e., the creation of a new China." There is no prospect that the well-being of the people will improve. Significantly, *Hungqi* magazine, one of the mouthpieces of the Chinese leadership, has sharply criticized "lighthearted promises of a dramatic rise in living standards." (*Hungqi*, No. 11, 1980.)

At the third session of the National People's Congress there were heard voices of alarm over the situation in the country. Procurator General Huang Heqing had to admit that public law and order in China are "very unstable." These admissions naturally indicate the complexities of the social and economic situation, the hard living and labor conditions of the workers and peasants, unemployment, growing crime among youth, and the people's general sense of insecurity. All these phenomena are now blamed on the activities of the "gang of four," the consequences of the Cultural Revolution and so on. However, constant references to the past apparently no longer satisfy

the Chinese people, who find their civil rights constantly impinged upon. Vice-Premier of the State Council Wang Li had to admit that "today workers and peasants actually have no rights." (*Guangming ribao*, September 20, 1980.)

Others have pointed out that "the country is being ruled not on the basis of laws but by individuals." (*Renmin ribao*, September 18, 1980.) Take, for example, the procedure of electing deputies to the National People's Congress. The Chinese press has written that "for many years deputies have not been elected but picked on the basis of 'consultations.'" (*Guangming ribao*, December 22, 1978.) In January 1979, promises were made to the effect that the situation would change and the Fundamental Law of the National People's Congress would be drafted. The law never materialized, however, and the participants in the third session of the Fifth National People's Congress were chosen on the basis on an "agreement" reached before the first session held in 1978.

The notions of freedom of expression, press and democracy in China are interpreted in a rather odd way. "The norm of our life," wrote *Renmin ribao*, "must be the requirement not to say anything unfavorable for stability and cohesion and not to say anything that does not favor the four modernizations." (*Renmin ribao*, February 1, 1980.)

The word "forbidden" is much more frequently used in the Chinese press than the word "freedom" when it comes to the rights of the people. The deletion from the Chinese Constitution of the right to "free expression of opinion, complete airing of views, wide-scale discussions and wall posters" is complemented by practical repressive measures. A wide network of prisons and numerous hard labor camps are designed to ensure "the new order." According to the *New York Times*, China asked the USA to sell it modern American police equipment in 1980.

Turning to America's rich experience of police repression and the use of modern technology for that purpose, the Chinese embarrassed even the sophisticated U.S. police. An official U.S. government report on the human rights record in China published in February 1980 said that the latest reforms of the Chinese leadership "have not yet broken entrenched patterns of harassment,

arbitrary arrests, and harsh punishment without free trial for political dissent." (*New York Times*, September 21, 1980.)

Along with fierce polemics over the role of Mao Tse-tung, the Cultural Revolution and over the future political and economic course, there is a constant process of shakeups and reshuffles of officials, new "trials" and repressions.

The post-Mao leadership is just as much committed to the method of persecution and mass repressions, albeit under different slogans. After the activists of the Cultural Revolution were severely dealt with in 1977-78 under the pretext of the struggle against the adherents of the "gang of four," the Chinese authorities in 1979-80 cracked down on a broader spectrum of opponents of the new policy, labelling them "criminal elements," "factionalists," "counterrevolutionaries" and the like. A purge of Party and administrative cadres at all levels continues in China.

New blows are being dealt at the Communist Party of China. In March 1980 *Hungqi*, the journal of the Central Committee of the CPC, wrote that "out of the 38 million Communists more than half joined the Party during the Cultural Revolution, many of them in violation of the established procedure of admission." (*Hungqi*, No. 5, 1980.) "In other words," wrote the journal, "many members of the Party 'do not meet the requirements' of the present time and are consequently to be purged." In 1980, Party organizations everywhere were purged of opponents of the new policy under the old Maoist slogan of "improving the Party, improving the style." Factionalism and sectarianism were singled out for particular attention. The newspaper *Guangming ribao* attested that "among those who pursued factional activities were not only the remnants of the forces of Lin Biao, 'the gang of four,' but also some senior personnel affected by the poison of factionalism and wielding certain power." (*Guangming ribao*, March 29, 1980.)

The year 1981 does not promise any easing of the situation for the Chinese workers. The Western press reports about "an accelerating course in China for turning 1981 into a year of a big Party purge." Referring to "certain circles in the CPC," the newspaper *Yomiuri* wrote that "Party membership has been reduced 20 per cent as a result of

this purge."

In its first issue of the year *Hungqi* ran an article on the rise of commodity prices in China. In it the intensification of inflation is admitted: "It hurts the vital interests of the Chinese people"; the article also pointed to the possibility that this issue would mushroom into a serious political problem. The American press reports that annual inflation rates in China amount to 7 per cent. In big cities, prices for staples are rising at an even more rapid pace—10 to 12 per cent a year. Plus the housing crisis, problems with aimless, unsettled youth, etc. The press reports about increasing instances of strikes and unrest among workers and students, and the distribution of illegal pamphlets.



The course pursued in the PRC over the past 20 years brought the country to the brink of disaster and seriously discredited socialist ideals in the eyes of the Chinese people. On the whole, the political and economic situation in China on the eve of the 12th CPC Congress continues to be complex, tense and unstable. The ongoing economic reform in China has not been thoroughly thought out, has many omissions and is marked by inconsistency.

The development of state capitalist, capitalist and petty commodity production planned by the PRC leadership, and the use of some methods of market economy could lead to the social and economic stratification of Chinese society, widen the gap between town and countryside and increase economic imbalances. A real danger is thus created of the perversion and even destruction of the socialist foundations of the Chinese economy. Peking's experiment to create a "market socialism," carried out in close cooperation with the West, could cause a dangerous increase of capitalist influence in China, transform the whole social system there and heighten the danger that the gains of the Chinese revolution might be further whittled away.

The inconsistency of the Chinese leadership confuses lower level Party and administrative workers and the people at large. At a meeting sponsored by *Hungqai* journal in June 1980 Zhou Yang, a prominent Chinese ideologist, admitted: "There are so many ideological problems and there is complete chaos in ideology. How can

there be unity in carrying out the four modernizations?" High-sounding words about a "Chinese model" of socialism do not command the confidence even of the leaders at the top. The editor-in-chief of *Hungqi* lamented during a colloquium arranged by *Guangming ribao* newspaper in May 1980: "We say that we must follow the Chinese path of socialist modernization but it is unclear what the Chinese model is. We say that we are building socialism in Chinese conditions but it is also unclear what these 'Chinese conditions' are..."

There is no doubt that the Chinese people are interested in fulfilling the historic task of eliminating the age-old social and economic backwardness of China, modernizing industry, agriculture, developing science and overcoming the material and cultural poverty afflicting the mass of the population. However, the policy of the present Peking leadership gives a distorted form to that process. It is now clear that the main aim of the Peking leaders is not to ensure the overall progress of Chinese society and meet the material and cultural needs of the people but to create a powerful militaristic state and to step up the development of the military industrial complex at the expense of the people's vital needs. The militaristic thrust of the course of "four modernizations" proves again the hegemonistic and expansionist aims of the Chinese leadership.

The social and economic measures which are being carried out in the PRC under the slogans of "regulation" and "four modernizations," even though they are covered up by socialist phraseology, are reviving capitalist trends in the cities and in rural areas. Such a policy is unlikely to meet with support among the Chinese people because it runs counter to the socialist principles and ideals for the sake of which the Chinese Revolution was carried out. If China is to extricate itself from the impasse and insure favorable conditions for the Chinese people to pursue peaceful construction, progress and prosperity, it must follow the road of cooperation and solidarity with the socialist world, renounce its pro-imperialist course hostile to socialist countries and return to the policy based on genuine Marxism-Leninism, the policy of peace, friendship, goodneighborly relations and cooperation with all countries.

Outlook on the U.S. Student Movement

PEDRO RODRIGUEZ

As America's higher education braces for an era of imposed austerity and shrinkage and redefinition of its role in society, college students are entering one of their most active periods.

The attack on education is waged from many different fronts simultaneously. On the one hand are the budget cutters of the new "supply side economics" allied with the runaway inflation of our times, on the other hand are the theorists of the anti-scientific religious and Right-wing cults who are riding the coat-tails of the Reagan victory.

The Money Crunch for Students

The problems faced by students, which are a direct result of the crisis in which American higher education is immersed, such as the threat of the draft and militarization, pressures of competition, etc., will be further aggravated by the cuts sponsored by the Reagan Administration if approved by Congress.

Here is a glimpse of the impact of the Reagan cuts for fiscal years '81 and '82.

1) The BEOG (Basic Educational Opportunity Grant) has a \$750 "self-help" requirement this year. That is, students applying for the grant have to show that amount as earned during summer employment or otherwise. Added to that is a revision of the family income contribution which will not include the effects of inflation. It is estimated that some 100,000 families will be adversely affected by this regulation.

2) Families' contributions will be raised from 14 per cent of the income base to a high of 20 per cent.

3) The Congressional Budget Office estimates that in order to maintain the present \$1800 maximum award, \$1.3 billion in additional expenditures for this program are needed. If this is not appropriated, the award will drop to a maximum of \$1200.

4) Off-campus students, who because of their living expenses were benefited by special regulations, will suffer from the freezing of those regulations. That means that \$1100 will be the total figure allowed for room and board. This will most affect students in urban areas, where there is a high concentration of Blacks and other nationally oppressed students, working-class students and adults returning to school.

5) Social Security. This program is to be totally phased out over the next four years. Current students will lose an average of 25 per cent of the award per year. This means that some 250,000 students will then be eligible to receive BEOG, placing further financial pressure on the program. Also, some 800,000 current recipients of the Social Security award will have to switch to the NDSL (National Direct Student Loan) or the GSL (Guaranteed Student Loan) at a time when both these programs are being cut.

6) GSL loans are to be restricted to no more than cost of education, less the contributions from family income and other student aid. The Reagan Administration predicts that one-third of those currently eligible will be dropped.

Another problem stemming from the Reagan program is that interest rates will be allowed to float to market rates.

Other new regulations exclude the use of tax-free bonds by states to raise funds for student loans; some 19 states will reduce their loan volume as a result of this, and some will drop the entire program.

7) Another Reagan proposal calls for the elimination of administrative cost allowances in BEOG and GSL. That will total a loss of about \$45 million to all institutions in this country.

8) Elimination of about 50,000 students from the food stamp program as a result of more stringent guidelines.

As an example of the cumulative impact of these measures, it is estimated that if such guidelines are implemented as scheduled next September, the

Pedro Rodriguez is the national student secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League.

City University of New York (CUNY) will stand to lose some 30,000 students. The new regulations will penalize those students who hold jobs while working on their degrees and who can not attend school with a full load of 12 credits.

Even before the Reagan plague, an epidemic of tuition increases had spread over the United States, plunging enrollment to levels below those of 1969. "A recent study by the American Association of Colleges and Universities (AASCU) has shown that the increase in tuition and fees from 1969-70 to 1976-77 for state colleges and universities was well above the rise in inflation for the same period. AASCU found that the average undergraduate tuition and fees increased 66.2 percent. During the same period the Consumer Price Index increased 55.2 percent." (Ronald Field, in *Education Today*, April-May 1978.)

As states redesign their education policy along lines set by Big Business, the fightback against these policies has mounted. The Coalition for Low Tuition, an organization formed in the '70s by some 40 trade-union, education, student, civil rights and religious organizations to counter the offensive on public education, has placed the blame for the present crisis squarely on Big Business, the Committee on Economic Development, and on the Carnegie Commission.

Private colleges have not been spared the inflationary wrath either. Soon after Alfred Kahn left Cornell University to serve on the ill-famed Wage and Price Guideline Board, set up by Jimmy Carter to "fight" inflation, tuition went up at Cornell by 9 per cent, 2 full percentage points above the guideline set by the Carter group.

At the federal level, policy makers encourage the increase in tuition by offering private colleges incentives in the form of aid to students, which, in the words of the Coalition for Low Tuition, become a substitute for lower tuition.

The Right-Wing Offensive

While the '70s saw the materialization of a long-time dream of many educators—the creation of a separate Department of Education—the Right-wing forces long-opposed to busing, aid to the poor and quality education for all, launched a campaign to cripple or dismantle the new depart-

ment. Carter endorsed the idea of a separate Department of Education and stated that "A separate Department of Education would bring education issues to the forefront of domestic policy-making."

However, the election of Ronald Reagan, who picked up the slogan of the "New Right" on this issue, has led to serious fears for the viability of the new department. Already, and despite strong opposition from the National Education Association (NEA), which has been an advocate of a separate education department for many years, Reagan has started the process of dismantling the department by freezing new hiring and eliminating positions under the pretext of austerity.

Of even graver concern is the course Reagan wants the department to take in implementing his Right-wing policies, which include the elimination of federal programs for bilingual education, special remedial projects, etc. There are in addition efforts to "turn back the clock of science"—one example of this is Administration support for efforts to reintroduce into classrooms the "creationist" theory as opposed to Darwin's theory of evolution.

During the last weekend of January, a conference on the crisis in the liberal arts in higher education was held at the State University of New York at New Paltz. The event had the participation of liberal and Left professors and some administrators, mostly from Massachusetts and New York, who came to debate and put to the fore the problems besieging the liberal arts nationwide. The statement issued with the call for the conference spoke to the heart of the onslaught against the liberal arts, and public education in particular, singling out the Right-wing forces that today control the White House: "through-out the seventies, the hidden agenda for budgetary crisis-management at American colleges and universities has been the gradual infusion of vocationalized and standardized courses into the curriculum. We look upon the new popularity of the 'new practicality' with considerable alarm. On many campuses it has meant the virtual eclipse of liberal arts and science programs, the dilution of academic standards, and the prevalence of anti-intellectualism within the college community."

And while there is the legitimate worry about the future of quality higher education in some circles, among others the concern centers around the question of whether there will be any education at all for some members of society.

If one were to single out the most important development in the area of higher education in the seventies, certainly the crippling of access to higher education and the re-orientation of the whole of academia into a more comfortable course for monopoly capital would top the list.

In a report by the office of the Chancellor of the City University of New York, entitled *The City University of New York For the Next Decade*, the new administration addresses the question posed by many as to what direction the university will march in the future: "the University's aim during the 1980s is to adapt an historic mission to the changing demands of a rich and diverse community....The specific manifestations of that mission have changed with shifts in the demographic characteristics of the City, in the maturity of the economy, and in the framework of social and political attitudes towards what higher education should be and who should have access to it." And speaking about the present state of the university: "the university has arrived—after five years or precipitous change—at a point of fragile stability."

It couldn't be clearer. City University, once a bastion of public higher education in the country, has since imposed tuition, ended open admission and eliminated programs that were the hallmark of quality. The changes are not isolated events, for they point to a deliberate attempt by the finance sector of the ruling class to have a firmer grip on the affairs of education. In New York City, the Municipal Assistance Corporation headed by Felix Rohatyn, a spokesman for monopoly capital, practically hand-picked the present chancellor of the university, Murphy, whose previous occupation was banker.

As a result of the imposition of tuition at CUNY, the university lost some 54,000 students, a 20 per cent drop. Most of those students were working class and minorities who just were not able to cope with the new financial demands.

The shrinkage of the university continues at an accelerated pace; new obstacles to "legally" limit

access are constantly being worked out. Under the pretext of better academic standards, the Commissioner of Education for New York State has ordered a new set of guidelines for students receiving financial aid under the Tuition Assistance Program, better known as TAP.

In the face of these harsh economic realities, one must ask why there hasn't been a more concerted, militant and determined response on the part of the student body.

There are some conclusions one can draw as to why, but let us first examine the conditions of the present day student population and the existing organizations on the campuses.

To begin with, there are approximately 11 million college students. Of these, about 52 per cent fall into the category of "non-traditional." These are students older than the traditional 18-24 age group.

During the time that this demographic change has taken place, the structure and forms of student organization on the campuses have remained invariably the same—for the most part in the hands of the younger activists, those who were active in high schools and continued to be so immediately upon entering college.

While in many parts of the country students are organized at the state and local levels, and while progressive individuals and progressive formations do run candidates for student government and many of them win elections, the bulk of the student body remains unorganized in political organizations of this type.

Today we find a great number of students organized in groups that are often overlooked by the activists. Cultural, sport, academic, fraternal and ethnic clubs are the main organizational formations and the most abundant. However, the bridge between those forms and the coalitions for the defense of student rights and other vital student needs has not yet materialized.

Among the most successful forms that have developed over the past few years, the state student associations top the list. They are state-wide associations of the public institutions' student governments. This form has become a powerful lobby for public education, financial assistance to students and for student rights. However, it re-

mains weak in both mobilizing and influencing student masses.

During the '70s, the student movement went from a period of intense activity in the early part of the decade in response to the Viet Nam War to a period of relative quiet in terms of demonstrative actions around the economic issues affecting students. Contrary to the widespread misconception of student apathy was the sober facing up to the realities of the economic crisis. The student movement consciously payed more attention to the building of national organizational forms and structures that could allow for a wide range of activities while at the same time being freed from the hands of college administrators or trustee boards.

At the national level the National Student Lobby and the National Student Association merged in 1978 to form the United States Student Association. From its birth it has played a key role in the process of building student unity and ally-ing the masses of students with other sectors of society, especially labor.

Structurally, the organization is composed of student government representatives, with the important inclusion of representatives of student governments of private colleges.

USSA would benefit from strengthening its top leadership with Black and other nationally oppressed students. At this time this is more important than ever. Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other nationally oppressed students are key to the fightback and to the defense of education. They constitute the key link in the chain for student unity.

USSA would also benefit from developing a practical political program which outlines the aims of the student movement in dealing with various issues which could serve as a guide for the day to day functioning of the organization and its branching out to the people's movement, especially to the rank and file of the labor movement and to other education-related organizations. Central to this program would be the fight for student unity at all levels of the student movement.

Reality has shown that a complex network of student organization is needed in order to maintain a high level of student activism. Recently

there has been a resurgence of interest in student government elections and the same tendency has been expressed in the formation of certain Left forms of student organizations. Just as the Right has come up with ASA, CARP (moonies) and their ilk, students with Left leanings are also attempting to become organized. Last November, the Progressive Student Network was officially founded in Kent State, Ohio.

This is a very loosely held together national coalition concentrated in the northeast and mid-west, which has attracted campus activists from a wide range of backgrounds.

A report presented at a recent PSN conference at Cornell University stated, among other things: "a Network is based on radical de-centralist ideas. Networkers believe that people in a large number of independent groups are more effective than the same people would be in a single large centralized group. The purpose of a network is not to deliberate and take action, but rather to assist the member groups in communicating with each other... Networks are non-coercive and anti-hierarchical."

The report further adds: "Making decisions which are strongly opposed by a minority does not make sense in a networking context, where making decisions is less important than keeping the lines of communication open."

The rejection of organizational structure is obviously quite an obstacle to the development of the PSN's.

The phony Left has made some headway in this form, particularly the Communist Workers Party (CWP). Although the phony Left's strength and influence is among the Midwest section, they are already in trouble because of their striving for absolute control of some regional sections. This has created resentment among many members who joined the PSN's in the first place to avoid what they considered "left sectarianism."

Although the future of the PSN's is not completely clear, what could have been a viable form of organization for progressive students on many campuses has already shown severe limitations and shortcomings.

PSN's have flourished mostly in private campuses and among white students of a petty-bourgeoisie background. Their primary concern

has been on issues of nuclear power, feminism, anti-draft, gay rights, and so on.

In the public colleges, the focus is quite different. While obviously being concerned with those issues outlined above, their primary concern is with the economic questions, the draft and U.S. intervention in other countries. It is among this group that a better understanding of student governments in campus politics is found, as well as an attempt to include Blacks and other nationally oppressed student organizations as part of the fight-back. However, this is not generally done as part of the PSN.

Ideologically, PSN's are anti-monopoly in essence. They have strains of anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism, but for the most part are open to participation by Marxist-Leninists. The present structure of the networks is a hindrance to the development of a cohesive ideological line, as well as a barrier to the unification of the movement.

Grassroots activism has found a new dimension of expression in single issue organizations that range from the budget cuts to the situation in El Salvador to nuclear power. This multiplicity of issues has created the necessity for some form of organization that can tie together the many political tasks student activists face. The election of Ronald Reagan and the offensive of the Moral Majority against democracy and democratic institutions has also helped to fuel this reaction.

Because many activists mistrust or are unsatisfied with student governments and their response to some of the issues mentioned above is another reason why such issue oriented organizations have begun to sprout.

Conclusions

In view of the present activism in the student movement, particularly in confronting the assault on education from the Reagan Administration, the organization of the student movement along progressive lines takes on considerable importance in the peoples movement.

The dangers of wars of intervention and nuclear confrontation are very real at this time. Students have demonstrated that their sentiments lie with peace and friendship among peoples, as evidenced by the massive demonstrations against the

reinstitution of registration and the draft.

The curtailment of freedoms and rights on the campuses by college administrators who more openly enforce the line handed down by corporate boards; the reduced budget priority that education receives from state and federal governments; increased tuition costs; the attacks on affirmative action programs, where admission to professional schools is becoming more and more exclusive of Blacks and other oppressed national minority youth; the design of new restrictions for entry into schools, aimed specifically at keeping working-class students and minority students out; the re-design of the curriculum to satisfy the needs of business at the expense of the total educational development of the individual into a socially responsible person—these are the issues that students are responding to. But the response has not limited itself to the forming of single issue coalitions. Instead, the response has sparked a general discussion on all of these issues and problems combined, pointing to the source, the common bed of these ills. Students have decided to respond by organizing themselves to deal with all of them in an united and strong body, ready to challenge the powers that be.

Although in some cases the movement marches at a slow pace, the base for its rapid deployment has already been laid out, its consolidation is underway and its maturity commands the respect of its enemy and the admiration of its supporters. The student movement is producing good leaders, but it needs to keep them a little longer. Turnover is a serious obstacle in the overall development of the organizations that have the responsibility of carrying the struggle for education for all.

The Young Workers Liberation League is the only youth organization that can consistently inject into the movement the working-class outlook needed for the implementation of policies and actions that take into consideration the objectives and aims of the trade union movement, as well as provide the rich experience of a decade of struggle, especially the struggle for public education.

The YWLL, while advancing the democratic demands of the movement and putting them into cohesive programmatic form, has the advantage of projecting the most advanced demands of the

period. While the fight at this time is against the tuition hikes, the closing down of programs, the attacks on existing affirmative action programs and so on, the YWLL also has in mind the future. It will and must raise the question that this is the time to demand free tuition.

The demand for free tuition is a timely one. This question will place the movement on the offensive rather than allowing it to be pushed to a corner to defend, as important as they may be, individual departmentalized demands.

The times also call for a bigger League on the campuses at this time. Building the YWLL on the

campuses across the country is a responsibility that we owe to the student movement.

To the degree that we can respond in the most effective and swift way, to that degree will we be able to move this country along a democratic path.

The student movement is entering struggle at a much higher level than it did during the 1960s. Its totality covers the entire spectrum of social issues, and because its composition is more reflective of society today, the impact of the movement should not be underestimated.

DOCUMENTS

Letter to the Polish United Workers Party

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addresses this letter to you, being deeply worried about the destiny of socialism in Poland and about Poland as a free, independent state.

Our letter is motivated by our comradely interest in the affairs of the Party of Polish Communists, the entire fraternal Polish people, socialist Poland as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Soviet and Polish Communists stood shoulder to shoulder in the battle against nazism, were together throughout all the post-war years. Our Party and the Soviet people helped their Polish comrades build a new life, and we can not but be alarmed that a mortal danger today threatens the revolutionary gains of the Polish people.

We will say it frankly: Some trends in the development of the Polish People's Republic, especially in the field of ideology and the economic policy of its former leadership, have been a source of concern to us for a number of years. In full conformity with the spirit of the relationship which has taken shape between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish United Workers Party, the Polish leaders were told about this in the course of summit talks and other meetings. Regrettably, these friendly warnings, like the sharply critical pronouncements within the PUWP itself, were

not taken into consideration and were even ignored.

As a result a deep crisis has broken out in Poland which has encompassed the entire political and economic life of the country.

We met with full understanding the change in the leadership of the PUWP, the striving to rectify the crude mistakes connected with the violation of the laws of building socialism, to restore the confidence of the masses—in the first place of the working class—in the Party, and to strengthen socialist democracy. From the very first days of the crisis we considered it important that the Party should resolutely repulse the attempts by the enemies of socialism to take advantage of the difficulties which have arisen, in their far-reaching aims.

But this was not done. Endless concessions to the antisocialist forces and their solicitations have brought about a situation in which the PUWP was retreating step by step under the onslaught of the internal counterrevolution, which relies on the support of the imperialist subversive centers from abroad.

Today the situation is not just dangerous, it has brought the country to the critical point. It is impossible to assess it otherwise. The enemies of socialist Poland are not making any particular effort to conceal their intentions. They are engaged in a struggle for power, and are already capturing it. They are gaining control of one position after another. The counterrevolution uses as its strike force the extremist wing of Solidarity, drawing by deception the workers who joined that trade union association into a criminal conspiracy

This is the full text of the letter sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Polish United Workers Party, June 1981.

against the people's power. The wave of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism is mounting. The imperialist forces are making ever more brazen attempts to interfere in Polish affairs.

The extremely serious danger hanging over socialism in Poland is a threat also to the very existence of the independent Polish state. If the worst were to happen and the enemies of socialism seized power, were Poland deprived of defense by the socialist community, the greedy hands of the imperialists would immediately reach out to it, and who could then guarantee the independence, sovereignty and borders of Poland as a state? Nobody.

You know, comrades, about the meeting of the leaders of the fraternal parties of countries of the socialist community, which was held in Moscow on December 5, 1980. On March 4, 1981, talks were held between the Soviet leadership and the PUWP delegation at the 26th Congress of the CPSU. On April 23 of this year a CPSU delegation met with the entire Polish leadership. In the course of all of these meetings and also other contacts, our growing concern about the intrigues of the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland was emphasized.

We were speaking about the need to overcome confusion in the ranks of the PUWP, to defend firmly its cadre from enemy attacks, to stand up resolutely in defense of the people's power.

Special attention was drawn to the fact that the enemy has actually subordinated to its control the mass media, which, in their majority, became a tool of anti-socialist activity, are used for undermining socialism, for demoralizing the Party. It was pointed out that it is impossible to win the battle for the Party as long as the press, radio and television work not for the PUWP, but for its enemies.

The question was pointedly raised of the need to strengthen in the country the prestige of the organs of public order and the army, and to protect them from encroachments by the forces of counter-revolution. To permit those attempts to defame and demoralize the security organs, the militia and then the army, to be crowned with success means in effect to disarm the socialist state, to place it at the mercy of the class enemy.

We want to stress that Stanislaw Kania, Woj-

ciech Jaruzelski and other Polish comrades expressed agreement with our considerations on all issues which were brought up for discussion. But in fact everything remains unchanged. No corrections have been made in the policy of concessions and compromise. One position after another is being surrendered. Notwithstanding the fact that the materials of the recent plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee recognize the fact of the counterrevolutionary danger, no measures to combat it have actually been taken so far, and the organizers of the counterrevolution are not even named directly.

The situation within the PUWP itself has become recently a subject of special alarm. A little over a month remains before the congress, but the tune in the election campaign is increasingly being set by forces hostile to socialism. The fact that not infrequently chance people, who openly advocate opportunist views, take up posts of leaders of local Party organizations and are among the delegates to conferences and the congress can not but cause concern.

As a result of various manipulations by the enemies of the PUWP, by revisionists and opportunists, experienced workers dedicated to the cause of the Party and having an unblemished reputation and moral qualities are dismissed.

Also alarming is the fact that among the delegates to the forthcoming congress the number of Communists from the working class is extremely insignificant. The course of preparations for the congress is complicated by the so-called movement of horizontal structures—a tool for splitting the Party which is being used by the opportunists to get the people they need into the congress to divert its work into a channel advantageous to them. The possibility can not be excluded that an attempt might be made at the congress itself to defeat decisively the Marxist-Leninist forces of the Party in order to liquidate it.

We would like to make special mention of the fact that in recent months counterrevolutionary forces have been actively spouting all sorts of anti-Soviet fabrications aimed at eliminating the fruit of the work done by our Parties, in reviving nationalistic, anti-Soviet sentiments among various sections of Polish society. These slanderers

and liars stop at nothing. They are even trying to convince people that the Soviet Union plunders Poland. And this is being said notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet Union gave and continues giving enormous additional material aid to Poland at this difficult time for it. This is being said about a country which, by its supplies of oil, gas, ore and cotton at prices from 30 to 50 per cent lower than world prices, actually nourishes the main branches of Polish industry.

Esteemed comrades, in addressing this letter to you, we proceed not only from our concern about the situation in fraternal Poland, about the conditions and prospects for further Soviet-Polish cooperation. We are no less concerned, in common with the other fraternal Parties, about the fact that the offensive by the hostile, anti-socialist forces in the Polish People's Republic threatens the interests of the whole of our community, its cohesion, integrity and security of borders—yes, our common security. The imperialist reaction which supports and encourages the Polish counterrevolution does not conceal its hopes to sharply change this balance of forces in Europe and the world in its favor.

The crisis in Poland is actively used by imperialism to slander the socialist system, the ideals and principles of socialism and is used for fresh attacks against the international Communist movement.

So a historical responsibility rests on the PUWP not only for the destiny of its homeland, its independence and progress, for the cause of socialism in Poland. You, comrades, shoulder enormous responsibility also for the common interests of the

socialist community.

We hold that there is still the possibility to prevent the worst, to prevent a national catastrophe. There are many honest and staunch Communists in the PUWP who are for independent Poland. There are many people in Poland who are dedicated to the cause of socialism. The working class, the country's working people, even those who were drawn by deception into the machinations of the enemy, will in the long run follow the Party.

The point is to mobilize all the healthy forces in society to repulse the class enemy, to struggle against the counterrevolution, and this requires in the first place revolutionary determination of the Party itself, its activists and leadership. Yes, leadership. Time is not waiting. The Party can and must find the strength in itself to change the course of events and before the 9th Congress of the PUWP, direct them into the necessary channels.

We would like to be confident that the Central Committee of the Party of Communists of fraternal Poland will prove to be equal to its historical responsibility!

We want to assure you, dear comrades, that in these difficult days, as was always the case in the past, the Central Committee of the CPSU, all Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people stand in solidarity with your struggle. Our stand was clearly expressed in the statement by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU: We will not abandon fraternal, socialist Poland in its hour of need, we will stand by it.

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Soviet Union



BOOK ENDS



A Look at Psychology & Psychiatry Today

DR. JON GARTH

Psychology & Psychiatry Today, A Marxist View by Joseph Nahem. 256 pages. International Publishers, New York, 1981. Paperback, \$5.50.

The very nature, substance and structure of capitalism in the United States today creates pathogenic (illness producing) conditions of life for millions of Americans. The economic, political and social system in our country produces dehumanization and alienation. Racism, poverty, insecurity, unemployment, sex discrimination, poor education, lack of accessibility of health and mental health services, inadequate housing, inflation, poor nutrition—all are inherent characteristics of our society. These pathological social conditions affect millions of people, cause extreme stress on individuals and families, influence the development of mental health problems, and are in the main responsible for the very high incidence and prevalence of mental illness and emotional disorders.

Mental illness, in this country, represents the most widespread of all disorders and diseases, far more, for instance than cancer or heart disease. Epidemiological studies and the recent President's Commission on Mental Health have found that between 15 and 20 per cent of the population are suffering from severe disabling mental illnesses, and that perhaps another 20 per cent have mental health problems which seriously reduce their ability to cope with the problems of everyday living.

Despite these statistics, even the current inadequate mental health services are reduced; mental patients are dumped out of hospitals into the streets to cut costs; work rehabilitation pro-

grams are eliminated; and the mentally disabled are forced to shift for themselves without access to appropriate treatment and medical care, and without economic support by which to survive.

Capitalism needs ideologies and theories to justify and support its objectives, its consequences, its contradictions, its evils; to hide and smokescreen the inhuman characteristics of the system; to brainwash the people to accept the system with its deprivations, inequalities, and unmet needs; to diffuse rebellion; and to condition people to believe that the faults lie within themselves and not within the system.

Thus, the establishment promulgates theories of psychology and personality development based on the concept that our problems are caused by factors within ourselves, instincts, inherited inferiorities, weaknesses in personalities, etc. Racism is underpinned by false pseudo-scientific theories of the inherent inferiority of Black people. War is ascribed to theories based on instincts of aggression and the biological drive to kill in human nature. Poverty is promoted as a consequence of poor peoples' psychological inability to compete successfully. Welfare clients are propagandized as "inherently" lazy, dependent personalities, unwilling to work because of pathological personality traits. People who rebel, who join unions and strike, who become liberals, radicals, revolutionaries are interpreted as individuals with unresolved oedipus complexes engaged in sexual rebellion against their fathers and the transposed father images of the boss, the state, authority.

The entire thrust of capitalist psychological theories is to blame the victims for the deprivations, hardships and stresses of their lives, and to

teach the victims to blame themselves.

With this view, many personal and emotional problems, deep unhappiness, extreme anxiety, and lack of personal success can not in reality ever be alleviated or solved. People, therefore, search desperately for magical quick-canned solutions to eliminate their distress. They become apt subjects for current psychological quackeries and fads ostensibly aimed at teaching people to change themselves and their own internal personality faults as the only way to alleviate their problems.

Dr. Nahem has written an excellent and provocative book on these subjects. This is the first work in many years which utilizes the humanistic and scientific principles of Marxism to critique and expose the psychological and psychiatric theories and practices currently popular and prevalent in our society.

The author presents an effective summary of psychoanalytic, Freudian and neo-Freudian theories. He demonstrates the pervasive use of Freudian concepts in the arts, movies, and other cultural fields, and in the social sciences. He shows how these theories are used to divert people from political struggle; discusses the anti-women biases of psychoanalytic theory; and provides a critical analysis of psychologists who attempt to "marry" Freud and Marx, like Fromm, Marcuse, and Reich.

The book provides an excellent critique of the popular theories of American behaviorism and Skinner, its leading theoretician. In this connection, the author discusses operant conditioning and psychological reinforcement, techniques involved in programming the human mind, Skinner's attack on the human ability to engage in free choice and on the concept of "autonomous man." This chapter also exposes the behaviorist reduction of human beings to mechanical animals, and the authoritarian projection of a society run by psychological technocrats and an intellectual aristocracy where the people are brain-washed and mind controlled.

In other chapters, the author discusses the widespread use of behavior modification techniques to control people, including electric shock, psychosurgery, psychotropic medications. He analyzes the mystical and unscientific concepts in

the practices of altered consciousness, the Guru phenomenon, mind-bending drugs, transcendental meditation as examples of theories stimulating a flight from reality, from responsibility, from truth. He discusses the profound Marxist concept of alienation as inherent not in our instincts but as caused by the capitalist system of production, exploitation, and dehumanizing social life.

In some of the best chapters, Dr. Nahem provides excellent, well-documented and incisive critiques of popular fads and theories whose practices have become big business in this country, such as EST, Encounter Groups, Primal Scream, Sensitivity Training, Transactional Analysis, and Behavior Therapy.

In the second section of the book, the author presents one of the most incisive, clear, well-documented critical analyses of the pseudo-scientific racist theories of Arthur Jensen I have read. These theories claim to provide "scientific" evidence of the inherited innate inferiority in intelligence and in the potential for scholastic achievement of working-class people in general, and especially of Black people. Jensen's writings have been given widespread publicity, as have the racist theories of Moynihan, Jencks, and Coleman. They serve to support discrimination and inequality against Blacks and other minority groups built into the capitalist system in our country. In this section Dr. Nahem also presents an excellent critical analysis of the lack of scientific validity and the discriminatory racist and class character of the IQ, and the false hypotheses and theories involved in intelligence tests.

The author in other chapters discusses racism in psychiatry and provides an insightful presentation of the male supremacist perceptions and concepts of women in Freudian and other popular theories of human personality and behavior. One of the most interesting chapters contains the author's criticisms of much of our contemporary behavior research and methods of psychological investigation. He demonstrates how unscientific are some of the most widely used methods and principles of research design, and therefore how fallacious are many of the findings and conclusions of the research.

Finally, in an all too brief section, the author

presents some of the characteristics and practices of Soviet psychology and psychiatry, and some of the methods of dealing with individuals and families with mental health and psychiatric problems in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries. Methods of treatment of the mentally ill in the Soviet Union also are described.

The important point is made that the incidence and prevalence of severe mental illnesses, particularly the psychoses, appear to be about the same in capitalist and socialist countries. However, mental health problems related to social and psychological stress seem to be less endemic in socialist societies with economically and socially secure social systems, humanistic social organization, and universal access to free decentralized facilities for mental health services. Needless to say, a society which is oriented to care for the needs of the people will provide an effective mentally healthy environment. Whereas a society preoccupied with profit and uncaring for people will exploit, dehumanize and victimize the majority of its people.

One could wish that the author provided more expanded discussion on psychology and learning theory in education, theories of family life and family therapy, psycho-geriatrics, and other subjects heavily influenced by capitalist ideology in

contemporary psychology. One could also wish that the author had provided a more extensive and in-depth presentation of the Marxist theories and concepts of psychology contained in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and contemporary Soviet and other European Marxist theoreticians and behavioral scientists. The section on Soviet psychiatry and mental health also whets one's appetite for a fuller description of the important achievements of Soviet behavioral scientists in applying their theories and scientific research findings in education, mental health, industry, medicine and hospital care, human service institutions, and social organization. Perhaps the author will write another book as a further elaboration of this work.

Dr. Nahem's book represents a vitally important contribution to the fields of psychology and psychiatry. It is well written and in a language comprehensible by all readers. It is especially important to Marxists and other progressive people for the deeper insights it provides into the pseudo-scientific ideologies and faddist psychological practices current today in the United States which serve the anti-human purposes of our capitalist system.

Put this book on your reading list as a *must-read*.

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The Communist Party, U.S.A. is the political party of the working class and is dedicated to the interests of all working people and all specially oppressed peoples. Its aim is a socialist society.

Such a social system will act in the interests of the people rather than for private profit of capitalist corporations. Only through abolition of the capitalist system and the socialist re-organization of society can exploitation of one human being by another be ended, and with it the evils of oppression, war, racism, and poverty.

The heart of the Communist Party's day-to-day program is the struggle for peace, democracy, equality, against racism and for improvement in the living conditions of all working people.

*Preamble to the Constitution
of the Communist Party, USA*



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