

REVOLUTION

Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

VOL. 4, NO. 5
September 1979



Mao Tsetung

December 26, 1893—September 9, 1976

Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

September 9 marks the third anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, the greatest revolutionary of our time. The developments in China and the world since then have further deepened the determination of revolutionary communists in the U.S. and around the world to carry forward the great cause of communism to which Mao dedicated his life, and to uphold and learn from Mao's tremendous contributions to and development of the science of revolution.

Within weeks after Mao's death, the counter-revolutionaries in China, led by Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, launched a vicious coup d'état, arresting the revolutionary leaders who were fighting to carry forward Mao's line. Since then they have been frantically attacking all that Mao stood for and had led the Chinese working class and people in achieving over many decades of hard struggle. Today, only the politically blind or outright apologists for reaction refuse to acknowledge that the new rulers of China are reversing the course charted by Mao Tsetung.

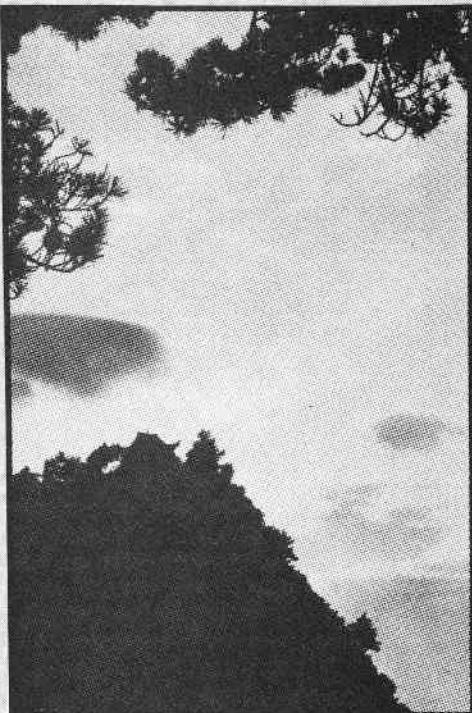
Of course, the imperialists of our country have reacted with glee to the tragic betrayal in China, hoping to use it to demoralize the people and spread the capitalists' own fantasy that revolution is an impossible dream of the oppressed which, if accomplished, ends up betrayed and with the people worse off than before. Others, who pose as the enemy of the imperialists, also leapt at the defeat of the line of Mao Tsetung in China to hurl slander and abuse at his teachings and try to undo the advances that had been made in the understanding of communists in the last two decades.

But try as they will, neither the imperialists nor the revisionists can stop the forward flow of history. Revolution, pronounced dead and given a public funeral, flares up in Iran, in Nicaragua, and smolders on every continent. And everywhere the proletariat is enslaved by the chains of capital, and everywhere whole peoples are kept in enforced backwardness by the workings of imperialism, revolutionaries take up the science of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung, which alone charts the path to liberation, socialism and communism.

As one surveys today's world situation both the difficulties and the prospects stand out in sharp relief. Turmoil and confusion grip the ranks of revolutionaries, but out of this turbulence again

emerges Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, tempered and stronger from its battle with opportunism. The imperialists threaten to unleash the monstrous crime of a third world war, but the working class and the oppressed people threaten to unleash a far more powerful force—a revolutionary storm capable of dealing the imperialist system its greatest defeats ever.

Mao Tsetung, above all else, taught that the road to communism would not be straight and that there would be many setbacks along the way. But he also pointed out that the triumph of the new over the old, of revolution over reaction, of the masses of people over their oppressors, is an irrefutable law of nature and society. As Mao stated, "The conclusion is still the two familiar comments: the future is bright, the road is tortuous."



This photograph was taken by Mao's comrade and wife, Chiang Ching.

REVOLUTION

Vol. 4, No. 9

Sept. 1979

Enver Hoxha's Imperialism and the Revolution— An "Error" from Beginning to End

The article demonstrates that Enver Hoxha's attack on Mao Tsetung Thought was no mere aberration, but consistent with the revisionist line of his entire book *Imperialism and the Revolution*. The article examines Hoxha's "two worlds" theory and addresses Hoxha's views on the question of inter-imperialist war, on the revolutionary struggle in the oppressed nations, the tasks of communists in the imperialist countries, and other questions.

2

\$1,000,000 Fund Drive— Testifying for the RCP

Many around the country have come forward in response to the Party's call for the million dollar fund drive. Reprinted here are three statements calling on the working class and the oppressed to support the Party and defend it against the attacks launched by the ruling class.

6

Chilean Communist Analyzes Allende Years

The appearance of this book, *Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise*, by Jorge Palacios, marks the first time that a wide audience of people in this country has had an opportunity to read a thoroughgoing Marxist-Leninist analysis of the events in Chile during the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende, which was overthrown by the Chilean military and the CIA in 1973.

22

The Revolutionary Kernel of The I.W.W.

The experience of the Industrial Workers of the World contains valuable lessons for developing the revolutionary movement of the working class. Both the revolutionary aspects, as well as the wrong positions which led to its collapse, must be summed up, and erroneous rightist summations must be repudiated.

8

Social-Democratic Stirrings

In the recent period there have been increasing attempts to develop a social-democratic political tendency in the U.S. The article analyzes these efforts and what they indicate about the present political situation.

26

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP, USA). It is published monthly.

All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP, USA; P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart; Chicago, IL 60654. Overseas cable Address: RCPUSA, Chicago.

SUBSCRIBE

U.S.—one year, \$6.50; one year by first class mail, \$14; six months, \$4.

Canada & Mexico—one year, \$9; by air mail, \$14.

Other countries—one year, \$9; by air mail, \$20.

Libraries and Institutions—one year, \$12.

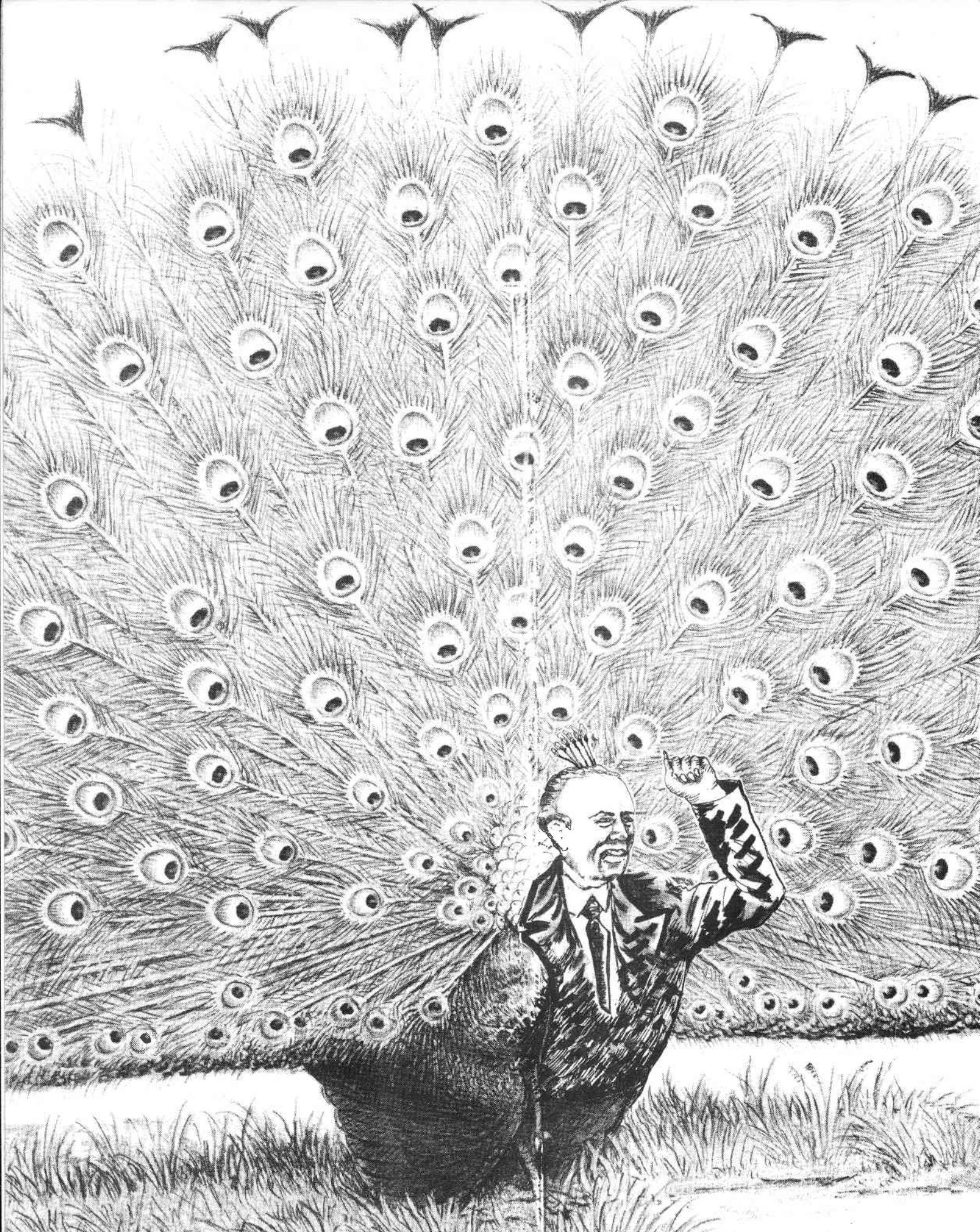
Enclosed is \$_____ for a _____ subscription. Begin with _____ (month) issue.

Surface _____ Name _____

Airmail _____ Address _____

I would like to be part of a monthly sustainer program for *Revolution*. I will contribute \$5, \$10, \$_____, a month, or \$_____ for the whole year. This includes a one-year first-class subscription and all new books and pamphlets from RCP Publications.

Send check or money order to RCP Publications, PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654



Enver Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution*—An “Error” from Beginning to End

The article “Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought” which appeared in *The Communist* (theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the RCP, No. 5, May 1979) is a thorough refutation of the main aspects of Enver Hoxha's repugnant attack on Mao Tsetung's contributions to the international and Chinese communist movement. Hoxha's reactionary trash first reared its ugly head in full form in his book, *Imperialism and Revolution* (Tirana, 1979). But even some who agree that Hoxha's characterization of Mao Tsetung is in the main *incorrect* see little wrong with the rest of the book: his analysis of the world situation and his strategy for revolution everywhere in the world. Some who fashion themselves as Marxist-Leninists even feel that there is a great contribution to the world revolution bound up in this work, perhaps seeing Hoxha's view of Mao as a revisionist as some kind of minor aberration.

The above-cited article from *The Communist* pointed out how Hoxha's thesis on Mao Tsetung Thought is itself thoroughly revisionist and dovetails and almost copies the Soviet revisionists' position in many respects. To Hoxha, people's war in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country like China is supposedly an endless war game that keeps the working class from the real revolutionary war in the cities, arguing in effect that the proletariat should not only be the leading force, but the main force

in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country such as China. If the peasantry is the main (not leading) force, this is “revisionism.”

According to Hoxha, the source of class struggle under socialism is essentially external (an imperialist plot), the Cultural Revolution was a reactionary mess, and there is no qualitative difference between socialism and communism. On the philosophical front, Hoxha distorts Mao as much as he thinks he can get away with and exposes his own total lack of grasp of dialectical materialism. (All this and more is gone into fairly thoroughly in the above-mentioned article and the reader is strongly encouraged to study that article, since there will be no attempt here to repeat the previous analysis made).

It is hard to imagine how one could view these types of errors as anything less than a fundamental departure from and attack upon Marxism-Leninism. Perhaps sincere disgust at the reactionary “three worlds” strategy of the Chinese revisionists and its adoption by social chauvinists around the world and sincere desire for revolutionary Marxism to triumph over revisionism in Albania might be the source of blindness towards Hoxha's revisionism. But it is blindness nonetheless and can only lead people toward the pit of revisionism themselves.

Hoxha's method might be contributing to this blindness. Through the skillful use of eclectics, quotes from

Lenin and Stalin to prove his “orthodoxy” to Marxism-Leninism and in words fiercely upholding some of the key questions that have separated Marxism from revisionism over the years (such as upholding the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and vehemently opposing the line of peaceful transition to socialism), he tries to pass off his subjective view of the world, his metaphysics and idealism as some kind of “refreshing” return to Leninism. But for all his “upholding” of Lenin and Stalin, Hoxha has much more in common with other “classical” and even modern figures. Kautskyism, Trotskyism and the current political line of the modern Soviet revisionists are what really come to mind on careful study of Hoxha's book in its entirety.

There are about as many errors in Hoxha's book as there are pages (over 400 pages in the English translation), but thoroughly analysing or just pointing out the character of all these errors would take a volume many times its length and would have questionable usefulness to the international communist movement. The following will briefly characterize some of the main features of Hoxha's analysis of the world situation, going into only three or four of Hoxha's revisionist theses not already covered in the *Communist* article and making an initial analysis of the source and implications of Hoxha's caricature of Marxism.

Hoxha's tactic reminds one of a peacock. General phrases about the “purity” of Marxism-Leninism are displayed with great pomposity and fanfare. He hopes the display will mask the reality of his revisionism.

I. The World According to Enver Hoxha

The book contains lengthy analyses of what Hoxha believes to be going on in the world today, both in chapters dedicated to that purpose in Part I of the volume and also as part of his lengthy polemic against the Chinese revisionist "three worlds" strategy and their "strategy to become a superpower" (both in Part II of the book). His analysis is an eclectic maze—he mentions almost everything but the kitchen sink—but stripping away empty phrases one finds a distinct, if not thoroughly original, erroneous understanding of what is happening in the world today.

Hoxha acknowledges the existence of two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, as the main defenders of world capitalism and also says at times that they are "contending over the division of the world."¹ But most often, when the two superpowers are mentioned, Hoxha's next breath mentions China, Japan, and various powers of Western Europe as potential contenders for hegemony against the U.S., not that different at this time from the USSR's relationship to the U.S. And while he does speak of contention between the two superpowers (and more often between all the imperialists equally) over the division of the world, he almost always follows this with an emphasis on their collusion. At times in the book, he says that contention and collusion between imperialist powers are *equal* tendencies² but more often he emphasises *collusion as principal* (more on this later). Hoxha does not think that inter-imperialist world war is on the horizon. He does say "The imperialist superpowers, of which we spoke above [and above included a whole section on China], will remain imperialist and war mongering, and if not today, tomorrow they will plunge the world into a great nuclear war."³

But Hoxha definitely means "not today" and by tomorrow, he means in the long-range figurative sense. He states:

"In all its strategic manoeuvrings the United States of America is not aggravating its relations with the Soviet Union beyond a certain point and it is continuing the SALT negotiations with it, although Carter stated that it was going ahead with the production of neutron bombs. Despite this, between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, there is an obvious tendency towards maintaining the status quo."

"Of course, while the United States of America and NATO are striving to preserve this status quo with the Soviet Union, at the same time, they have contradictions with it, but these contradictions have not yet reached such a level as to justify the Chinese refrain that war in Europe is imminent."⁴

The point here, of course, is not whether war is literally about to break out. This was not the line promoted by the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao (nor is this even the line put forward by the Chinese revisionists today). The question is whether the crisis of imperialism has reached the critical stage where it is propelling the two superpowers rapidly toward a war to redivide the world. The quote above epitomizes Hoxha's emphasis and his eclectics; throughout his book he gives some lip service to the inevitability of war between the two superpowers, but he emphasizes their "striving for a status quo" and downplays the way in which their actual moves toward world war, which are intensifying daily, affect and dominate most of their political moves today. (Contrary to Hoxha's dream world, the SALT negotiations represent the opposite of what he's saying they do. They have nothing to do with preserving the status quo, but, in fact, are a cover under which the superpowers are frantically stepping up their preparations for war—not only militarily, but by deceiving the masses and pointing the finger of blame at each other.) Hoxha does not promote the understanding that imperialist war represents the extreme concentration of the contradictions of the imperialist system. In his view, if there's anything close to an impending threat of world war, it's because of "China's strategy" of inciting war between the Soviets and the U.S.⁵

Hoxha does not see that the deepening of the crisis of imperialism is currently leading to the formation of war blocs headed by the two superpowers. Hoxha sees one bloc, one monolithic imperialism, albeit with some contradictions, *headed by U.S. imperialism*.⁶ And as incredible as it may seem coming from a supposed anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist, the Soviet Union is not only treated as a part of this same bloc, but is viewed as practically a neo-colony of the United States! After pointing out that the Comecon countries are in debt to the West to the tune of 50 billion dollars, Hoxha states "The exporting of capital from one capitalist country to another capitalist or revisionist country, no matter whether the state which gives or receives it is big or small, is always one of the forms of exploitation of the peoples by capital. This ex-

ploitation brings about the economic and political dependence of the recipient country."⁷ Along the same lines he states: "The big countries may repay the credits they receive, but the imperialist investments which are made in these big states, such as the revisionist Soviet Union, China, or anywhere else, cannot fail to leave grave neo-colonialist consequences,"⁸ and: "Even the Soviet Union has been reduced to this state of curtailed sovereignty [by the Western imperialists] . . ."⁹ (We will see later that Hoxha's simple-minded and wrong thesis that, even in imperialist countries, foreign investments equals "curtailed sovereignty" also dovetails with his efforts to have the working class pick up the blood-soaked national banners in Western Europe.)

Even Hoxha's analysis as to why the United States has such a tremendously large amount of defense industry echoes the views of revisionists and petty-bourgeois radicals. He reduces it to vulgar economics:

"Naturally, the most important sectors, which present more interest for investments in the field of development and the technical revolution, have priority, because they offer greater possibilities for profits. War industry tops the list, as it is here that the rate of profit is highest."¹⁰

Leaving aside for now his "technical revolution" thesis, his "facts" are off on the question of war industry. The U.S. government makes cost-plus contracts with these companies because the imperialists' political necessity makes it mandatory to guarantee a full flourishing of this production, despite what economic fluctuations due to the crisis are going on overall in the economy! (And, of course, since this guaranteed profit must come from actual surplus value created elsewhere, these contracts just exacerbate the economic crisis.)

When it comes to the prospect of revolution breaking out around the world, Hoxha again has his own "uniqueness." After taking great pains to quote at length from Lenin as to what the criteria are for a revolutionary situation and throwing in his own comment that only "hot heads" would think revolution could be made at any time, he states and develops the idea that "the revolutionary situation has already enveloped or is in the process of enveloping the majority of capitalist and revisionist countries, and hence, that this situation has placed the revolution on the order of the day."¹¹ True, he focuses on Spain and Italy, where the crisis, while not having reached a revolutionary situation, is more mature, but he

maintains that Italy has been in a revolutionary crisis since 1945.¹² He also emphatically states, "The revisionist parties in France, Japan, the United States of America, Britain, Portugal and all the other capitalist countries are playing a similar role in defending the bourgeois order, enabling it to overcome the crises and revolutionary situations . . ." ¹³

This whole analysis makes a mockery of Lenin's orientation toward a revolutionary situation. (And may we remind Hoxha that Lenin was talking about the critical situation the bourgeoisie of Europe faced during World War I.) Lenin wrote:

"... It [a revolutionary situation] will demand arduous preparatory activities and heavy sacrifices. This is a new form of organization and struggle that also has to be learnt, and knowledge is not acquired without errors and setbacks. This form of the class struggle stands in the same relation to participation in elections as an assault against a fortress stands in relation to manoeuvering, marches, or lying in the trenches. It is not so often that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come. Days on which such method of struggle can and must be employed are equal to scores of years of other historical epochs."¹⁴

While Europe or much of Europe is supposedly in a "revolutionary" situation, Hoxha's view flips over to the opposite when it comes to the colonies and neo-colonies of imperialism. With each section of the globe his book traverses, he emphasizes how difficult the road to revolution is in these countries (making a little bit of an exception when it comes to Latin America, on which we will have more to say later).

Even when it comes to Hoxha's more basic analysis of the crisis of imperialism and his "defense" of Lenin's great work, *Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism*, Hoxha's formulations and emphasis are a mockery of Marxist political economy and particularly of Lenin's application of it in analyzing imperialism. While it is not within the scope of this article to carry on a full analysis of Hoxha's political economy, a few things should be noted.

Hoxha is careful to mention all the different chapter headings of Lenin's great work, and he even gives us some good quotes from it. For example, he quotes Lenin at length criticizing Kautsky for reducing imperialism to "a policy 'preferred' by finance capital." But Hoxha himself is in these same waters. Readers should look at pages 340-341 and elsewhere in Hoxha's book to see

how, particularly in reference to "Chinese social-imperialism", he separates imperialism from the development of capitalism into its highest monopoly stage—a stage which China obviously has not reached. In fact, in a still relatively backward country such as China, the restoration of capitalism means capitulation to imperialism and neo-colonial dependency on one imperialist bloc or another.¹⁵

Hoxha also shows how he does not analyze imperialism as a system with inner laws which assert themselves whatever the plans and intentions of the bourgeoisie by the fact that he places no emphasis on the anarchy of capitalism either in words or in the content of his section on imperialism. In fact capitalism's anarchy is mentioned only once.¹⁶

He even appears to think that imperialism, rather than being an obstacle to the development of the productive forces, actually contributes to their advancement in the underdeveloped countries: "the United States of America and the other countries export capital precisely to those countries in which economic development requires investments and technology."¹⁷ He's careful to make it clear that this contribution to "economic development" is out of greed and not good will, since they rake in superprofits. But even here he is off—even quite off. Profits for the imperialists have been going up, up, up (they have no falling rate of profit, we suppose, since Hoxha only mentions how good the profit scene is for them) and it is simply greed that has them investing and fighting over spheres of influence, not necessity, the blind laws of capital at work that makes it mandatory to export excess capital the imperialists cannot reinvest in their country and get the necessary return on their investments; or, as Lenin put it,

"The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits."¹⁸

Yes, Hoxha speaks constantly of the deep economic crisis of imperialism. But this he simply describes as the "periodic crisis of overproduction" becoming more frequent. For example, he treats inflation, which is one of the sharpest manifestations of the developing crisis and which shows the depths of the contradictions the imperialists have found themselves in, as simply a plot of the imperialists to increase the relative exploitation of the working class.¹⁹ The reader is urged to study Lenin's *Imperialism* and compare Lenin's emphasis on the dominance of finance capital, the para-

sitism of imperialism, Lenin's emphasis on the export of capital and particularly Lenin's emphasis on the imperialists' need to divide and redivide the world and see how Hoxha's emphasis is entirely different, even if he makes sure he uses some of the same phrases.

Hoxha even does some creative "developing" of the character of imperialism since Lenin's time, as for instance where he more than once mentions the "technical revolution."²⁰ While Hoxha does not go into this concept much in this book, the Albanian Party of Labor has done more thorough work elsewhere on this creative development²¹ (and by Hoxha's references to this concept, he seems to be upholding it). In short, this "technical revolution" thesis pins much of the buoying up of the economy of the imperialists after World War 2, particularly in the U.S., Europe and Japan, on their investing in new and highly technological industry which stimulated the renewal of what he calls "fundamental capital." This line, in fact, dovetails with the imperialists' own explanations for their success, and completely obliterates the oppression and superexploitation of the colonial and neo-colonial countries—the most important factor enabling the imperialist countries to stave off the full effects of the crisis.

This "technological revolution" thesis is thoroughly revisionist. If one took the Albanian party's thesis as correct, conceivably the imperialists could indefinitely find new technological fields to continue this "revolution" and so reinvest their excess capital. This theory also goes against the fundamental premise that imperialism is a fetter on the productive forces (although certain technological advancements are made) in a much more fundamental sense than Hoxha puts it—reducing the question simply to meeting the needs of the people—in the chapter we've been speaking to.

II. Hoxha's "Two Worlds" Thesis

What's pivotal to Hoxha's analysis is what can fairly be described as his "Two Worlds Theory"—"The world is divided in two, the world of capitalism and the new world of socialism . . ."²² Or as he says:

"After the triumph of the October Revolution Lenin and Stalin said that in our time there are two worlds: the socialist world and the capitalist world, although at the time socialism had

(Continued on page 31)

\$1,000,000 FUND DRIVE

—Testifying for the RCP—

As the Party's million dollar fund drive has gone into high gear, hundreds of people all over the country have come forward to support it with words and action, as well as financially. They have spoken with a bitter hatred of this capitalist system that grinds people

down, chews them up and spits them out with criminal ruthlessness. And they have testified to the tremendous importance of the Party and its revolutionary work in educating the masses about the nature of this system and preparing for revolution.

The following are three such statements supporting the fund drive and calling on the workers and the oppressed to defend the Revolutionary Communist Party against the attacks launched on it and the Chairman of the Central Committee, Bob Avakian.

The System Is Gonna Make Us Fight! Only the RCP Can Make Us Win!

The following is from the text of a leaflet from a former member of the Black Panther Party in the San Francisco Bay Area calling on Black people to contribute to the RCP's Million Dollar Fund Drive, support the work of the Party, and join the revolutionary struggle. (The leaflet has been shortened for reasons of space.)

When I was 9 years old, my mother died of childbirth in one of these butcher shop hospitals. I couldn't believe it—nobody dies of childbirth at the age of 28 in America—unless you're Black or poor of course.

When I was 10, we had no electricity in our house, no gas, no running water and no food. Late at night we would get our pitcher and go "steal" some water from our neighbor's faucets. My youngest brother, who was about 5, could take no more of this—one day he just ran out in the middle of the streets and screamed his lungs out! I'm hungry!!! Later, after he was a teenager, he would go out and steal some money to buy him some new clothes and all the food he could eat. He told us he was tired of being poor—when caught, the pigs beat him up and sent him to youth authority. When he was 18 he could take no more of this shit, so he put a gun to

his head and blew his brains out.

I hate this motherfuckin' system. I've always rebelled against the American nightmare. I grew up in the ghettos of the Bay Area. We couldn't even have a party without the pigs crashing it. Whenever they came they would radio to each other that it's a TNA—translated means Typical Nigger Activity. We would greet them by hurling bricks and wine bottles at their cars.

When the Black rebellions of Watts, Newark and Detroit set this whole country to rockin', I was so proud of Black people I cried. When the Black Panther Party hit the scene with Chairman Mao's Redbook, guns and talking about making revolution, smashing capitalism as the only way to end all the hell Balck people catch, it was like they were speaking to my every feeling.

There were a lot of Black organizations at that time. Most of them were into saying white people was the enemy and called for putting Black faces in places where there were white faces and keeping the masses of Black people on the bottom. Only they would call us "brothers" while they fucked us or fucked us while speaking Swahili.

It seemed the Panthers had the interests of Black people at heart and not their careers. I was 20 years old when I joined—I never felt so proud before in my life—proud to fight—kill and die for the liberation of Black people. We put our whole lives into this.

But the Panthers fell into pragmatism. They didn't understand that revolution wasn't possible at that time nor did they understand the kind of revolution it is gonna take to end Black people's oppression. So eventually the Panthers sold out and betrayed the interests of Black people and started seeking high places for their Black faces.

I wasn't prepared for this—it was like there was no more reason to live. I couldn't understand it. I went to shooting dope. I got hooked, got busted for robbery and went to the penitentiary. It was in prison that I got to know Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Union (forerunner of the RCP) through its publications. I learned that revolution didn't die with the Panthers. It was like my life had meaning again—there was still something to live for.

I started to understand that Black people can't be free unless the whole working class and ultimately all mankind is free—and that it was this kind of communist working class revolution where we sweep capitalism away that was gonna free us and not no separation to five states in the south or some other madness. We set up study groups in the joint and discussed these questions. We would try to organize rebellions against our imprisonment everyday.

And after our beloved Chairman Mao died and his four close comrades were arrested, it was only the RCP who came out boldly with a clear-cut Marxist analysis of what happened there and held high the revolutionary banner of Mao. I studied the Party's analysis and then I understood that a bunch of two-bit backstabbing capitalist dogs had sold out Mao and the revolution in China and around the world and had taken China on the capitalist road.

Bob Avakian and the RCP have made me see and understand the struggle of Black people is part and parcel of the struggles of the working class and oppressed people in this country and around the world against imperialism, capitalism, revisionism and everything in the world that fucks over people.

The RCP and Bob Avakian saved my life!

Without them I would have thrown in the towel long ago. I would be in a narcotic stupor somewhere, or at best I would be thinking that there's nothing we can do about this shit and that we might as well go along with the program.

We got to come forward with our hard-earned money, not for some con escape trip—church or dope—but to buy the nails for the capitalists' coffin. To put out millions of copies of the *Revolutionary Worker*, to defend hundreds of RCP members and supporters arrested this past year, especially Chairman Avakian who they are trying to railroad to jail for 200 years. Right now the dogs who rule this country are trying to crush the RCP and lock up Bob Avakian—to strip the people of revolutionary leadership. If we stand on the sidelines and watch them crush the Party and railroad Bob Avakian—we will fight but we will NEVER win.

SUPPORT THE ONLY WEAPON WE HAVE TO MAKE REVOLUTION!
SUPPORT THE VANGUARD! CONTRIBUTE TO THE RCP'S MILLION DOLLAR FUND DRIVE!

—An ex-Panther from Oakland, Calif.

Part of a speech made on August 25th in Seattle by a member of the RCP.

Think how far we have come to where we have a Revolutionary Communist Party that can train and prepare the working class and masses of people for revolution. Think what it would have meant if we had the RCP during the 1960s. Think what it would have meant and what it has meant to all revolutionaries when they haven't had a revolutionary party.

My father fought in the Easter Rebellion to free Ireland in 1916. He fought with no guarantees but he fought without a communist party, without the science of Marxism-Leninism. He was a revolutionary. He spent two years in British prisons and he watched his family get murdered by the Black and Tans—the mercenary scum that took the place of British regulars. Then he came to this country, to slave on the longshore, to marry and raise a family. I used to watch him walk down the street with a longshoreman's hook on his shoulder and I was proud—he was strong, he was a worker... He stood up for his people in Ireland and he stood up for his friends—but then he broke his back on the docks, he couldn't work and

he couldn't provide for his family. He started drinking and beating my mother. He left. I was five years old... for the next five years I saw him living in a one-room flop house and I used to love to hear the stories from Ireland and the revolutionary songs he would sing... but more and more I began to lose that love, more and more I was unable to defend him against vicious lies and slanders that my family and society put on him, a drunk, a bum who couldn't provide the bread on the table, not a man. And I began to believe this and began to blame him for not staying with us, for not sticking it out. But really I was blaming him for not coping to all the shit that was coming down, for not crawling. That's what I mean by hating the oppressed and blaming the oppressed and growing to love the oppressor... that's what this society does.

But with the science of Marxism, with the RCP, I understand what is the truth—that my father was a revolutionary, that he left me a legacy to be proud of, a legacy of resistance and rebellion that drove me on... drove me until I found the Revolutionary Union and Bob Avakian. As I was hiding in a tiny town in Eugene, Oregon I heard Bob speak and it changed my life—I've fought to make revolution since that day.

That's what having the RCP and the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought means for us. It means the road to our liberation, standing up off our knees. And I know my father would be so very proud of me and of the Party, and if he were here tonight standing on the threshold of his 80th year, standing along us on the threshold of the 1980s, he would be crying, optimistic after so many long years of fighting he had finally found a Party that would lead the working class to end all the misery and suffering that he and the millions like him have endured and fought against for so damn long.

That's the difference the Party would have made then, the difference it makes today, and the difference it makes for the future—our consciousness, our revolutionary science turns us from sheep into men and women who will make history. History calls us to step up and step forward—otherwise the stories of my father's life and the millions like him will be repeated again and again. It's time that we get ready to tell our children the stories of how we made revolution and freed ourselves!

"It Doesn't Do No Good to Close Your Eyes"

The following letter calling on people to contribute to the \$1,000,000 Fund Drive was received from a coal miner's wife, whose husband, a member of the Miners' Right to Strike Committee, was killed in a mine accident almost a year ago.

When I met some of the people from the RCP, I was a coal miner's wife. Me and my husband both knew and had stayed in contact with the RCP. It was a challenge and an experience I won't forget. Now I am a widow. I do my best to stay in touch with the RCP. I am now a mother and father to my three children. It's hard taking care of my home and children and things like repairing things around the house, even though I get a good income. I once experienced going out and seeing for myself what the outside world is about, but I tried to close my eyes to it by taking an overdose. I know it doesn't seem to be a solution—what I did, and now I realize this too. I realized in time, before it was too late.

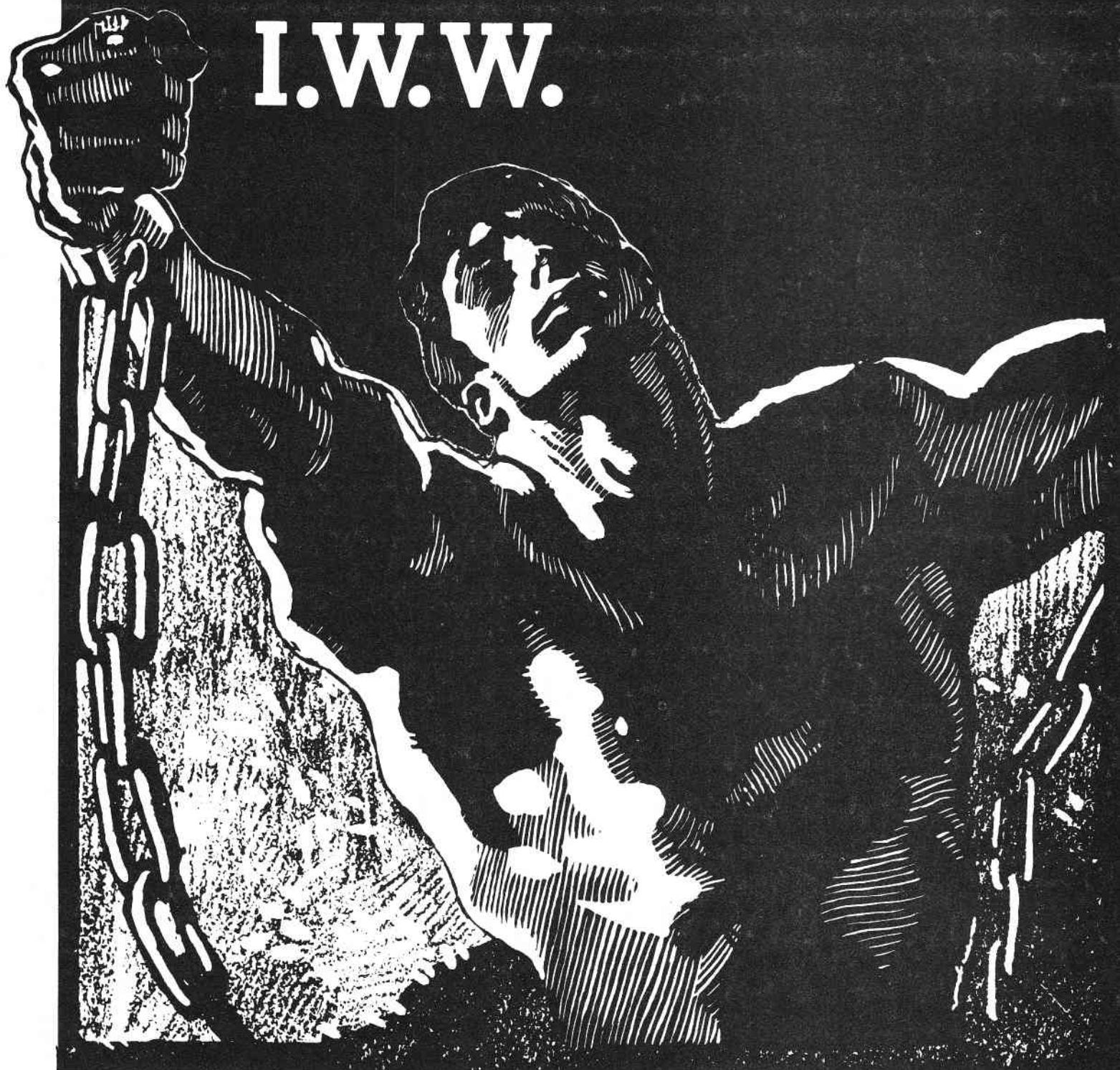
I got my second chance and I too know that the people need to open their eyes and realize this so the people can stick together and let's get behind the RCP. Let's get the *Revolutionary Worker* sold and get them to the people. Let's get the Rich Class out of the way so we can make this world a better one than what it is.

I personally would like to see this world changed. I don't like it the way it is. I want to see a better world than this, if not for myself, for my Coal Miner (my husband), the Black people, the Indian people, all the Working Class People. I too have kept in close contact with the RCP and the *Revolutionary Worker*. I do stand behind the working class people and the RCP and let's all pitch in and raise the Million Dollar Fund so that the RCP can have something to work with to wipe out Imperialism in the United States.

A widow from Logan, West Va.

"History Calls Us To Step Up"

The Revolutionary Kernel of the I.W.W.



From 1909 to 1919 a mass, revolutionary workers' organization—the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), better known as the Wobblies—shook America from one end of the country to the other. For millions, its name evoked a vision of revolutionary workers fearlessly attacking the capitalist class enemy and tirelessly working to overcome the ignorance, superstition and national chauvinism that bedeviled the U.S. working class. To many thousands of workers, especially the most oppressed and militant among them, the IWW was a rock to rely on in every storm, and they looked to it for leadership and cherished it. To the capitalists, the IWW was an enemy to be slandered, hounded, attacked, jailed and lynched.

Today, 60 years after the Wobblies ceased to play a significant role in the class struggle, their legend still inspires many and raises sharp questions. What the Wobblies represented—an organization claiming the allegiance of big sections of the working class while openly standing for revolution—had never existed before on such a scale in the U.S. What accounted for their rise and their hold on millions of American workers? And what led to their decline? In short, what lessons can revolutionaries learn today from the Wobblies? What is the revolutionary kernel that must be preserved and what is the backward aspect that must be criticized? These are questions long debated in the U.S., and the struggle to sum up the experience of the IWW, as well as the history of that organization itself, sheds light on vital questions of political line that continue to face the proletariat today. Now is the time, especially as we enter a period of likely mass turmoil in the working class, to begin to set the record straight on the Wobblies.

Background to the I.W.W.

At the turn of the century, the U.S. emerged as an imperialist power, pushing out all over the world to export capital, exploit the labor and plunder the resources of the world's people, and taking military action in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Panama, the Philippines, China and elsewhere. Industrial and bank capital, which had merged to form finance capital, centralized vast wealth into a few hands. As a result, millions of small businessmen and farmers were ruined, while greater millions of workers were driven deeper into impoverishment. The influence of the ruined petty-bourgeois elements was reflected in the populist reform movements which, while they involved millions of people, essentially tried to turn history back to the days before imperialism. Many of the ugly abuses of the monopolies' domination of America were laid bare in the muckrakers' movement in journalism and literature, a movement of broad exposure which flourished in the early 1900s and was linked with the populists.

Central to all the social problems brought on by the rise of the monopolies was the glaring contradiction between the massive wealth of the capitalists and the wretched poverty of millions of industrial workers. The cities were jam-

med with immigrants—over 10 million, mainly from southern and eastern Europe, had come over between 1905 and 1914 to work in the steel mills, textile mills and other capitalist profit mills, and on the railroads. In 1914, between 55 and 70% of the workers in each of the following industries were foreign-born: bituminous coal, iron and steel, slaughtering and meat packing, woolen and cotton goods, clothing, leather, furniture and oil refining. These workers constantly faced unemployment—often actual starvation—and were discriminated against at every turn.

The American Federation of Labor claimed that it was impossible to organize the foreign-born workers, that their cultural diversity was too big an obstacle. But in fact the AFL had no desire to organize these or any unskilled workers. Despite the resulting lack of organization, these workers, many of whom brought with them Marxist, syndicalist and other radical ideas from Europe, continually rose up in bloody battles. In the years before 1900 these included the great railroad strike of 1877, the uprisings of the coal miners (the "Molly Maguires") in Pennsylvania, and the Homestead steel strike of 1894.

Meanwhile, many of the immigrants

headed out west, joining the ruined farmers to work in the mines and lumber camps and on the railroads. Also untouched by the AFL, these workers too rose spontaneously in strikes, such as the miners' strike at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho in 1902, in which the state militia came in and penned up the strikers in an open-air corral for six months to break the strike.

Out of this turmoil many began to look to socialist revolution, revolutionary organization and Marxism as forces to combat the oppressive rule of capital. Two parties professing socialism existed at this time—the Socialist Labor Party, founded in 1876, and the Socialist Party, formed as a split-off from the SLP in 1900. But their notions of socialism were, in the former case, dogmatic and sterile, and in the latter, full of reformism and pacifism (the SLP, too, was pacifist). Nevertheless, their existence, and in particular the SP's formation at the turn of the century, reflected the fact that masses of workers were in motion and were demanding fundamental changes.

For many revolutionaries, it was clear that these parties could not be the vehicle for revolution. In particular, those who had been immersed in the rebellious

mass struggles of the unskilled workers realized that the SP and the SLP were too "respectable," too oriented to the ballot box and not enough to mass action, and too much based on the discontented middle class and better-off skilled workers rather than the basic masses.

Many of the revolutionary-minded workers and other people, some of whom had studied Marxism, yearning for a real revolutionary organization, got together to form the IWW in 1905. The delegates at the founding convention, representing over 60,000 members, formulated the strategy of "revolutionary industrial unionism." Their goal was, first and foremost, revolution, and their strategy was to organize the masses of industrial workers into a single revolutionary union that could carry out a general strike to stop capitalism dead in its tracks. In this scheme the capitalists would be starved out and their state would collapse, to be replaced by a coordinating committee of workers from the different industries.

While the Wobblies' view of how to make revolution was thus incorrect from the outset, reflecting a syndicalist outlook (more on this below), their orientation toward the mass action of the working class, rather than what they correctly perceived to be the ultimately dead end of elections, was very good. The main trend in the IWW that gathered that day in June 1905 was not interested merely in building industrial unions as ends in themselves (as some later historians grouped in and around the CPUSA would have it) but instead in figuring out how to overthrow capitalism—though there was to be very sharp struggle within the IWW over this question in the next few years, as well as over whether it should really be the goal of the organization.

The revolutionary thrust of the Wobblies was reflected in the words of Eugene Debs, one of the foremost leaders of the U.S. working class at the time and a founder of the IWW (though he later dropped away to concentrate his efforts in the SP), who called the founding meeting "the greatest labor convention" he had ever attended, because the delegates agreed "upon the great vital principle of uniting the working class upon the economic field in a revolutionary organization recognizing and expressing the class struggle." The IWW "was to unite [the working class] to act together politically and economically so that it could overthrow the capitalist system and emancipate [itself] from wage slavery... the revolutionary movement of the working class will date from the year 1905."

But before the IWW could set about its revolutionary tasks, three years of in-

ternal ideological struggle proved necessary. As stated earlier, while the orientation of the main leaders, including such people as Bill Haywood, Vincent St. John and others was revolutionary, a significant current was mainly interested in harnessing and narrowing the revolutionary turmoil among the masses into a rival to the AFL. The 1906 convention was marked by a split in which the president, Charles Sherman, was booted out, essentially for his narrow trade-unionist line. A number of other trade union officials who had boarded the IWW ship early on deserted after this, including Charles Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners. As the struggle against the line of making the IWW a "better version of the AFL" drew to completion, it then became necessary to settle accounts with the line led by Daniel DeLeon, head of the SLP, which would have made the IWW a tail to be wagged on the dull and sectarian Socialist Labor dog. DeLeon too was sent packing—at the 4th convention in 1908—and the IWW was finally consolidated around a line that would lead to big advances for the revolutionary movement.

The IWW's ideological unity was reflected in the new preamble adopted at the 1908 meeting:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things in life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work', we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system!'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Several things are noteworthy here. The influence of Marxism, given more room to operate in the absence of the expelled reformist elements, was reflected in the paragraph which ended with the slogan, "Abolition of the wage system!", taken from Marx's pamphlet,

Wages, Price and Profit. But clearly, it was only a partially digested Marxism, as witness the lines about "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," which blurred the fundamental distinction between capitalism and socialism and in particular omitted any reference to the question of state power and who holds it, which is central to these distinctions.

While the addition of Marx's phrase with its revolutionary stand reflected the forward movement of the Wobblies, an earlier formulation in the 1905 preamble was eliminated: "Between [the] two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together *on the political, as well as on the industrial field*, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party" (emphasis added). In deleting the reference to struggle "on the political field," the Wobblies understood this to mean the reformist electioneering of the SP and SLP, and they were entirely right to reject politics *in this sense*. But their theoretical error of reducing the class struggle to the economic struggle, of failing to see the necessity for a *revolutionary* political party, of negating the need to carry out broad political agitation and struggle and even to make use of particular election campaigns for these purposes (as Debs was to do as the Socialist Party's anti-war candidate during World War 1), was to restrict and lead to significant shortcomings in the IWW's work throughout the next decade.

As Lenin pointed out, in "a profoundly proletarian and mass movement" such as that around the IWW, erroneous views grow largely out of "the political inexperience of proletarians who are quite revolutionary and connected with the masses." The Wobblies' extensive connections with the basic masses, particularly strong in the West in mining, lumber and agriculture, and their determination to fight for the revolutionary interests of the workers, propelled them to take up some political struggles despite any syndicalist blind spots. In addition, the repression which the bourgeoisie was quick to unleash against the Wobblies compelled them to take up political battles if only to forge the freedom to wage the economic struggle, as was shown in the "free speech" fights of 1909-1912 and later in the campaign to free Joe Hill.

The ideological struggle within the IWW led to a sharp decline in membership, down to just over 3,000 by late 1908. Early supporters were demoralized by the failure of the Wobblies to take off after the auspicious founding convention in 1905. And the opponents of



THE PAGEANT OF THE PATERSON STRIKE

PERFORMED BY THE STRIKERS THEMSELVES.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

SATURDAY JUNE 7, 8:30 P.M.

BOXES \$10 & \$10: SEATS \$2, 1.50, 1, 50¢, 25¢, & 10¢.

The IWW produced a vast number of cultural works—plays, graphic art, songs and poems—many of them of a revolutionary quality that was seldom to be seen in the U.S. in the decades that followed.

the IWW reveled in premature funeral celebrations. "We need no longer fear this crazy assortment of fanatics," wrote an AFL operative at the time. "They have just about committed suicide at their recent gathering in Chicago." The aforementioned Moyer,

addressing the 1908 WFM convention, declared that "the IWW has landed high and dry on the rocks of sectarianism."

How wrong these philistines were! The Wobblies had only cleared the path for the fights to come.

Building "One Big Union"

Shortly after the 1908 convention, what became known as the "free speech fights" kicked off in Missoula,

Montana. The IWW had sent six organizers to Missoula to begin work among the transient workers who, by

the hundreds of thousands, bummed from town to town in the West going from job to job.

The Wobbly agitators spoke from soap boxes on the street corners near the "job-sharks," temporary job brokers who preyed on the workers, charging them high fees for jobs which often turned out not to exist. In an attempt to stop the soap-boxing Wobblies from spreading a mood of rebellion among the workers, the Missoula city council outlawed street speaking.

The Wobblies went up against the ordinance, and four of the six were arrested. The two who weren't wired the national office in Chicago, which sent out a call "to every man who hates the tyrannical oppression of the police to go to Missoula and help the workers there win out." Hundreds hopped freight trains and poured into Missoula, defying the ban on street speaking and landing in jail. Within a week the jails were overflowing and the rebellion spreading.

As the cops exercised their customary viciousness and brutality, a second call went out. Still more workers flooded Missoula's streets. The city council's attempt to squash the struggle had blown up in its face. The council backed down, repealed the law and released every Wobbly and sympathizer from jail.

Before the Missoula fight was over an even bigger one broke out in Spokane, Washington. IWW agitation again caught fire and put the local ruling class uptight, especially when 3000 angry jobless workers almost took the town apart the night of January 17. In their street corner agitation, the Wobblies had to compete with the noisy drum-beating proselytizers of the Salvation Army. It was out of this struggle for the attention and allegiance of the workers that the famous song, "Preachers and Slaves" ("You'll eat pie in the sky when you die," by Joe Hill, the most well known and prolific of the Wobblies' army of proletarian poets) was born, and that an impetus was given to the Wobblies' development of songs, poems, theater and other cultural forms which they put to good use in the class struggle.

One night in early November the cops pulled IWW agitator James Thompson off his soap box and threw him into jail. When the dust finally cleared that night, 150 people had been busted for defying the anti-soap box ordinance. Repeating the Missoula experience, Wobblies again poured into town and filled the jails. The police repression here was even more animalistic. Crowded into an unheated jail as winter was beginning, the prisoners were repeatedly doused by cops using fire hoses. Three fighters died serving their thirty days in jail. Anger spread through the Northwest and

began to spill eastward. March 1, 1910 was called as the day to hit Spokane.

With 500 Wobblies still in jail, delegations set out for Spokane from Skowhegan, Maine to Tijuana, Mexico. The city fathers caved in and the Wobblies had another victory.

The pattern of these battles was repeated in over 30 cities over the next few years. These battles dramatically brought the IWW to the eyes of millions of workers. The Wobblies' actions announced the existence of a revolutionary organization that fearlessly stood against the cops and capitalists, refused to give an inch in its aim to organize the working class, and was ready to put the idea of class solidarity into deeds as well as words. The battles also steeled and tempered those who were involved, and more than a few life-time fighters for the working class got their first real taste of fire in the jails of one or another free speech fight.

Meanwhile, the IWW was spreading east among the millions of ground-down immigrant workers. In July 1909 the McKees Rock, Pa. steel strike erupted over long-standing grievances. The two-month battle was filled with mass action and armed battles (13 died in the course of the strike), and the victory that was won put a spring in the step of the whole working class. The most significant thing, though, was the role of the immigrant workers and the IWW.

While the vast majority of the strikers were foreign-born and unskilled, at the strike's outset the leadership was almost entirely in the hands of the native-born skilled workers in the form of a leading committee called the "Big Six." The Big Six counseled patience on the part of the strikers, favored relying on lawyers and "civic outrage" against the company and, while they did not openly oppose mass militant action by the strikers, also did nothing to build it.

Within a few weeks the European workers formed the "Unknown Committee," which fought for a militant line against the company. Made up of workers from Hungary, Russia, Italy and elsewhere with experience in the more advanced political movements of their homelands, they began meeting with the IWW early in the strike and before long took over effective leadership from the Big Six. The Unknowns emphasized mass action against scabs and cops and mobilization of the rank and file. The Unknowns carried on frequent mass meetings in each of the sixteen languages spoken by the strikers, built constant mass picket lines and drew thousands of workers around the area to mass support rallies of up to 20,000.

This was a political lesson on a grand scale for American workers. The sup-

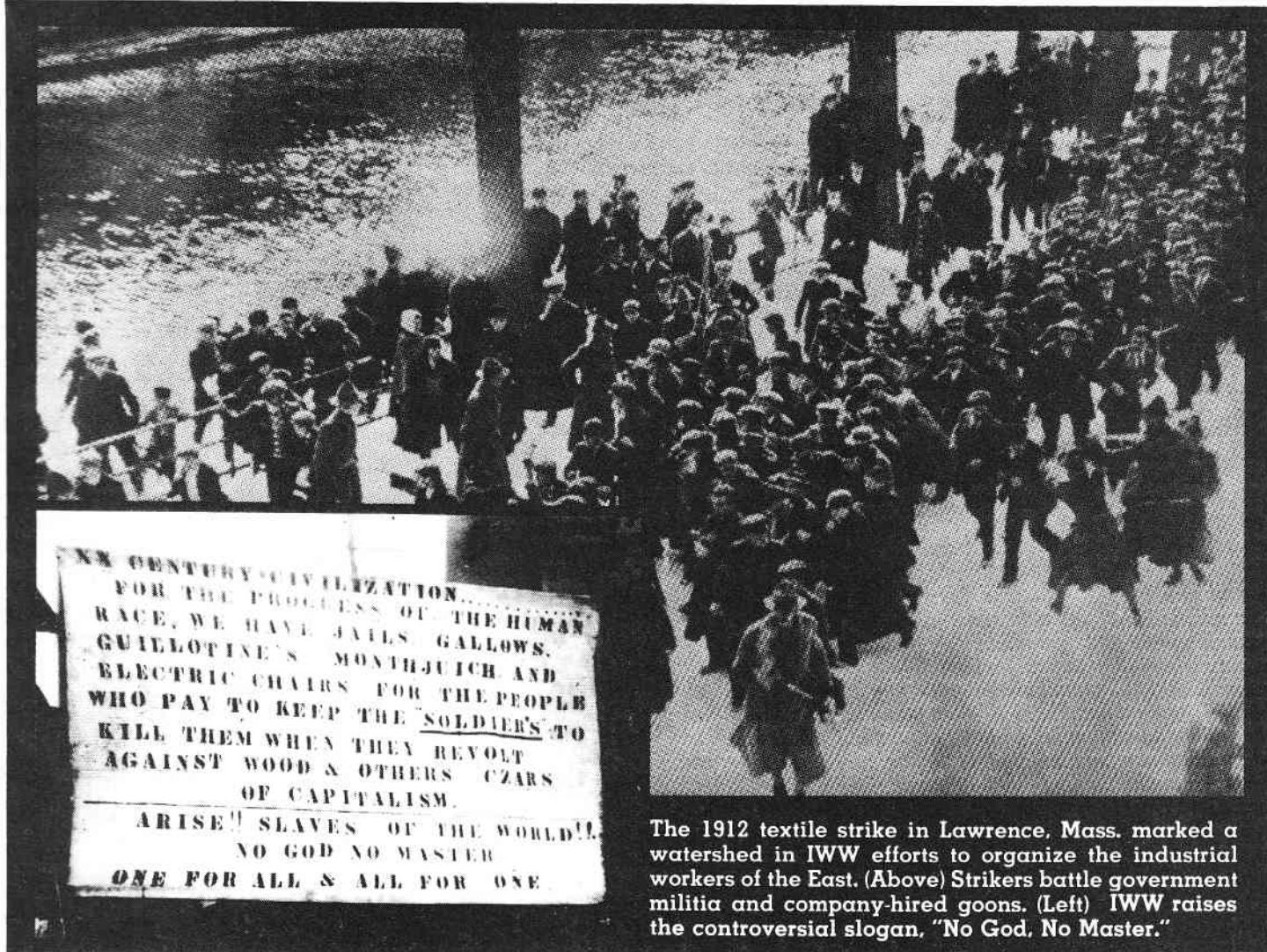
posedly ignorant and inferior eastern European workers had not only walked out, they had taken over and run the first successful strike ever against a U.S. Steel-owned company. And they had done it by breaking with every restriction that the AFL had tried to put on the strike struggles of American workers.

The McKees Rock strike was only the first of a series of bitter battles built by thousands of mainly immigrant workers during this period. Just as the free speech fights in the West concretized the revolutionary movement for the millions of migratory workers in lumber, mining and agriculture, these industrial strikes made the workers of the East come alive to the Wobbly vision of the revolutionary solidarity of all nationalities against the common capitalist enemy.

Even more than McKees Rock, the 1912 Lawrence, Mass. textile strike was a living manifesto to the working class of what the IWW was all about. Demonstrations ranging from 3000 to 10,000 were held every few days, with the workers carrying red flags and singing the Internationale. (In fact, so extensive was the use of revolutionary songs by the Wobblies that Lawrence became known as "the strike that sang.") A month into the strike, the strikers' children were sent all over the country to sympathetic families as a means not only of freeing up the strikers but also of building support. Giving tit for tat against 2500 militia and about 5000 vigilantes, the strikers set an example which ignited struggle in other textile plants throughout New England. When the companies finally capitulated, Big Bill Haywood told the victory rally:



Sampling of pamphlets illustrating the IWW's efforts to reach out to the millions of workers who emigrated to the U.S. in the early 1900s. Bringing out the common interests of the whole working class, the Wobblies succeeded in forging unity among those the AFL and other reactionaries claimed (and hoped) were "hopelessly divided."



"This is the first time in the history of the American labor movement that a strike has been conducted as this one has... You have demonstrated that there is a common interest in the working class that can bring all its members together." Haywood then led the whole rally in singing the Internationale in the fifteen different languages represented in the strike.

During this period the Wobblies were called into virtually every major strike struggle of the working class. They tirelessly tried to link these struggles to the entire workers' movement and the final goal of working-class revolution as they conceived it. By taking these struggles out to the whole working class, they fought the national chauvinism of the white, native-born workers and built unity on a principled basis. It should be noted that the Wobblies were the only group to oppose the anti-Asian hysteria on the West Coast, and they were the first organization to hold an integrated meeting of Black and white workers in Louisiana and to forbid segregation in any local unit. Although experiences on

this were uneven and were a source of controversy within the IWW, still it must be said that as an organization the IWW was solidly anti-racist.

In a few short years, the IWW became the organization most feared by the ruling class in U.S. history up to that time. Every bit of rebellion was attacked as an "IWW plot"—which worked just fine for the Wobblies, since it encouraged rebellious people generally to contact them when something jumped off. The government beat, jailed, framed and even lynched and executed members and leaders of the IWW—but each act of repression brought more workers and allies from other sections of the people into the fight to defend the Wobblies and what they stood for. During this period, the name and vision of this organization spread over the country like wildfire.

The Wobblies did not confine themselves to strikes, nor was their agitation limited to or even focused on winning a little bit better wage. They concentrated their fire on the capitalists on every front and were especially

outspoken in their antagonism to patriotism, religion, ideas that women should not participate fully in the class struggle, and bourgeois "respectability" generally. The Wobblies believed it their duty to challenge the beliefs of the workers instead of pandering to their prejudices to "get more members."

"The intelligent worker," said the IWW paper, "knows no such thing as 'my country' and sheds his 'native land' every time he takes a wash." Not that the Wobblies didn't love the flag—it's just that the flag they loved and popularized was the red one. The working class, they sang, would "live and die... 'neath the scarlet standard high." As for the stars and stripes: "The American flag has always accompanied institutions of oppression against the workers." The Wobblies even published a special Anti-Patriotic issue of their paper in 1912, which featured exposures of the Boy Scouts and other patriotic sacred cows.

The Wobblies also attacked the Salvation Army (they nicknamed it the "Starvation Army"), the Catholic Church and

the "long-haired preachers" of every stripe. The IWW took this as a serious question. Cartoons, songs and speakers mercilessly attacked religion for "gilding slavery's chains." In a famous incident at a mass march in Lawrence, Massachusetts shortly after the 1912 strike, the lead banner proclaimed, "No God, No Master," which sent the local Catholic Church into a patriotic frenzy. The Church called a "God and Country" day which drew about 30,000 people, including large numbers of school children brought in from around the area. The Wobblies countered with a "Support the IWW" picnic the same day which, despite the bourgeois counter-offensive, drew 4000 workers.

Many trade unionist and revisionist historians have chastised the Wobblies for "alienating support" with their stand on religion. Specifically, the use of "No God, No Master" as a major slogan of the Lawrence strike has been criticized. It is certainly correct to question the tactics of the IWW, in this and perhaps other particulars, which could have the effect of making atheism a point of unity in a strike. But there can be no doubt that in general, in their day-to-day organizing and through the use of their sharply controversial, anti-religious songs and poems, the Wobblies made considerable contributions to the struggle to free the workers of the hold of religion. Revisionist histories, seizing on the weaknesses of the IWW's work in this or that particular, negate these contributions and have the effect of covering for the failure of other groups, and in particular the CPUSA, to consistently put out propaganda against religion.

The IWW also antagonized the church and other reactionaries by scoffing at their hypocrisy around the family and by advocating birth control. The need for this was sharply displayed at a mass rally in Lawrence, where one Wobbly speaker said that the workers (mainly women) needed a shorter work day so that they "could have more time with their husbands and raise more children." This brought a resounding chorus of boos from the crowd. In contrast to this speech, Wobbly propaganda generally brought out the necessity for women to be allowed more time to participate in the class struggle.

These examples show that despite their limitations in theory and organization, the Wobblies did in fact take on the ideological struggle rather vigorously around a number of questions. They knew that without sharp struggle in this arena, the grip which the bourgeoisie held on the masses through religion, national chauvinism and its other ideological devices could not be broken.

Overall, the Wobblies made tremendous advances for the U.S. working

class, and revolutionaries should cherish their contributions. Here for the first time was a mass workers' organization that promoted revolution and made it something quite real for millions; that took head on the national chauvinism and philistinism in the U.S. working class and forged real multinational unity; that exploded the myth that the bottom sections of the working class couldn't mobilize, showing instead that they were not only capable of but eager for revolutionary organization. Here was an organization that mobilized thousands from around the country to go up against the capitalists and their cops, militia and vigilantes in over thirty free speech fights and countless strikes.

The Wobblies provided something different, a breath of fresh air for all workers and revolutionary-minded people. Their local halls were lively centers of political and ideological struggle, stocked with well-thumbed libraries and full of debate. And their songs and poems had a tremendous effect on workers and reflected an intuitive grasp of the essential role that culture must play in a revolutionary workers' movement.

But the Wobblies had serious weaknesses. At the root of these was their syndicalism. According to the syndicalist view, the general strike is capable of bringing down the capitalist system, and the industrial unions will be the administrative organs of socialist society. This view illustrates a failure to grasp the role of the state as an instrument of class dictatorship. The Wobblies held this naive view of the omnipotence of the general strike. When asked about the use of troops by the bourgeoisie to counter it, the IWW syndicalists would reply that without workers to transport and serve them, the troops could not be mobilized!

History has proven that the state must be smashed by force of arms and that after insurrection a civil war is necessary to firmly establish working-class power in an imperialist country. After the seizure of power a different kind of state—the dictatorship of the working class—is needed to crush the armed resistance of the still-existing exploiting classes, to handle the working class's relations of alliance and struggle with the intermediate classes, to give the fullest expression to the masses' control of all aspects of society, and to defeat and dig away the soil giving rise to new exploiters.

Of course, during the Wobblies' heyday these were hardly widely accepted doctrines. Certainly they were not understood by the vast majority of socialist parties of the Second International, including the SP in the United States, who posed against the syndicalist

strategy one of peacefully electing a socialist government. And in comparison with these parties, the Wobblies' orientation was more on the mark.

The belief that the general strike could actually happen throughout the country in such a way as to lead to the abolition of capitalism, that in fact the ruling class would be unable to recruit workers to "transport and serve" their soldiers, reflected an idealized notion of the working class, one which failed to grasp that it is divided into advanced, intermediate and backward sections. This fed into the anarchistic line running through all the Wobblies' work which viewed any centralized organization or formal leadership with disdain. One popular Wobbly slogan was "We are all leaders," and many leadership posts were filled on a rotating basis. This in effect denied the need for real leadership, and in particular the need for a vanguard party of the advanced workers and their allies was not understood.

The Wobblies did not have a scientific analysis of capitalist society and did not see that this analysis, which historically has been developed outside the spontaneous workers' movement by revolutionary intellectuals, must be brought to the class in order for it to take up revolutionary political life. This is a task which can only be accomplished by a vanguard party armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism. The Wobblies, of course, were not such a party. Neither, however, were they only a collection of unions, as some of the CP criticism has painted them. They were a revolutionary mass organization, but one which mistakenly tried to combine the functions of the party and of the unions—a doomed endeavor. This two-into-one view of the "revolutionary union," in addition to denying the need for a party, denied the need to organize and do revolutionary political work within the existing AFL unions.

Finally, the Wobblies had strong tendencies toward economism. In their view, political struggle was nothing more than electioneering, and since they rightly regarded a strategy of relying on elections to achieve power as a dead end, they ended up opposing political struggle in general. This stunted the political development of the workers, who cannot develop class consciousness through the struggle around wages and working conditions, no matter how heroic that struggle may be, even when it unfolds into a struggle against the bourgeois state in defense of economic needs and of the right to organize. While the Wobblies' experience did illustrate that the economic struggle can be utilized by the revolutionary movement, the fact that they did not bring the leadership of the working class to some of the important

CHRISTIANS AT WAR

By John F. Kendrick

(Tune: "Onward, Christian Soldiers")

Onward, Christian soldiers! Duty's way is plain;
Slay your Christian neighbors, or by them be slain.
Pulpitiers are spouting effervescent swill,
God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill,
All your acts are sanctified by the Lamb on high;
If you love the Holy Ghost, go murder, pray and die.

Onward, Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite!
Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite.
Splinter skulls with shrapnel, fertilize the sod;
Folks who do not speak your tongue deserve the curse of God.
Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize;
Use your might and sacred right to treat them as you please.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Eat and drink your fill;
Rob with bloody fingers, Christ O.K.'s the bill.
Steal the farmer's savings, take their grain and meat;
Even though the children starve, the Saviour's bums must eat.
Burn the peasants' cottages, orphans leave bereft;
In Jehovah's holy name, wreak ruin right and left.
Onward, Christian soldiers! Drench the land with gore;
Mercy is a weakness all the gods abhor.
Bayonet the babies, jab the mothers, too;
Hoist the cross of Calvary to hallow all you do.
File your bullets' noses flat, poison every well;
God decrees your enemies must all go plumb to hell.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Blighting all you meet,
Trampling human freedom under pious feet.
Praise the Lord whose dollar-sign dupes his favored race!
Make the foreign trash respect your bullion brand of grace.
Trust in mock salvation, serve as pirates' tools;
History will say of you: "That pack of G-d—fools."

struggles of the period, such as the women's suffrage movement and the fight against World War 1, was to have serious consequences.

World War 1

When World War 1 broke out in Europe, the Wobblies initially maintained a firm anti-war stand, issuing proclamations and exposing the predatory nature of the war through a variety of means, including the scathing satirical verse at which the IWW poets had become so adept. But in the main, the

IWW saw the war and the issues it raised as a diversion from the class struggle. Suspicious of the multitude of attempts to "influence national policy" that were offered the masses by the bourgeoisie and the reformist socialists, the bulk of the IWW leadership felt that the capitalist system was bound to breed

wars until it was brought down by the general strike, and that short of that, the best course was to continue to "organize the industrial army." As Ben Williams, a Wobbly leader, put it in a statement which concentrated much of the incorrect understanding in the IWW on the separation of economics and politics, the all-importance of "palpable results," and the idealist (and typically syndicalist) notion of an uninterrupted straight road to revolution to be paved by waging economic battles:

"In case of war we want the One Big Union to come out of the conflict stronger and with more industrial control than previously. Why should we sacrifice working class interests for the sake of a few noisy and impotent parades or anti-war demonstrations? Let us rather get on the job of organizing the working class to take over the industries, war or no war, and stop all future capitalist aggression that leads to war and other forms of barbarism."

Holding this perspective, the IWW offered no strategy or program for fighting the war or, most importantly, utilizing the opportunities the war presented to advance the struggle towards the revolutionary seizure of power. It did, however, during the period between 1914 and April of 1917, do a considerable amount of exposure of the war and of the interests standing behind it. At its national convention in 1916, the IWW reaffirmed the stand that "We condemn all wars and, for the prevention of such, we proclaim anti-militarist propaganda in time of peace, thus promoting Class Solidarity among the workers... and, in time of war, the General Strike in all industries." And in March 1917 appeared the statement, "The Deadly Parallel," printed in the IWW newspaper *Solidarity* and also prepared as a pamphlet, contrasting sharply with the AFL's shameful pledge offering "devoted and patriotic service to the war."

To the extent that the Wobblies did conduct anti-war propaganda during these years, it was based mainly on a general opposition to national chauvinism and militarism, on an understanding that the war was being used by the bourgeoisie to divide the workers along national lines and undermine the unity of the international working class, and that it was a war fought for capitalist exploitation. Yet an understanding of the imperialist nature of the war as an inevitable and indispensable extension of peacetime bourgeois politics, that it opened up unprecedented opportunities to expose and build revolutionary political struggle

against the capitalist system and that it raised the question of the armed overthrow of the capitalists and the seizure of political power, were lacking among the great majority of IWW leaders and members. For instance, agitating against the threatened use of U.S. troops in Mexico in 1914, Haywood stated that "It is better to be a traitor to your country than to your class." Yet three years later, after U.S. entry into the war, Haywood was to be the leader of the IWW during a critical period when it failed to do the revolutionary work against the war that cried out to be done.

This led to sharp political reversals when the U.S. entered the war in April 1917. The Wobbly leaders, whose ideological tendency was to view this event solely in terms of the potential it opened up for waging the economic struggle, had their attitudes reinforced by certain objective conditions. As it happened, the Wobblies' greatest organized strength was in such industries as agriculture, lumber and mining—particularly copper mining—which were key to war production. Taking advantage of the fact that the bourgeoisie as a whole could not afford prolonged interruptions of production in these sectors, and was thus willing to make certain concessions around wages and working conditions, as well as of the fact that the draft grabbed up many workers in the western U.S. and thus reduced the size of the "surplus army of the unemployed" and undercut the capitalists' ability to use it as a force against the employed workers' struggles, the IWW undertook a vigorous offensive on the economic front, winning strikes in wheat, lumber and mining in the spring and summer of 1917. These economic successes swelled the ranks of the IWW—according to one estimate, membership grew from around 40,000 in 1916 to over 100,000 in 1917.

But ironically, at the same time as it went on the offensive economically, the IWW staged a giant retreat politically. Not wishing to allow charges of treason to interfere with its unprecedented successes in waging strikes and organizing workers to fight for economic gains, the IWW toned down its anti-war propaganda, suppressing "The Deadly Parallel" and other anti-war statements as soon as the U.S. entered the war, and later also suppressing any literature which might be construed as advocating violence or sabotage or undermining war morale—even including the poem, "Christians at War." (See page 15.) However, individual Wobbly members did participate in an anti-draft demonstration of 100 with Socialist Party members and others in Rockford, Illinois and in the "Green Corn Rebellion"

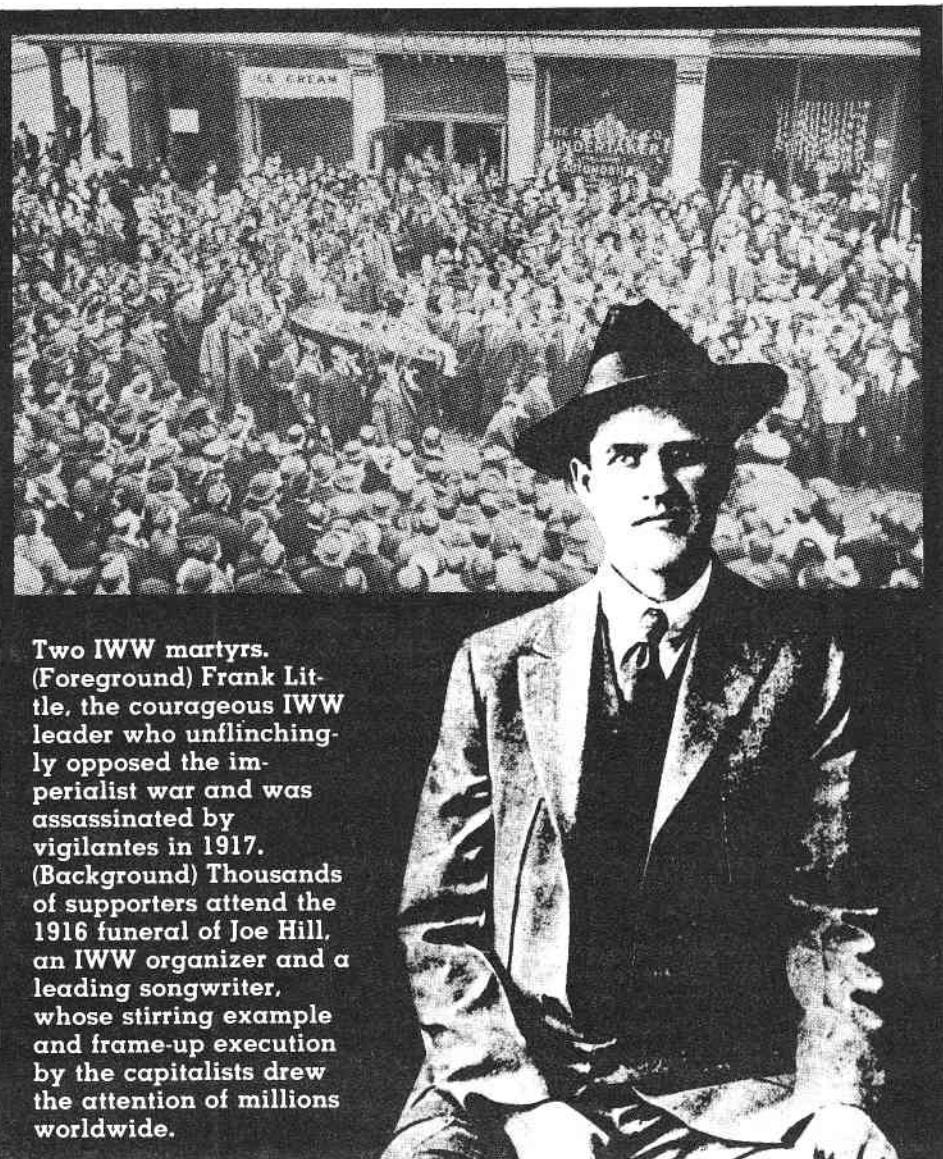
in Oklahoma, and immigrant IWW iron miners from Finland working on the Mesabi Range in Minnesota, many with strong sentiments against Tsarism, refused to be drafted into an army allied with Russia.

The majority of the IWW leadership apparently felt that taking actions against or doing broad exposure of the war would not be well received by the workers and would thus threaten the advances being made in economic organization—which after all, according to the syndicalist outlook, were the only really solid ones anyway. Step by step, strike by strike, mine by farm by lumbercamp by factory, wage increase by wage increase, a giant industrial army would be pieced together and gradually accumulate its strength, until at the proper moment it would strike. In carrying out this great protracted task, how could any serious revolutionary allow political issues or minor events such as world war to interfere with the forward march? This short-sighted

economist policy was, of course, so far from preserving the organization and building its strength, to prove disastrous. The One Big Union was to turn out to be "pie in the sky" after all.

Such a line and policy were not merely a result of ignorance of revolutionary theory—though that characterized the organization at all levels and took a very heavy toll, especially among its rank-and-file—but flowed out of a syndicalist line which consolidated itself in opposition to those, including IWW members, who held a more advanced understanding of the nature of the war and the kind of political work called for. The most outstanding of these in the IWW leadership was Frank Little.

A veteran of the class struggle who had split from the Western Federation of Miners when Charles Moyer and his henchmen secured their hold on that organization, Little, half American Indian, had a wealth of experience working among Oklahoma corn farmers, the Arizona copper miners, and the



Two IWW martyrs.
(Foreground) Frank Little, the courageous IWW leader who unflinchingly opposed the imperialist war and was assassinated by vigilantes in 1917.
(Background) Thousands of supporters attend the 1916 funeral of Joe Hill, an IWW organizer and a leading songwriter, whose stirring example and frame-up execution by the capitalists drew the attention of millions worldwide.

lumbermen of the Northwest. A leader who emerged from the economic struggle, Little stood for uncompromising struggle against the imperialist war.

When the IWW's General Executive Board, of which Little was a member, voted in July 1917 not to take any stand against conscription, Little vigorously opposed this decision. "If we oppose the draft, they'll run us out of business," argued another Wobbly leader, representing the majority view. "They'll run us out of business anyway," Little countered. "Better to go out in a blaze of glory than to give in. Either we're for this capitalist slaughterfest or we're against it. I'm ready to face a firing squad rather than compromise."

Traveling throughout the West organizing the copper miners, Little continued to blast "the son of a bitch of a war" and to be an outspoken advocate of the use of strikes, sabotage, demonstrations and other means of hampering the imperialists' war effort. On July 28, 1917, he contributed a major article to *Solidarity* condemning the imperialist war. Meanwhile the Executive Board advised IWW members to register for the draft as "I.W.W. opposed to war"—not, however, to acquire military skills and agitate among the soldiers as Lenin had advised the Russian proletariat to do, but to avoid arrest for resisting conscription.

On the night of July 31, Little was dragged from his hotel room in Butte, Montana where he was organizing the copper miners, most of whom were employed by Anaconda Copper Co. Tied to the rear bumper of a car and driven out of town, Little, with only one good leg, was lynched by vigilantes. These murderers, who were, needless to say, never prosecuted, left a note attached to his body: "First and Last Warning, 3-7-77" (the numbers referred to standard specifications for coffins in the state of Montana—3 feet wide, 7 feet long, and buried 77 inches under the ground).

This grotesque assassination epitomized the vigilante justice which was to hound the IWW through to the end of the war. In the wake of a huge funeral procession in honor of Little, the mayor of Butte issued a statement pointing out that had the federal government arrested and jailed him for his "incendiary and seditious" propaganda as it should have, then "none of this would have happened"!

Most of the rest of the IWW leadership, after an extremely brief period of eulogy for Little, carried on and intensified their work of dissociating themselves from the militant revolutionary line which he had championed. Nevertheless, five weeks later, federal agents raided IWW offices around the country,

beginning a year marked by full-scale mobilization against the Wobblies. The IWW leaders tried desperately to prove that they had sought in their wartime strikes only to improve working conditions, that any negative effects these strikes may have had on the war effort were coincidental, and that as an organization they had done no anti-war work per se—most of which was painfully precise.

While space does not permit a thorough analysis of the government trials of and repression against the Wobblies, it is important to note here that the IWW leadership was decimated by a series of deportations, jail sentences and fines, blacklisting and "unofficial" executions, such as that of William Everest by an American Legion-led mob in Centralia, Washington in 1919. This repression was part of a broader sweep directed against socialists, radicals, anarchists, trade union militants, other dissidents, and immigrants generally, on a scale and of an intensity that has not been seen again in this country. Increasingly, the weaknesses of the loose, decentralized, "everyone a leader" syndicalist type of organization stood out in full display at this time, as the Wobblies were unable to regroup and resist the bourgeois onslaught. But even more fully revealed was the bankruptcy of the syndicalist line, which had led the IWW to capitulate politically to the bourgeoisie in April 1917.

As trumped-up charges, enormous fines and long jail sentences piled on top of one another, it was clear that the government would ignore even the evidence of a federally appointed commission, which had done an investigation of the Wobbly-led strikes in Arizona and confirmed the organization's contention that they "were not attempts to sabotage the war effort." Nor did it matter one iota to federal judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who presided over the biggest Wobbly trials, that of 100 Wobbly defendants from Chicago, where the national headquarters were located, 99 had registered for the draft...

Another important factor leading to the rapid decline of the Wobblies after World War I was the Russian revolution. This, the first successful proletarian revolution, had an electrifying effect on class-conscious workers everywhere. Leninism spread rapidly among these workers and revolutionary-minded people from other classes, whom the experience of the war, of the socialist parties' capitulationist betrayals, and of the post-war repression, had made sharply aware of the shortcomings of both social-democracy and syndicalism. In the U.S., the most advanced of the Wobblies joined with the positive motion of the left wing of the Socialist Par-

ty and other revolutionaries, out of which the Communist Party, USA was born.*

As profound as the influence of the IWW had been among the masses, it could not continue to be developed by the Wobblies, for history stood against them. With the rise of U.S. imperialism and its emergence as a leading world power (especially after World War I) the U.S. economy had fully entered a new stage, that of monopoly capitalism, in which production was centered in huge factories. This brought with it the development of an enormous industrial proletariat, the largest of any country in the world, concentrated in this socialized production. With the exception of the period from roughly 1910 to 1914, when it had led the big strikes in Lawrence and Paterson, the IWW had had very limited influence among these workers.

It had developed a pattern of basing itself mainly on the militant workers in the West, whose conditions of life and work had forced many of them quickly to shed bourgeois illusions and prejudices, and who were "virgin territory" in the sense that they were untouched by the AFL. The IWW had given organized expression to the militancy and quickness to act of many of these workers. But the seasonal and migratory character of much of the work in agriculture and lumber, as well as the relative shortage of labor which made it somewhat more attractive for workers to move on to the next job, in conjunction with the fact that the Wobblies, not being a political party, offered no ideological or political cohesion to weld these workers into ongoing organization, resulted in a very high turnover in Wobbly membership. One historian of the IWW estimates that between 1905 and 1915, 1.3 million workers were at one time or another Wobbly members, though at no time was the membership even a tenth of this figure. Clearly it is at best difficult for an organization to carry through the struggle against capitalism on such a basis.

In this sense, and in this sense alone, it is correct to speak of the "instability" which characterized the Wobblies as an organization, and to say that they based themselves on the more "unstable" members of the working class. But this in no way lends support to various revisionist criticisms of the organization

* For the reasons discussed here, the decline of the Wobblies after World War I was very rapid. However, the organization continued to exist as a small and increasingly peripheral anti-communist sect, which to this day dogmatically holds to its ideas about syndicalism and the "one big industrial union."

which have been put forward over the years, which essentially base themselves on the fact that the IWW did not reckon

on the *stability of capitalism as a system* in devising its plans and carrying out its work.

Revisionist Summations of the IWW

Summing up the Wobblies has been a class struggle in itself. They have been looked to by everyone out to build a revolutionary movement in the U.S. working class, and how they are summed up both reflects and influences the strategy for doing that.

Unfortunately the main summation in the revolutionary movement has been the opportunist one pushed by the CPUSA, whose revisionist formulas have had the effect of building up an image of the Wobblies as mistaken but good-hearted would-be trade unionists whose instability and "left sectarianism" prevented them from having any lasting influence on the American worker. This summation has been part of the whole revisionist, economist influence of the old CP on revolutionaries today and has had the effect of blinding them to the real revolutionary thrust of the IWW.

The CP's main criticisms of the IWW boil down to two: first, its failure to build a stable trade-union machine along the lines of the CIO; and second, its general rowdiness and total lack of respect for "the American democratic institutions and traditions." These "criticisms," concentrated in the writings of the CP historian Philip Foner, are also to be found in the works of William Z. Foster, one of the top leaders of the CP during the period before it degenerated into full-blown revisionism.

In Volume 4 of his *History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.*, published in 1965 by the CP's International Publishers and covering the Wobblies from 1905 to 1917, Foner time and again criticizes various IWW-led struggles because no union emerged from them, or if one did, because it wasn't able to sustain itself. The book's concluding paragraph sums it up like so:

"This is not to say that without this savage repression by the government the IWW would have moved forward to achieve its goal of organizing the unorganized and building a new society in the U.S. The Wobblies had made improvements in their tactics. But they still clung to their opposition to political action and their syndicalist outlook; they still operated as a dual union, and they still opposed many trade union practices which the modern labor movement had learned, through bitter experience, were essential for growth and stability. It is difficult to see how with

these serious flaws in its ideology, the IWW, despite its heroic militancy, could ever have fulfilled its mission." (emphasis added)

Given Foner's general line, it is clear that he views the task of revolutionaries to be that of trade union militants, and in particular, views the mission of the Wobblies as one of building "stable" unions under capitalism. There is no mention of the general strike or of revolution here. The Wobblies' own view, stated in their preamble and running through their practice for a decade, was far different, as has been shown above—to do away with the system of wage slavery and establish the rule of the workers. And Foner's vague term, a "new society," is revisionist lingo for the same old capitalism—only with more state ownership and with the CP having a share of power.

Of course, it is correct to criticize the Wobblies for their limited conception of and general opposition to political action. As has been discussed above, this was a central weakness of the IWW and of syndicalist movements generally. But Foner makes clear in a number of places that he, like the IWW—though with a basically opposed position—equates politics with elections, rather than with building mass revolutionary struggles against the government that expose its class nature, develop the workers' class consciousness and lay the basis for revolution. Foner disapprovingly quotes IWW attacks on "ballot-boxers" and "slow-cialists"—meaning the parliamentary cretins of the right wing of the Socialist Party—and in so doing makes clear that for him *politics is reformist politics*. While neither the IWW nor Foner had a Marxist understanding of revolutionary politics, it is clear that the Wobblies' persistent exposure of what they called the "two-party swindle" was preferable to the CP's tailing after the Democratic Party—which has, by and large, characterized its work for the last forty years.

Both Foner and Len De Caux (the latter in his *The Living Spirit of the Wobblies*, published in 1978, also by International) try to present the IWW as a group of harmless pacifists wrongly accused of violence, making a big point out of the fact that although the Wobblies were associated in the minds of many with sabotage and their publications frequently called on the workers to slow down and otherwise disrupt production,

"not a single Wobbly was ever convicted in court of sabotage." This distortion by the CP seeks to hide the fact that many a scab and deputy went to an early grave when attacking Wobbly-led strike lines and union halls, and though this is certainly not the main thing about the Wobblies, there is something to uphold and learn from here. The main point, though, is how shameful it is for the CP and those they influence to use the Wobblies to promote a social-pacifist line that would totally disarm the workers (and that the Wobblies themselves would have jeered out of their meeting halls).

Finally, Foner negates the IWW's contributions by upholding backward interpretations of their political work. For instance, he says that the principal contribution of the free speech fights was to "make the people of the U.S. aware of the existence of a national organization dedicated to preserve a basic principle of American democracy—freedom of speech—at a time when no other national organizations existed to uphold this principle." The reader unfamiliar with the Wobblies' actual role might get the picture that they were some sort of Workers Civil Liberties Union. Foner admits that many Wobblies were quite cynical about the farcical nature of free speech, one of their slogans being, "Free speech—say anything you want to but keep your mouth shut!", but he hastens to add that "fortunately this was mere irony"(!) since the IWW's struggle had "brought about the repeal of undemocratic ordinances."

Overall the CP tries to present the IWW as a society of misguided but self-sacrificing trade union militants, crusaders for bourgeois democracy and pacifists, who, if only they had known better and been based on the more stable elements in the working class, would have merged into the AFL and voted Democratic. What the CP wants to erase is what awakened hundreds of thousands of American workers: a revolutionary workers' organization vigorously pursuing the class struggle, ready to shatter all the bourgeois idols and spit in all the right faces.

As for Foster, he shared many of the same criticisms of the IWW as Foner, and since his influence on the revolutionary movement today is much more extensive than that of Foner and other of the out-and-out revisionist elements in the CPUSA, his wrong line on the IWW must be uprooted and repudiated.

Foster put himself in opposition to the Wobblies as far back as 1911, when he left the IWW to form the Syndicalist League of North America (SLNA). Foster at the time did not dispute the Wobblies' syndicalism—what bothered him was their refusal to fold their tents,

go into the AFL and carry out there a strategy which Foster called "boring from within." He wrote at the time:

"I am satisfied that the only way for the IWW to have workers adopt and practice the principle of revolutionary unionism—which I take is its mission—is to give up its attempt to create a new labor movement, turn itself into a propaganda league, get into the organized labor movement, and by building up better fighting machines within the old unions than those possessed by our reactionary enemies, revolutionize these unions even as our French syndicalist fellow workers have done so successfully with theirs."

The Wobblies opponents to Foster aptly pointed out that conditions were different in France, where industry wasn't nearly as developed and the craft unions had organized most of the working class, and that Foster's insistence on pointing to France as proof of his plan for America was mechanical and wrong. Anyway, most Wobblies couldn't get into the exclusionist AFL if they had wanted to. Wrote one critic, "We'd have nowhere to bore."

Foster left to organize the SLNA which lasted two years and accomplished very little, while the IWW went on to the Lawrence and Paterson strikes and the worldwide campaign to free political prisoner Joe Hill—which, while it did not prevent his execution by the capitalists, did capture the imagination of millions. In 1917 Foster won AFL approval to organize packinghouse workers in Chicago, where 200,000 were brought into the union and won recognition but were then defeated two years later. And in 1919 Foster led the Great Steel Strike, also AFL-sanctioned, in which hundreds of thousands struck for a union. But this strike battle did not leave any lasting organization, either, and while Foster had proven the point that workers could indeed be organized through the AFL, his view that the disintegration of the IWW-led unions would be remedied by AFL affiliation was proven wrong.

The Wobblies had something bigger in mind than just building a union. Foster may have too, but during this period he kept any revolutionary politics out of his organizing in order to get AFL sanction. Thus the sorry episode of Foster praising the master traitor, AFL head Samuel Gompers, and even admitting to selling war bonds in order to hang onto the AFL charter! During this period, Foster was just as wrong as the IWW on the central question—Marxism vs. syndicalism—and in practice he had fallen into the pit of bourgeois "respectability."

Now He Understands The Game

Solidarity, November 11, 1916.



The Wobblies steadfastly refused to get sucked into bourgeois electoral politicking. But because of their syndicalist line, they largely focused on the economic struggle and the activity of building "one big union."

Writing in 1922 after he had joined the Communist Party, in his article on "Dual Unionism," Foster attempted to answer the question of what was the main cause of "the backwardness of the American labor movement." As his analysis showed, he meant by backwardness, not so much the lack of class consciousness of the workers, but the relatively small number (in comparison to several countries in Europe) who were organized into unions. He dismissed the old AFL argument that vast sections of the American working class couldn't be organized because of the large number of nationalities (although he failed to give the IWW any credit for helping break down the national divisions within the class). Likewise he correctly dismissed the idea that the central reason could be the supposed "prosperity" of the workers.

What, then, was the main reason for the backwardness of the American workers? Foster's answer: "A deeper cause of the extraordinary condition must be sought elsewhere. And it is to be found in the fatal policy of dual unionism which has been practiced religiously for a generation by American radicals and progressives generally."

Not the failure to do all-round political work, propaganda and agitation! Not the fact that it was only three years before that Marxism-Leninism had been brought to the American working class on an organized basis! No—but the failure to "bore from within" like good trade unionists should! (Foster's article is full of gems of this sort and was reprinted without editorial comment in the aptly entitled collection, *American Trade Unionism*, in 1947. For further discussion of the line of this book, see "Some Notes on the Study of What Is To Be Done?", *The Communist*, No. 5.)

It is true that in the early years of the CPUSA there was a tendency for its members—especially in the foreign language federations—to refuse to work in the AFL. Certainly dual unionism was a part of this (it was part of a broader problem in these federations of not doing mass work) and had to be criticized. And reliance on dual unions as a central part of a revolutionary strategy, or even as the main organizational form in the working class, also was wrong. It was in fact a deviation that had become ingrown among American radicals during the preceding generation, had been spoken to by Lenin in his "Left Wing"

US THE HOBOES AND DREAMERS

Written when we Lumberjacks, Sodbusters, Hoboes and Dreamers were fighting the Lumber Barons of Louisiana and Texas, with our backs to the wall, back in 1910-14.

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds
the South in awe,
We shall trample on your customs and shall spit
upon your law;
We shall come up from your shanties to your
burdened banquet hall,—
We shall turn your wine to wormwood, your honey
into gall.

We shall go where wail the children, where, from
your Race-killing mills,
Flows a bloody stream of profits to your crust,
insatiate tills;
We shall tear them from your drivers, in our
shamed and angered pride.
In the fierce and frenzied fury of a fatherhood
denied.

We shall set our sisters on you, those you trap into
your hells
Where the mother instinct's stifled and no earthly
beauty dwells;
We shall call them from the living death, the death
of life you gave,
To sing our class's triumph o'er your cruel system's
grave.

We shall hunt around the fences where your
oxmen sweat and gape,
Till they stampede down your stockades in their
panic to escape;
We shall steal up thru the darkness, we shall prowl
the wood and town.
Till they waken to their power and arise and ride
you down.

We shall send the message to them, on a whisper
down the night,
And shall cheer as warrior women drive your
helots to the fight;
We shall use your guile against you, all the
cunning you have taught,
All the wisdom of the serpent to attain the ending
sought.

We shall come as comes the cyclone,—in the
stillness we shall form—
From the calm your terror fashioned we shall hurl
on you the storm;
We shall strike when least expected, when you
deem Toil's route complete.
And crush you and your gunmen 'neath our
brogan-shodded feet.

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds
the South in awe,
We shall trample on your customs, we shall spit
upon your law;
We shall outrage all your temples, we shall
blaspheme all your gods,—
We shall turn your Slavepen over as the plowman
turns the clods!

Communism, and had to be uprooted. But first of all, as pointed out above, the use of this as a criticism of the IWW (as Foster was to use it later in *From Bryan to Stalin*, the *History of the CPUSA*, and elsewhere) was hypocritical, since by and large they organized among workers who had no existing unions and were unable to get into the AFL. And second, Foster's formulations suggest that, if only the dual-unionist bugaboo were to be dealt with, and "the militant minority" were to go into the established unions with their pure-and-simple trade unionist, economist outlook intact, then great strides would be made in overcoming the "backwardness of the American labor movement"!

In his *History of the CPUSA*, Foster gave the IWW only a few pages, while lavishing two chapters on the SLP and three on the SP. What he did say largely anticipated Foner's right-wing criticisms about stability, elections and so on. While he did not try to picture the Wobblies as pacifists, this allowed him to criticize them for "their identification with sabotage." Here and elsewhere (and particularly in his November 1935 article, "Syndicalism in the United States," in the CPUSA's magazine *The Communist*), Foster did note the tendency toward political and organizational instability which characterized the IWW, and he related this to the organization's social base in the completely dispossessed and often migratory workers of the western U.S. As has been noted above, the IWW's failure to see the central importance of the rapidly growing industrial proletariat based in large-scale factory production did undermine its growth and went along with its failure to grasp the need for a political party to weld the class-conscious workers together as a revolutionary force.

But even in pointing to some correct criticisms, Foster revealed his own failure to break with reformism. For instance, he placed great emphasis on the fact that among thousands of Wobblies and their supporters, the fact that they were disfranchised because of inability to meet residency requirements led them not to see the necessity of taking up political struggle. Of course, characterizing things in this way meant reducing political struggle to electoral politics, just as the Wobblies had—and even worse, not seeing that these workers' outstanding characteristic was not that they were disfranchised and so barred from voting, but were *dispossessed*, having nothing to lose and being willing to go up against the system in a direct and militant way.

De Caux's 1978 book, unlike those of Foster and Foner, contains only the most muted criticism of the Wobblies'

"dual unionism" and overall treats them in an extremely friendly manner. This, of course, does not indicate that between 1965 and 1978 the CP re-evaluated and arrived at a more correct summation of the Wobblies. This is clear from the fact that it continues the CP tradition of painting the IWW as a militant reformist organization and completely fails to emphasize its revolutionary essence. De Caux obviously has few Marxist pretensions, and his book is nothing more than one of the chatty collections of anecdotes which the CP continues to churn out in a pathetic attempt to style itself as the rightful inheritor of everything progressive in American traditions. No doubt the CP, which has also recognized the recent resurgence of interest in the Wobblies and wants to co-opt this to the greatest extent possible, now feels that the IWW's revolutionary period is sufficiently buried in history to be safely canonized.

Contributions of the Wobblies

All in all, along with summing up their errors, it is important to uphold and build on the real strengths and contributions of the Wobblies.

They took to the working class not the promise of a few reforms but a new way of looking at the world, a break with many of the conventions the workers had had drummed into them for years. What's more, they took that vision to sections of the working class that everyone else had written off but who, because of their position and experience, were hungry for a revolutionary line and a revolutionary organization. And when the IWW took that line out to them, it unleashed the masses, igniting a force that inspired millions and shook the system to its roots.

The IWW had a peak membership of around 120,000 at the end of World War 1. By concentrating these workers in some of the sharpest struggles of the day, it turned them into concrete manifestos that brought to life the Wobblies' vision. Their uncompromising bravery and their revolutionary sweep, which stood in sharp contrast to the whining cowardice and step-by-small-step approach of the AFL, the right wing of the SP and other reformists, enabled them to gain an influence in the working class far beyond their numbers.

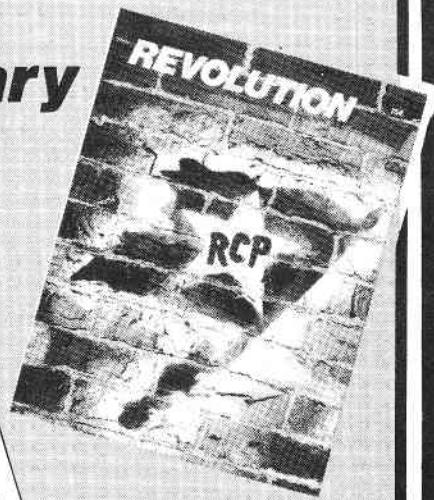
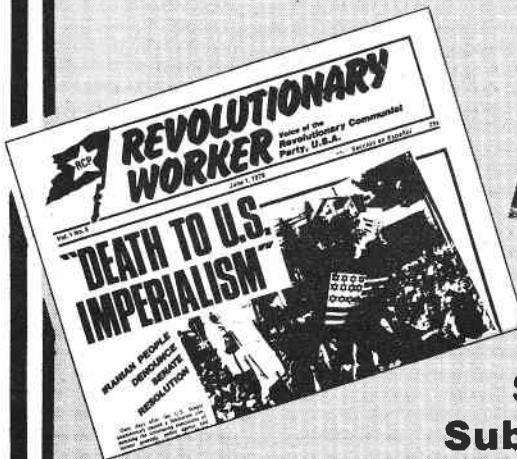
Finally, the IWW challenged the workers ideologically, daring them to break with their prejudices and scale the heights. The Wobblies intended to build the shell of the new society within the old. In the main, this idea reflected their mistaken conception of the industrial

unions as revolutionary organizations which would lead the workers in defeating capitalism, as well as the utopian idea that islands of socialist or cooperative economic organization could be built in a society dominated by capital and its state. But in another sense—in the sense of the life in the halls, the spirit of their songs, the whole "festival of the oppressed" atmosphere

they promoted in the struggles they waged—they did embody aspects of the new society within the rotting hulk of capitalism.

Absorbing this revolutionary spirit and learning from the strengths and weaknesses of the Wobblies can help today in the crucial task of building a really revolutionary workers' movement. ■

Read Both *Revolution* and the *Revolutionary Worker*



Special Joint Subscription Offer: 1 year for \$17

Together these two publications are a powerful double-barrel weapon in the revolutionary arsenal.

The *Revolutionary Worker*, weekly national newspaper of the RCP, penetrates in a lively and provocative way every aspect of political, social, scientific and cultural life. Following hot on the heels of events, it rakes the dung heap of the capitalist system, reports on the key struggles of the masses of people and paints a picture of the revolutionary goal. It brings to the attention of workers and other sections of the people an understanding of the role of all the class forces in society through concrete and lively exposures and analysis.

Revolution, monthly magazine of the Central Committee of the RCP, is a necessary complement to the newspaper. It goes more deeply into key political and ideological questions debated throughout society and the revolutionary movement. It develops more thoroughly and in an all around way many of the most important questions and issues that arise in the course of the class struggle and the Party's work.

Read both the Party's newspaper and magazine!

Order from: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago IL 60654

Chilean Communist Analyzes Allende Years

U.S. Edition of Book Out Soon

Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise—The Real Story of the Allende Years, by Jorge Palacios

Published by Banner Press, Chicago, November 1979.
512pp. \$5.95.

"First and foremost, we want to assert that it is not Marxism nor socialism that failed in Chile, and, that this theory, by ridding itself of its falsifiers and combined with the heroic fighting capacity of our people, will lead us to national liberation and genuine socialism." These words, from Jorge Palacios' introduction to his book *Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise*, describe in a nutshell the role of this important book. Already published in three different editions, it will be made available in the U.S. beginning October 1, in conjunction with a nationwide tour by the author being sponsored by El Frente del Pueblo, a mass organization of the Chilean resistance abroad as well as in Chile. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is actively building support for the tour.

While many tomes have been written on Chile, on the Allende experience, and on the U.S.-backed fascist coup that overthrew Allende in September 1973, it was really not until the publication of *An Attempt at Historic Compromise* that a thoroughgoing, Marxist-Leninist analysis of these events had been made, broadly available to an international audience. Palacios, a founder and a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, carefully dissects and analyzes the different class forces that played their role in the Chilean experience. He shows the hand of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in the midst of the turmoil that was rocking Chile. Above all, what comes through clearly is a vivid picture of the treachery of the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Chile, which bears the greatest responsibility for the fact that the masses were unarmed—politically, organizationally and militarily—in the face of the right-wing coup which resulted in the massacre of 30,000 people.

Palacios' basic thesis is that the CP, which occupied the dominant position within the Allende regime, had no intention of moving toward socialism at all, but instead aimed at creating a bureaucratic state capitalism into which they would be integrated, along with more traditional sectors, into the Chilean ruling class. This is why the CP preached the "peaceful road to socialism"—not because they were pacifists, but because if the masses were mobilized and armed it would be an obstacle to their plans. They preached respect for the institutions of

bourgeois rule (parliament, courts, armed forces, etc.) because they themselves wanted to rule over a bourgeois state and needed such institutions. Instead of mass revolutionary violence to smash the bourgeois state, they saw their way to power through an "historic compromise," the term coined by the revisionists in Italy to mean complete collaboration between the revisionist CP and the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

This fit in perfectly, Palacios argues, with Soviet aims to force the U.S. to allow the Soviets to become junior partners in the exploitation and domination of Latin America. This Soviet strategy is based on recognizing Latin America, like Western Europe, as the U.S.'s "sphere of influence"—and working to create the conditions so that the junior partner can someday contend for total control. This is why the U.S. imperialists were so determined to stop the CP in Chile—not principally for fear of losing their economic interests there, but rather for fear of setting up a precedent and a model, a stimulus for further Soviet penetration throughout this U.S. "sphere of influence," Palacios explains.

The book argues that the Soviets never really saw the Allende regime as anything more than a stepping stone to what they really dreamed of—a joint government of the CP and the pro-U.S. forces within the Christian Democratic Party, led by Eduardo Frei, once the darling of the Kennedy Alliance for Progress in Latin America. Together they would lord it over the people and suppress revolutionary struggle, but would at the same time provide a big opening for the USSR to make inroads into the heretofore impregnable South American mainland. Palacios shows well in his book that the constant cowardice, treachery and misleadership of the revisionists cannot be explained simply by speaking of "opportunist deviations" or "errors" but must instead be seen in the entire context of the line these revisionists were pursuing.

Indeed, the story of the CP's betrayal of the cause of the Chilean people borders on farcical, were it not for the tragic consequences it had for the masses of people. The book documents in painful detail the efforts of the CP to restrain and derail the mass movement of the workers and the oppressed, all the while protecting the bourgeois state and other reactionary institutions from the attack of the masses. As Palacios points out, this was a policy which the CP had pursued for many decades and for which it was rewarded by being allowed to be one of the few Communist Parties in Latin America that enjoyed a long period of legal, open activity. The policy of the "peaceful

road" had been vociferously fought for by Luis Corvalan, the head of the Chilean CP. No argument was too bourgeois for them to advance on behalf of this policy, and no treason was too high for them to commit. The "twin pillars" of the Chilean CP's opportunist strategy (as Palacios calls the CP's strategy of "peaceful road to socialism" and their attempts to achieve an "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats) came crashing down with the fascist coup in September 1973.

Palacios sums up the experience of the Allende government this way: "In essence, the three-year experiment of the UP government was an attempt to take advantage of (or to outwit using 'legal expedients') laws and institutions that had been designed to serve the most reactionary interests. It was an attempt to limit and overthrow these interests by respecting the rules established precisely in order to consolidate and develop them. In short, it was an effort, with all imaginable shortcomings, to 'peacefully' transform a social system that used the mask of bourgeois democracy for the sole purpose of concealing the armed violence that was its real foundation. It was the failure of an attempt to exercise power without having won it and without even the intention of using what had been acquired through the electoral victory of 1970 in a revolutionary way in order to develop a fighting mass movement capable of really seizing such power by smashing the armed reactionary apparatus. This last possibility was in fact—and this is the basic thesis of the present book—absolutely incompatible with the plan for a society based on centralized state exploitation of the people, as was the aim of the pro-Soviet 'C'P leaders and some of their followers within the Popular Unity. For a people mobilized in a revolutionary way, it would have been easy

to 'turn the guns against the new exploiters', as Frederick Engels used to say."

For the majority of the workers of Chile, and even perhaps many of the leaders peddling the reformist program, the "peaceful road to socialism" was a tragic illusion. But for the revisionist CP and their closest adherents, the whole experience of the Allende government was a cynical and barbaric attempt to achieve a share of political and economic power by using the masses as pawns and even being willing to climb to the throne on the corpses of the workers and oppressed.

For example, Palacios relates how the reactionaries (with U.S. financing and instigation) managed to whip up the reactionary strike of independent truck drivers and other small businessmen against the Allende government in October 1972. The masses went on the offensive and succeeded in dealing a powerful blow to the enemy, effectively smashing the strike. And what was the result? Did the Allende government and the CP urge the masses forward to build upon the victories won by the rank and file workers and challenge the power of those who were obviously preparing to drown the people's struggle (and the Allende government in the process) in a sea of blood? On the contrary, the crushing of the reactionary offensive was the signal for the greatest retreat of the Allende government, the *forming of a cabinet including generals and admirals* which was to assure that the armed forces remained "democratic" and "constitutional," so that they would serve as a "wall of iron" to stop reaction. In fact, what the CP was seeking was to placate the big capitalists and the U.S. by bringing the armed forces into the government to insure that the government served them. The CP claimed that it was not the workers' counter-offensive,

CHILE:

An Attempt At Historic Compromise— The Real Story of the Allende Years

by Jorge Palacios

"It was the failure of an attempt to exercise power without having won it and without even the intention of using what had been acquired through the electoral victory of 1970 in a revolutionary way in order to develop a fighting mass movement capable of really seizing such power by smashing the armed reactionary apparatus."

Order Now From: Banner Press

P.O. Box 6469

Chicago, IL 60680

\$12.95 Cloth

\$5.95

(Include 50¢ postage)

but the addition of four chiefs of staff to the cabinet, that had broken the reactionary strike—and made it clear that it considered the rising and increasingly uncontrollable mass movement to be the main danger.

The revisionists claimed that any move by the masses to defend their gains and their movement by preparing to meet the reactionary onslaught head-on would only "provoke" a coup. For this reason, the CP and the Popular Unity government voted unanimously (along with the opposition parties) for the infamous arms control act, which gave the armed forces a carte blanche to raid factories, trade union offices, workers' centers, even the headquarters of government political parties, in search of arms. One raid of 2000 soldiers (incidentally conducted by a general who was lauded to the skies as a pro-Allende force) turned up one .22 in the hand of a watchman—meanwhile the workers were terrorized, forced to lay on the ground in below-freezing weather for six hours. And as if to prove the point, one worker was shot in the back and killed.

Beginning in March 1973, the army began active preparations for the coup, using the arms control act as an excuse. And what was the CP's slogan in relation to the immediate and obvious threat of a coup? To raise the slogan "No to civil war." As the author puts it, "They raised the slogan of 'No to civil war' as the central issue precisely at the time when both they (the CP) and their opponents were certain that *there would be no civil war* because the people were disarmed and the Armed Forces were united for a coup d'état. Under the circumstances, then, this line was the line of getting the people to accept complete surrender as long as it was to avoid the 'atrocities of a civil war', or, more concretely, of a coup d'état, since they did not dare to call a spade a spade."

This line of "No to civil war" remained in force during the coup itself and even up to today. Perhaps most revealing was an incident Palacios cites when, in the midst of the coup d'état, a representative of the MIR hurried to the CP offices to demand that some kind of joint action take place against the military. The CP's response—"Let's see if they dissolve Parliament first!"

And now that the bloody coup is an accomplished fact and the masses in Chile live under a bloody terror heaped on top of the daily exploitation and violence of capitalism, the Communist Party of Chile and its leader, Corvalan, continue to talk about the "peaceful road" and to try to justify their treason during the Allende years. Their own explanation of the coup is that it was the result of the "ultra-left" (!) policies of the MIR and other revolutionaries. The CP had hoped that the effects of the coup they knew was coming would be shortlived, and that the "non-political" army would turn power over to the Christian Democrats and Frei and the CP would remain an indispensable vehicle of bourgeois order, shackling the workers and throwing sand in their eyes.

In his survey of the different class forces at work in the Allende years, Palacios also describes in detail the line of the petty-bourgeois radical and revolutionary forces that opposed the line of the CP and their supporters but still worked generally within the framework of the Popular Unity. Of these groups, the one that was the most opposed to the CP line was the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The MIR was a group that had been and remains greatly influenced by the line of Fidel Castro. While generally opposing the line that the reactionaries would peacefully accept a transition to socialism, the MIR, in practice, functioned as the "left wing" of the Popular Unity even though they were never formally a part of it. Palacios points out that the petty-bourgeois opposition was unclear on the nature of the CP and the Allende

government and hence viewed their line as mainly one of "errors" and in effect saw the role of the masses as being to push the government to the left and to complete the revolution—which, in reality, had never begun.

Central to the errors of the petit-bourgeois opposition was confusion on the nature of state power. They promoted the idea that "dual power" existed in Chile—along the lines of the situation in Russia after the February 1917 revolution. And this wrong analysis led to many wrong policies, such as seeing the way to consolidate power as carrying on more expropriations even of relatively small-scale capitalists. This latter policy was also linked to the Trotskyite and revisionist view that the stage of the revolution was a socialist one, and that it was unnecessary to pass through the stage of popular democracy. Essentially the line of the petty-bourgeois opposition was profoundly rightist in that despite some correct views of the need for the masses to arm, it never made the seizure of power (rather than the *extension* of power) the cardinal question of the revolution. But it did at times take an "ultra-left" form, such as in the policy of trying to expropriate the middle bourgeoisie, and this contributed to (although it was certainly not principal in) allowing the U.S.-backed big bourgeoisie and landlords to whip up the middle bourgeoisie and much of the petty bourgeoisie as shock troops against the Allende government.

Jorge Palacios also discusses the views and activities of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile all during this period. He points out that the RCP, alone among the political organizations, avoided the intoxication with bourgeois democracy that befuddled the entire Left, even the more revolutionary sections, and consistently sought to warn and prepare people for the inevitable showdown with the reactionary classes. He also discusses the Party's policy of carrying out the anti-fascist resistance struggle and shows how this fits into the overall strategy of achieving the popular democratic revolution. Of great interest is the stress that he and his Party place on the fact that both bourgeois democracy and the rule of the generals are *forms* of dictatorship of the reactionary classes and that until it is swept away the people will be at the mercy of the common cycle in Latin America of generals being replaced by civilian democracies and then open terror being unleashed against the people once again. He quotes Mao's succinct point that "without a people's army, the people have nothing."

While *An Attempt At Historic Compromise* correctly concentrates on unmasking the falsifiers of Marxism and the revisionist CP, it also serves as excellent material exposing the U.S. imperialists' crimes and intrigues in Chile. Palacios makes available in a living way the story of the plotting, preparing and funding of the fascist coup, as well as describing the way the U.S. has exercised its domination in Chile and Latin America generally. In his exposition of the U.S. role in Chile, Palacios offers a thought-provoking analysis of the Alliance for Progress and its subsequent demise and links the different policies of the U.S. ruling class in Latin America to conflicting interests within the U.S. bourgeoisie.

All in all, *An Attempt At Historic Compromise* is an excellent Marxist analysis of one of the most important events of recent times. It is of value far beyond helping the reader to understand the events in Chile. It sheds important light on the strategy of the Soviet Union in its contention with the U.S., on the nature of revisionism, and the tasks of the proletariat in a country like Chile. The lessons of the Chilean experience were paid for with the blood of 30,000 martyrs—a cost far too high to allow any serious revolutionary to fail to learn them.



Chile was aflame with the fight for liberation.

The CIA drenched it in blood.

In the face of this attack, the Chilean people
had their hands tied behind their backs.

How did this happen? Was it inevitable?

How, six years later, are the Chilean people
fighting to overthrow fascism?

How can the people free themselves through revolution?

U.S. Speaking Tour

Jorge Palacios

Chilean Revolutionary Leader
(Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile)
Author: "Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise"

Sponsored by el Frente del Pueblo
a mass organization of Chilean resistance

Speaking in: Boston / New York / Washington D.C. / Ann Arbor / Chicago / Madison / Los Angeles / S.F. Bay Area

"I believe leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of our society. The leaders of industry, commerce and finance in the United States have broken and discarded the fragile, unwritten compact previously existing during a past period of growth and progress... We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat-down in the factories in the 1930s and who marched in Selma in the 1960s."¹

Douglas Fraser, President,
United Auto Workers

"Anyone who thinks America doesn't have its own aristocracy of great wealth is either naive or has been brainwashed by big business propaganda about 'people's capitalism.' . . . It's time we turn our attention to those at the top. It's time we begin asking why so few have been able to appropriate and keep so much of the fruits of this so-called free enterprise system.

"I am convinced that the only way organized labor can repel the armies of right-wing radicalism is by fighting for total redistribution of this nation's income and wealth."²

William Winpisinger, President,
International Association of Machinists

Social-Democratic Stirrings

"Class war," "struggle," "total redistribution of wealth"—militant and fiery-sounding phrases from top union hacks. What does it mean?

The statements above, made by Fraser and Winpisinger during the summer of 1978, were some of the first signs of a social-democratic current which was beginning to stir in the U.S. This ideological current has given other indications of at least a mild upsurge over the past year, with the formation of several coalitions and groups under more or less explicit social-democratic banners. This article will examine and assess the significance of these groupings—the Progressive Alliance which Fraser led in founding soon after making the above statement, and which has succeeded in attracting a certain number of organizations, including most recently the National Lawyers Guild; the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, of which Winpisinger (also a part of the Progressive Alliance) is a leading member, and which recently attempted a merger with the New American Movement; and Barry Commoner's new Citizens Party.

But first, what exactly is social democracy as an ideological trend and how is it differentiated from other liberal and right-opportunist tendencies? Social

democrats claim to speak for and base themselves on the working class, to be working for the eventual achievement of socialism (at some date in the very hazy future), and they usually give an equally vague and abstract obeisance to Marx; as an inevitable counterpart, they are anti-communist, anti-Leninist, and thoroughly bourgeois and reformist. Their idea of the road to socialism is the route of gradual "socialization" of the economy, using the bourgeois state to nationalize industries one by one. Social democracy arose in Europe out of the degeneration of the parties of the Second International, and has long since displayed its usefulness to the bourgeoisie as an ideology and an organizational force which could mislead workers, giving bourgeois reformism a "socialist" veneer, and could be completely trusted as a loyal governing party carrying out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, viciously attacking workers and revolutionaries whenever called upon to do so—as when the German Social-Democrats helped drown the post-World War I workers' uprising in blood, murdering the revolutionary communists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in the process.

In the United States, on the other hand, social democracy has never been a

strong force, and the bourgeoisie has never governed through a social-democratic party. One of the signs of the deepening crisis of U.S. imperialism is the appearance among some of the labor lieutenants of capital of a move in the direction of social-democratic ideology.

Since the post-World War 2 offensive by the U.S. ruling class against communism and the working class (coinciding with and made possible by the peak of U.S. imperialism's power), a social theory promoted by the bourgeoisie, loyally adopted by their labor drudges, has been *pluralism*. This is the view that the key to understanding the dynamics of society is not classes, but "interest groups." The state is supposedly a neutral body which responds to the pressures of the various interest groups—consumers, minority groups, labor unions, the elderly, business groups, professional associations, etc.—which jockey for positions of power. In this scheme of things workers and capitalists, if they exist at all as distinct "interest groups," are reduced to just two among many. The main point of this theory, which was heavily promoted by academic sociologists and "political scientists" such as David Riesman (*The Lonely Crowd*) and Robert Dahl (*Who Governs?*), has been to try to

mask the existence of a ruling class. By concentrating on surface phenomena, bourgeois ideologists have been able to present a picture of a society whose motion and direction are determined by the complex interaction of a multitude of groups rather than by class contradictions and the rule over society of the capitalist class.

This same point of view was accepted and promoted by those who became, by the grace of the bourgeoisie, "labor leaders." But now from some of these same quarters come murmurings of "class warfare" and a "business elite" which has its way in society (almost rules the country!), and Winpisinger, "big labor's bogeyman," as the title of an article in *Fortune* magazine labelled him, is brought on to the AFL-CIO's Executive Council. What has changed?

According to Fraser the reason for his new "militant" stance is that the "fragile, unwritten compact" which existed between business and labor has been discarded by the "corporate elite," who have "chosen to wage a one-sided class war" (as he says in the quotation above). The nature of this unwritten compact is not too mysterious: the unions would keep workers docile and in return capitalists would allow at least some of the workers a few crumbs in the form of wages and would not try to break up or disrupt the unions in those places and industries where they existed (which has never included more than about 25% of the work force). As a recent article in *Fortune* describes the trade-off:

"During this era of good feelings, many big companies had come to depend on the unions as a primary force for stabilization, both in equalizing basic labor costs within each major industry and in maintaining uninterrupted production for the life of the contract. In return, management became the principal recruiting agent for a labor movement that had run out of steam. The operation of union-shop contracts automatically delivered over tens of thousands of new employees, the ultimate in push-button unionism."³

Over the past few years, however, this "unwritten compact" has indeed proved to be "fragile," totally dependent on the needs of the capitalists. As U.S. imperialism spirals downward, as economic crisis drives capitalists to try to wring more surplus labor out of the working class, and as unions prove unable to keep workers docile in the face of these attacks, the bourgeoisie has begun to think that it can often do better without the unions. Capitalists have been increasingly moving plants to nonunion

areas of the country (or the world) and sometimes breaking up unions where they do exist.* Union membership has been in clear decline, from 23% of the workforce in the late '60s to 20% today.

In the face of this the snakes at the top of the unions trotted out their old bureaucratic-lobbying game. After Carter's inauguration (which they had worked tirelessly to bring about), the AFL-CIO Executive Board decided on the strategy of getting passed a legislative program consisting of (a) the common situs picketing bill; (b) repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Harley Act, which allows states to enact "right-to-work" anti-union laws; and (c) the Labor Law Reform bill, which made some changes in the National Labor Relations Act. These were to be the key to reversing declining membership and unionizing the South. But the common situs bill went down to defeat, and the AFL-CIO decided that repeal of 14(b) (the only item in this passage that had real potential to eliminate obstacles to the struggle of the working class) was "too much to ask"—so they "traded off" repeal of 14(b) in advance in order to get the Labor Law Reform (itself certainly no great gain for the working class⁵) through—and then saw this go down to defeat (not even coming up for a vote) despite a multi-million dollar lobbying effort on its behalf, because it came to be opposed by a substantial section of the bourgeoisie.

As the hacks saw power and dues go down the drain, they felt betrayed. This was the context of Fraser's remarks about a "one-sided class war"—the ruling class, in other words, had partially broken the class-collaboration pact that he and others had signed up under. How treacherous! As Fraser put it in this

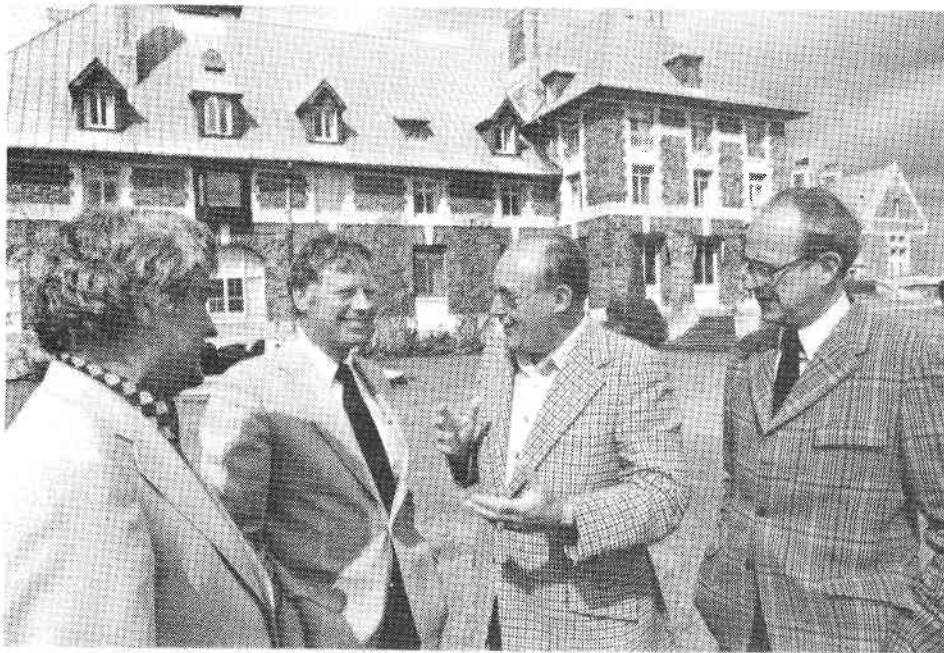
* The *Fortune* article quoted above notes that "A whole growth industry of specialists in industrial psychology and legal obstructionism has sprung up to reinforce the ingenuity of corporate personnel executives in cultivating a 'union-free environment.'"⁴

same letter, "We have given stability and have been rewarded with hostility."

But Mr. Fraser is not one to sulk in his castle; brave knight that he is, he immediately sallied forth to do battle. Not battle against the bourgeoisie, of course, but against the proletariat once again, armed with a new weapon of class collaboration. In October of last year Fraser organized a meeting of various liberal organizations and unions to discuss formation of an organization, which was formalized at a second meeting in January 1979 as the Progressive Alliance. Its character can be gauged by looking at some of the organizations which are part of it: Americans for Democratic Action, closely associated with one wing of the Democratic Party; the National Organization of Women, the bourgeois feminist group which has tried to capitalize on the upsurge of women and steer it into the most dead-end reformism; the two conservative civil rights organizations which have tried to do the same with regard to the struggle of Black people—the Urban League and NAACP; and a gaggle of labor unions whose leaders have demonstrated over and again their unflagging devotion to the cause of the bourgeoisie: the UFW, the Steelworkers, the UAW, AFSCME, etc.

What, then, makes this "alliance" any different from a hundred other liberal groups and coalitions that exist or have existed? Primarily, its significance is that despite its claim to be "...an alliance of working people, minorities, women, the middle class, family farmers, environmentalists, senior citizens, the poor, the handicapped, educators, students, clergy and lay activists, consumers, and all those committed to human dignity, economic justice, and peace"⁶ (whew!—despite this shopping list of all-on-an-equalbasis constituencies, the Progressive Alliance is clearly trying to base itself on the working class. For although many





William Winpisinger, who parades as a militant fighter for the working class—and a "socialist" to boot—here explains things to his real comrades: Robert Pippitt, senior vice president of Xerox and George Coombe, executive vice president of the Bank of America (on the left), and Walter Schlotterbeck, senior vice president of General Electric (on the right).

groups are a part of the Progressive Alliance, its center, the source of its organization and financing, is clearly the labor unions which are a part of it, and particularly Fraser's UAW, along with AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, whose president, Jerry Wurf, is Secretary-Treasurer of the Progressive Alliance), and the Machinists (IAM—headed by Winpisinger).

It is this attempt to base itself on the working class—but really having the labor aristocracy, some better-off workers, and a section of the petty bourgeoisie as its main social base—which, together with some other aspects of its ideological apparatus, mark the Progressive Alliance as social-democratic in its direction of motion. It is not fully or explicitly social-democratic, of course—it does not allude to socialism at all, for example, but only to “economic and social justice,” which is identified with “... an end to the corporate domination that has created the massive inequalities in distribution of income and wealth.”⁷ But in fact there is no “great wall” between social democracy and bourgeois liberalism, for the former is simply a form assumed by the latter under certain conditions.

Nor does the fact that the Progressive Alliance explicitly looks back to the New Deal as a golden era and has as one of its main purposes that of “revitalizing the [Democratic and Republican] parties” nor that it may turn out to be nothing but a stalking horse for Kennedy—none

of this invalidates its claim to the sordid mantle of social democracy. In fact there is an organization which is fully and indubitably social-democratic, a full-fledged member of the Socialist [Second] International, which sees its whole purpose as working for “socialism”—within the Democratic Party. This is the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), which is itself a member of the Progressive Alliance and which features William Winpisinger (who turns up everywhere) as one of its prominent members.

DSOC was founded in 1973 mostly by former members who had left the Socialist Party, the old vehicle of Norman Thomas (which has since split into two insignificant sects). The exodus was led by Michael Harrington, author of *The Other America*, the book which provided the ideological underpinnings for Johnson’s “war on poverty,” and who had resigned the co-chairmanship of the Socialist Party in 1972 in protest of their failure to endorse McGovern for President. (Obviously this man is quite a leftist!) They define themselves as trying to become the “left wing of the possible.” The Democrats represent “the possible,” in other words, and DSOC aims to be that Party’s left wing. A clearer statement of the thesis that revolution is totally impossible would be hard to find.

Winpisinger’s politics are a good example of the thoroughgoing reformism which permeates this tendency. He inveighs against “the Corporate State” (by which he means the state as a tool of the

corporations) under the banner of the right of the masses to “a fair share of the nation’s wealth and income.” On the other hand, the capitalists also have a right to *their* fair share, if only they wouldn’t be so greedy; as he put it recently in a DSOC speech: “A fair profit is one thing. Maximum profits are quite another.”⁸ But unfortunately the capitalists will not restrain themselves to fair profits, and Winpisinger (or “Wimpy,” as he likes to be called) has a clear program for dealing with the situation:

“What sorts of structural changes are needed to accomplish our goals? Simply put, we need socialized central planning, similar to that which we put in place, when the nation mobilized for World War II.”⁹

The Wimpy brand of socialism is, in other words, the classic social-democratic one: nationalization of industry by the bourgeois state. And for this, of course, no revolution is necessary, but simply a series of reforms which will gradually accomplish the task.

Winpisinger is quite explicit about the continuity of his proposals with bourgeois reformism:

“FDR preserved the system. Now it’s out of whack and malfunctioning again. This time the animus is global in nature and structure. That means something more must be done, than fine tuning the market system, with reliance on corporate prerogatives and priorities, if we’re going to make the economy serve the people.”¹⁰

Previously Roosevelt was able to “make the economy serve the people” by only doing some fine-tuning; but now, in order to preserve the system, a more basic engine overhaul is required. This is Wimpy’s message. Of course at present the emphasis is on the moderation and continuity of this “socialism,” but at a later time, when there is mass upheaval among the working class, the emphasis could well be on its supposed radical and revolutionary character.

Before leaving Mr. Winpisinger, the inevitable correlate of his type of solicitude for the workers and the “disadvantaged” of this country must be mentioned—a gross chauvinism toward those around the world who are oppressed by U.S. imperialism. In a stance highly typical of social democrats, for instance, Winpisinger says the aim must be to fight against “the blackmail and profiteering of [both] Big Oil and the OPEC Cartel.”¹¹ In pursuance of this particular fight, the IAM has filed suit in a U.S. court against OPEC as being in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act! Fraser’s UAW also

got into the act with a widely publicized six-minute work stoppage in which the rank and file were to fill out postcards informing their congressmen that they were tired of being ripped off by the oil companies and OPEC. Historically one of the prominent features of social democracy has been its role as a firm supporter of the bourgeoisie in the imperialist exploitation and oppression of the people of other countries, and imperialist wars. The Machinists' suit and the UAW "work stoppage," coming as they do in the midst of the U.S. ruling class' attempt to whip up a chauvinist storm around a "blame OPEC" campaign, fit right in with this slimy and savage tradition.

Although this chauvinism is usually justified in terms of looking out for the interest of workers in the homeland, in fact social democrats have been vicious in their attack at home too whenever the workers become revolutionary or even begin to move militantly in a way not controlled by the social-democratic hacks. In recent experience, one need only look, for instance, at the British Labor Party government in last year's strike wave, or at how Doug Fraser is always ready to move in with a goon squad to break up wildcat strikes by UAW locals.

Interestingly, the UAW and the IAM are the two big unions in the "defense" industry. And despite pious words by Winpisinger and Fraser about the "conversion" of the armaments industry, they have absolutely no intention of tampering with the class-collaborationist basis of the presence of their unions in these industries, which are so vital to the interests of U.S. imperialism, based as it is on a pact whereby the unions both agree to attack any "subversives" who work in the plants and also promise not to disrupt production, in exchange for which the imperialists make sure that unionization proceeds unhindered.

Besides suing OPEC, Winpisinger has been involved in a whole flurry of activities over the two years since becoming president of IAM, putting himself forward as an outspoken labor leader with a social conscience and a leftward bent. Besides his membership in DSOC and his position in the Progressive Alliance, he is also president of the Citizen/Labor Energy Committee, set up by him, which has just called for an October 17 day of protest against "the OPEC-Exxon cartel," and he recently assumed the co-chairmanship (left vacant when UN Ambassador Andy Young's stint ended) of SANE, a cold-war liberal group which used to campaign for an end to atmospheric nuclear testing and whose most recent campaigns have been in support of SALT II and for their program of converting defense industries to other uses.

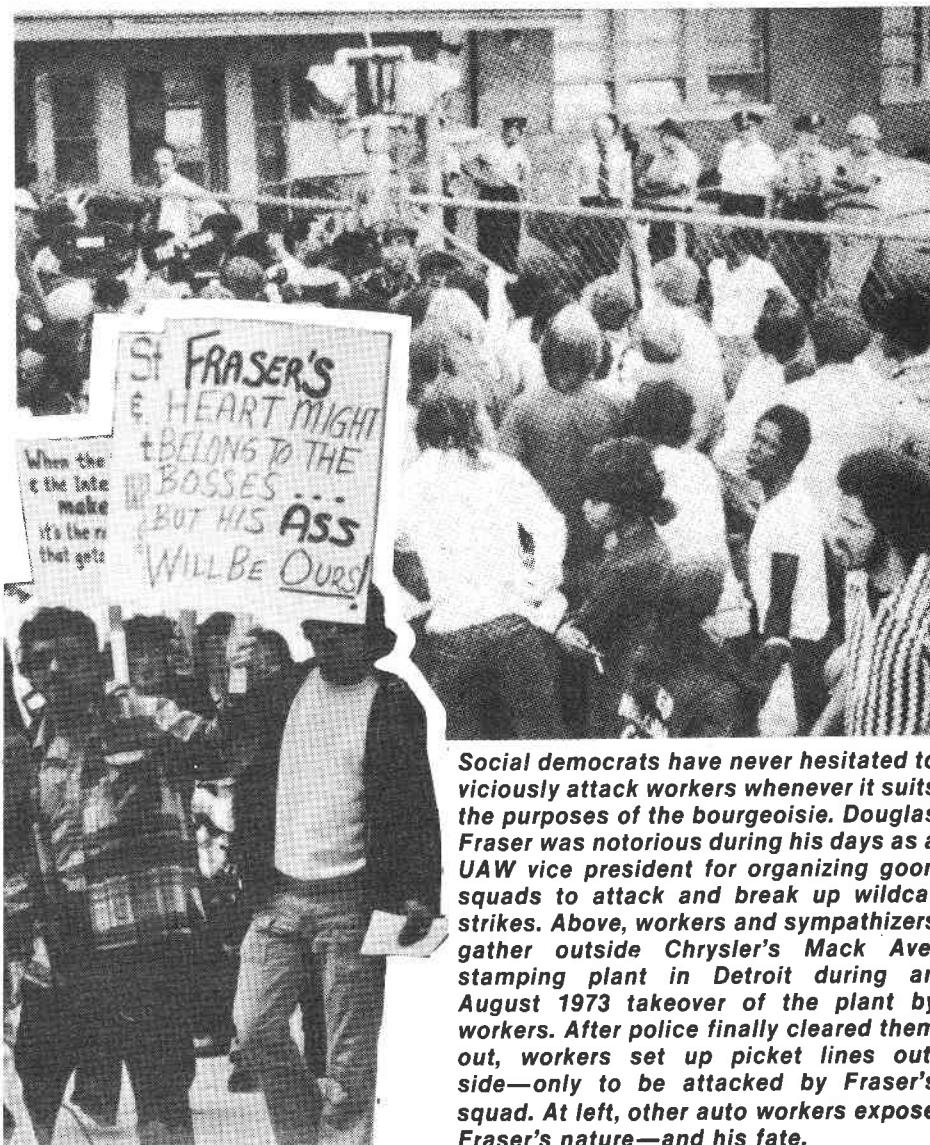
In fact, recent months have seen a general increase of social-democratic activity and coalescing of forces. A topic of debate at the most recent national convention of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), a radical professional association which has played a progressive role since the 1950s, was whether to join the Progressive Alliance. Spearheading the fight to join the P.A. were forces associated with the revisionist CPUSA and CPML. The episode was revealing of how the latter organization in particular—the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, which has been thoroughly right-opportunist in form as well as content for some time—is trying to facilitate the formation of a social-democratic movement within which it hopes to work.

Although there was significant opposition to linking up with the Progressive Alliance, the Guild did join it (albeit with some reservations expressed in the resolution about how the NLG might want to reconsider the action at a later date), thus making clearer the tasks that

lie ahead for revolutionaries in exposing the counter-revolutionary essence of this social-democratic tendency.

On another front, there was a recent attempt at a merger between two "democratic socialist" (read: social-democratic) organizations. This was a proposal made by DSOC to merge with the New American Movement (NAM), a group formed by old 1960s student activists who were never able to make the leap beyond "new leftism," in alliance with a clique of old revisionists who left the CPUSA in the early seventies because it did not seem to be sufficiently bourgeois-liberal (and pro-U.S.) for their taste. The merger did not go through at the recent NAM convention due to various qualms on the part of NAM, but its attempt shows a clear direction of motion.

Also addressing the NAM convention was Barry Commoner, in behalf of the newly-formed Citizens Party. This party was formed for the purpose of running a candidate in the 1980 Presidential election—probably Commoner himself—and



Social democrats have never hesitated to viciously attack workers whenever it suits the purposes of the bourgeoisie. Douglas Fraser was notorious during his days as a UAW vice president for organizing goon squads to attack and break up wildcat strikes. Above, workers and sympathizers gather outside Chrysler's Mack Ave. stamping plant in Detroit during an August 1973 takeover of the plant by workers. After police finally cleared them out, workers set up picket lines outside—only to be attacked by Fraser's squad. At left, other auto workers expose Fraser's nature—and his fate.

hopes to use those in the anti-nuclear movement as its campaign workers. The party is to stand for "the principle of public control of resources" (although they haven't stated the methods through which such "control" is to be realized), and will be apparently exclusively concerned with electoral political activity. The orientation of this party is clearly revealed by some of Barry Commoner's remarks shortly before the party's formation:

"The anti-war movement made one big mistake. After all, it stopped the war in Vietnam and deposed two Presidents, Johnson and Nixon. In any sensible political system, any group that accomplished that would now be in power. They'd be in office. But that didn't happen and I think the anti-war movement has to blame themselves...."

"There was an enormous reluctance to engage in the nitty-gritty of electoral politics on the basis of the political position that had been developed. Now I hope that doesn't happen this time."¹²

Leaving aside his re-writing of history (the resistance of the peoples of Indochina apparently does not exist for him, for instance) what is particularly revealed here is a combination of reformism with a strong desire to ride the back of a mass movement to a position of influence in the bourgeois state. The organizers of the Citizens Party think they let a chance slip by with regard to the anti-war movement, and they don't intend to let it happen again as they see signs of social ferment beginning to percolate once more.

And what a prize bunch these organizers are: Don Rose, who organized the recent mayoral campaign whereby Jane Byrne took over the Chicago Democratic machine and ousted Michael Bilandic; Archibald Gillies, president of the John Hay Whitney Foundation, once a Republican candidate for the New York city council; David Hunter, executive director of the Stern Fund; and Stanley Weiss, a businessman who, like the two just-listed philanthropic foundations, has funded some anti-nuke groups. These same forces are also providing funding for the party—reportedly they are expecting to pour in \$4 million. With a line-up of organizers and funders like this, the Citizens Party can go nowhere but into the most bourgeois of politics.

None of the trends discussed above represents anything but bourgeois politics. This is obvious in terms of the ideology they espouse. It is also obvious in their methods of work, which display a strong preference for bureaucratic manipulations and real fear of

unleashing the initiative and energy of the masses. The Progressive Alliance, for instance, had planned a march on Washington to protest Carter's budget cuts, but then decided on a day of lobbying and testifying before Congressional committees instead, and Fraser has actively opposed trying to set up local chapters of the Progressive Alliance. These hacks are afraid that anything which mobilizes the masses at all may get "out of hand"—out of their hands.

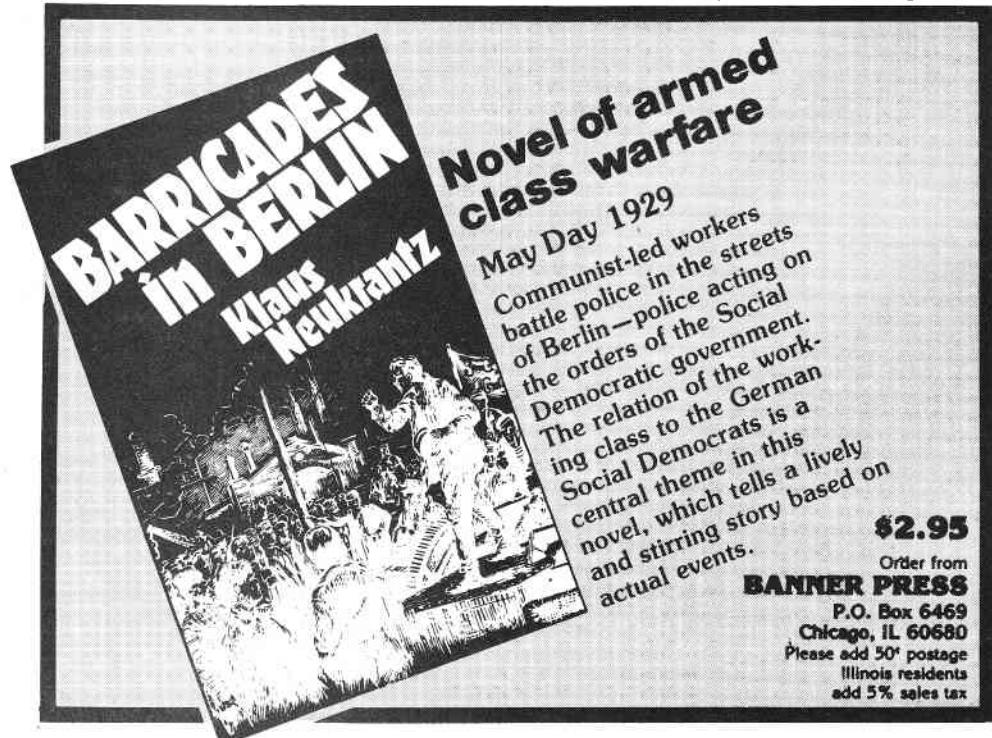
In fact it may turn out that all of this social-democratic mini-upsurge may reveal its essence as bourgeois politics in the most obvious way—by becoming nothing but a cog in the Kennedy presidential campaign machine. Fraser and Winpisinger are already known to be committed Kennedyites; DSOC would certainly jump on the bandwagon; and NAM would not have too much difficulty in following. Only the Citizens Party is committed in advance to going its own way, but the whole affair might collapse in the face of a Kennedy candidacy.

But the significance of the social-democratic tendencies outlined above does not lie in the fact that they might come to serve an obviously bourgeois politician's career. In the future they may very well form their very own social-democratic party. Rather, their significance lies in the fact that for the first time in decades, a more or less distinct social-democratic trend is rearing its head in the U.S. And the significance of this fact lies in its being a sign of the sharpening of the fundamental contradictions of U.S. society. U.S. imperialism is in crisis—a crisis which may have its ups and downs but which can only be resolved through world war or proletarian

revolution, or both. On the surface of U.S. society there may appear to be nothing but brief and minor upsurges, small swirls and centers of turmoil. But beneath the surface powerful forces are gathering, major contradictions are intensifying—the basic class contradiction of capitalism, between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and the other powerful contradictions of U.S. society as well. The social-democratic tendencies described here are a minor surface current; but they are a sign of sharpening contradictions below. ■

Footnotes

1. Letter of resignation from the (federal) Labor Management Group by Douglas Fraser, July 17, 1978.
2. Remarks by William Winpisinger at I.U.D. Conference on the Radical Right Wing, August 29, 1979.
3. A.H. Raskin, "Big Labor Strives to Break Out of its Rut," *Fortune* (August 27, 1979), p. 33.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See "Hacks Tout Labor Law 'Reform,'" *Revolution*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (July 1978), p. 11.
6. "Toward a Progressive Alliance," statement adopted at the January 15, 1979, meeting of the organization.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Remarks by William W. Winpisinger, on occasion of receiving the 1979 Eugene V. Debs/Norman Thomas Award, New York, June 6, 1979.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Remarks by Winpisinger on occasion of receiving the 1979 New Jersey SANE Peace Award, April 29, 1979.
12. Interview with Barry Commoner, *In These Times*, May 30-June 5, 1979, p. 13.



Hoxha

(Continued from page 5)

triumphed in only one country."²³ (Hoxha's emphasis)

This formulation by Hoxha sounds extremely revolutionary on the surface, especially compared to the Chinese revisionists' classless "three worlds" strategy, but at bottom Hoxha's line is far from revolutionary. Hoxha tends to reduce the world to the contradiction between socialism and imperialism, and this metaphysics is what sets the stage for a totally idealist view of the world filled with revisionist and even classical Trotskyite formulations.

Hoxha must sincerely feel that Kautsky was entirely wrong, for he continually tells us so throughout the book. But upon careful examination, he must really think Kautsky was wrong only in that he was *premature* in his promotion of "ultra-imperialism" or "super imperialism." What Kautsky wrote in 1915 and quoted in brief by Lenin in *Imperialism* might be of interest to the reader:

"Kautsky: '... Cannot the present imperialist policy be supplanted by a new, ultraimperialist policy, which will introduce the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capitals? Such a new phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable. Can it be achieved? Sufficient premises are still lacking to enable us to answer this question.'"²⁴

Note, Kautsky did not deny that imperialism will be exploiting the world; but, among other things, Kautsky promoted the view that perhaps this could be done rationally and without wars between the imperialists.

According to Hoxha, the victory of the Bolshevik revolution changed the character of imperialism so that today we have an imperialism whose fear of the worldwide struggle for socialism has overshadowed its internal contradictions! Let's quote from Hoxha at length, and see what he says:

"U.S. imperialism and the other capitalist states have fought and are fighting to maintain their hegemony in the world, to defend the capitalist and neo-colonialist system, to emerge from the great crisis which has them in its grip, with the fewest possible losses. They have striven and are striving to

prevent the peoples and the proletariat from fulfilling their revolutionary aspirations for liberation. U.S. imperialism, which dominates its partners politically, economically and militarily, has the main role in the struggle to achieve these aims.

"The enemies of the revolution and the peoples want to create the impression that, because of the changes that have occurred in the world and the losses that socialism has suffered, circumstances entirely different from those of the past have been created. Therefore, although they have fierce contradictions with one another, U.S. imperialism and the world capitalist bourgeoisie, Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese social-imperialism, modern revisionism and social democracy are seeking a modus vivendi, a hybrid 'new society', in order to keep the bourgeois-capitalist system on its feet, to avert revolutions and to continue their oppression and exploitation of the peoples in new forms and by new methods."²⁵

As evidence of this "*modus vivendi*" Hoxha claims that Jimmy Carter's major foreign policy statement delivered at Notre Dame on May 22, 1977 is really talking about this attempt at a "new order" where the U.S. and the Soviets can co-ordinate a way out of the crisis they both face, which according to Hoxha mainly consists of mutual suppression of revolution. He states:

"In his speech, the U.S. President said, today 'we have been freed from that constant fear of communism, which at one time led us to embrace every dictator who was obsessed by the same fear.'

"Of course, when Carter, this faithful representative of the bloodiest imperialism of our time, speaks of being 'freed from the fear of communism', he means communism à la Yugoslav, à la Khrushchev, à la Chinese, whose masks only are communist, but the capitalist bourgeoisie has not been and will never be freed from the fear of genuine communism. On the contrary, imperialism and social-imperialism have always been terrified of genuine communism and they will be even more terrified of it. *It is this fear and dread that are driving the imperialists and revisionists into each others' arms, to co-ordinate their plans and seek the most appropriate forms in order to prolong the existence of their rule of oppression and exploitation.*"²⁶

This is Hoxha's bottom line—*collusion* is principal between the superpowers and all imperialists in general because of the threat of revolution. He does mention in passing contradictions among the imperialists, and the U.S.

need to halt the drive of Soviet hegemonism, but half the time he talks about the struggle for hegemony he means *the struggle for hegemony between the two worlds*, imperialism vs. socialism, while the absolutely necessary struggle between imperialists over division and redivision of the world, which is propelling the world rapidly toward World War 3, is flushed down the tubes by Hoxha.

According to Hoxha the Soviet Union as well as the Chinese are really only tools of the U.S. to save it from revolution. Continuing from where we left off the last quote from Hoxha:

"In these moments of deep economic, political and military crisis, the imperialists of the United States of America are trying to consolidate the victories of imperialism, attained through the betrayal of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union, the former countries of people's democracy and in China, and to use them as a barrier against the revolution and the revolutionary liberation struggles of the proletariat and the peoples."²⁷

And a little further on he says, referring to Carter's speech already cited:

"U.S. imperialism considers the Khruschevite Soviet system as a victory of world capitalism and from this it deduces that the threat of a conflict with the Soviet Union has become less intense, though it does not deny the contradictions and rivalry for hegemony with it."²⁸

If this were 1960, Mr. Hoxha would have a point. "Khruschevite revisionism" did overwhelmingly play the role of lessening the contradictions between the USSR and the USA in these early days of capitalist restoration, when the bourgeoisie that had just taken state power was consolidating its capitalist rule and was in no way capable (nor yet fully facing imperialism's edict to "expand or die") of taking on the U.S. The Soviet revisionists did everything they could politically to bow to the U.S., including telling people not to rise up against the U.S. imperialists in order to hold off a confrontation with the U.S. But things have changed in the world. Despite Hoxha's protestations to the contrary, the U.S. has been weakened over the years—the liberation struggles against it have taken their toll, the deepening crisis of imperialism has been drying up its reserves and the Soviet bourgeoisie has long ceased to be "Khruschevite" in the sense that it too must expand its empire, must fight to re-divide the world and increase its own reserves.

Hoxha, as we pointed out earlier, acknowledges the arms race, vulgarizing it with his "political economy"; but he also gives us a political reason for this race:

"China's incitement of their contradictions with the Soviets is to the liking of the capitalist states of Europe and the United States of America, because it enables them to tell the Soviets indirectly, 'Your main enemy is China, whereas we, together with you, want to establish détente, peaceful coexistence, irrespective of what China says.' On the other hand, while making believe that they want peace, these states are arming themselves to strengthen their hegemony and military unity against their main enemy—the revolution. This is the aim of all the meetings, such as those of Helsinki and Belgrade, which drag on and on endlessly, like the Vienna Congress after the defeat of Napoleon, which is known as the congress of balls and soirées."²⁹

In Hoxha's section combatting the Chinese revisionists' "three worlds" strategy, he gives a more elaborate theoretical presentation of how the contradiction between the imperialist powers doesn't mean all that much:

"Marxist-Leninist class analysis and the facts show that the existence of contradictions and rifts among the imperialist powers and groupings in no way overrides or displaces to a position of secondary importance the contradictions between labour and capital in the capitalist and imperialist countries, or the contradictions between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors. Precisely these, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, between socialism and capitalism are the most profound, they are permanent, irreconcilable contradictions."³⁰

Marxist-Leninists in the general recent period have recognized four major contradictions in the world: between socialist and imperialist countries; between the bourgeoisie and proletariat in the capitalist countries; between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and the contradiction among the imperialist powers. Of these, Hoxha seems to think that only the first three are antagonistic, and that the last one can never be the principal contradiction. In the present stage of human history and the development of society, the basic contradiction, the one that defines this stage and through whose resolution society will make the leap to a new stage, is that between the bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Now Hoxha doesn't understand *this* contradiction in the first place, and we'll

get into that shortly, but at the moment the point is that he doesn't understand the *other* contradictions and their relation to the basic one. The main thing here to grasp is the role of the *principal contradiction*, which is the one that, at a certain point in the development of a process defined by the basic contradiction, is the contradiction which plays the principal role in determining and influencing the development of the basic contradiction. Thus, during a certain period of time, any one of the above four contradictions may be the principal contradiction, and it is important to know which one it is. For example, going into World War I the principal contradiction was the contradiction among the imperialists; this was the sharpest overall in the world, influencing the development of all the other contradictions, including the basic one, and in fact led to the conditions which made it possible for the proletariat to seize state power in the Soviet Union.

Hoxha does his own re-write of World War 2 to bolster his two worlds thesis. He reduces World War 2 to a *united* imperialist plot against the Soviet Union.

"Infuriated by the loss the October Revolution in Russia inflicted on it, the imperialist and capitalist world coalition reinforced its instruments of political, economic and military struggle against the new state of the proletarians and the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology throughout the world. The imperialists, the reactionary bourgeoisie, European and world social-democracy, together with the other parties of capital, prepared the war against the Soviet Union. Together with the Hitlerites, the Italians and Japanese fascists, they also prepared the Second World War."³¹

Thus in typical Hoxha fashion, 20 years of history is eclectically mashed together as one straight line event, and World War 2 is presented as the continuation of the "strategy" world imperialism launched against the infant proletarian state on the heels of its victory in 1917. Apparently contradictions *among* the imperialists had nothing whatever to do with it! There are a number of other mentions of how collusion among the imperialists against the USSR was the principal aspect of World War 2. In commenting on Carter's speech already referred to, Hoxha explains to us,

"The U.S. President also admits that, out of fear of communism, in the past the capitalists and the imperialists embraced and supported the fascist dictators like Mussolini, Hitler, Hirohito, Franco, etc. These fascist dictatorships in the respective countries were the

ultimate weapon of the capitalist bourgeoisie and world imperialism against the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin and against the world proletarian revolution."³²

Carter, of course, was not confessing to dealings with Mussolini, Hitler, etc. (even to the degree that this went on even during the war, which was obviously not the principal aspect of World War 2!). Instead this demagoguery related to Carter's "human rights" campaign, parading around a few countries where "democratic" forms have replaced fascist dictatorships as the means to maintain U.S. domination, etc.³³

Yes, victorious proletarian revolution is a threat to the imperialists. And 1/10 of the globe freed from bourgeois rule (with the victory of socialism in the USSR) and later (adding the victory of China and the East European states), 1/4 of the globe free from that rule was a terribly great threat. Why? Because huge sections of the globe were removed from where the imperialists could "freely" fight over them for domination. More importantly, these countries were political bastions of the world revolution, not only providing material aid and political assistance to revolution around the world, but existing as a living example of how capitalist enslavement was no longer the order of the day in a large part of the world. But the existence of the proletariat in power—even involving over 1/4 of humanity, did not and could not make the workings of capitalism in its highest, most decadent stage more rational.

Stalin had to deal with a similar line in the Soviet Union shortly after WWII, and although his answer is slightly off the mark, he is far more correct than his supposed student, Hoxha.

"Some comrades hold that, owing to the development of new international conditions since the Second World War, wars between capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable. They consider that the contradictions between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp are more acute than the contradictions among the capitalist countries; that the U.S.A. has brought the other capitalist countries sufficiently under its sway to be able to prevent them going to war among themselves and weakening one another; that the foremost capitalist minds have been sufficiently taught by the two world wars and the severe damage they caused to the whole capitalist world not to venture to involve the capitalist countries in war with one another again—and that, because of all this, wars between capitalist countries are no longer inevitable.

"These comrades are mistaken. They

see the outward phenomena that come and go on the surface, but they do not see those profound forces which, although operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of developments...

"It is said that the contradictions between capitalism and socialism are stronger than the contradictions among the capitalist countries. Theoretically, of course, that is true. It is not only true now, today; it was true before the Second World War. And it was more or less realized by the leaders of the capitalist countries. Yet the Second World War began not as a war with the USSR, but as a war between capitalist countries...

"[In the aftermath of World War I] ... Germany rose to her feet again as a great power within the space of some fifteen or twenty years after her defeat... And it is significant that it was none other than Britain and the United States that helped Germany to recover economically and to enhance her economic war potential. Of course, when the United States and Britain assisted Germany's economic recovery, they did so with a view to setting a recovered Germany against the Soviet Union, to utilizing her against the land of socialism. But Germany directed her forces in the first place against the Anglo-French-American bloc. And when Hitler Germany declared war on the Soviet Union, the Anglo-French-American bloc, far from joining with Hitler Germany, was compelled to enter into a coalition with the USSR against Hitler Germany.

"Consequently, the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp."³⁴

One weakness in Stalin's formulation is his juxtaposition that "theoretically" the contradictions between socialism and capitalism were stronger than between capitalist countries, but "in practice" the opposite proved to be true. What Stalin means here, though, is that socialism and capitalism have diametrically opposed interests. This is absolutely true. The formulation is weak, however, in that it is not just "in practice" where the contradictions between the imperialists could prove to be sharper at times, but is rooted in the very character of the capitalist class—a class which is not internationalist like the proletariat, but a class whose interests remain *national*, despite their gigantic international dealings, and they fight fiercely with their counterparts, members of their same class, of other "great" nations for the spoils of the

world for their very survival as imperialists.

Hoxha does leave open the possibility for world war, but he is clearly incorrect in his view of what the character of that war will be. He says:

"Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the contradictions between a socialist country and capitalist and revisionist countries, which reflect contradictions between two classes with diametrically opposed interests, the working class and the bourgeoisie, are permanent, fundamental, irreconcilable. They run like a red thread through the entire historical epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. On the other hand, the contradictions between the imperialist powers are expressions of contradictions amongst exploiters, amongst classes with common fundamental interests. Therefore, however severe the contradictions and conflicts between the imperialist powers may be, the danger of aggressive actions by world imperialism or various sections of it against the socialist country, remains a permanent real danger at any moment. Rifts between imperialists, inter-imperialist quarrels and conflicts may, at the most, weaken or temporarily postpone the danger of the actions of imperialism against the socialist country, therefore while it is in the interests of this country to utilize these contradictions in the enemy ranks, they cannot eliminate this danger."³⁵

And this logically leads Hoxha up to the point of saying that if world war does break out, its principal character will be socialism vs. imperialism.

"Therefore, our Party has stressed and stresses that any underestimation of the contradictions of a socialist state with the imperialist powers and the capitalist-revisionist countries, any underestimation of the danger of aggressive actions by the latter against socialist Albania, any relaxation of vigilance resulting from the idea that the contradictions between imperialist powers themselves are very abrasive, and because of this they cannot undertake such actions against our Homeland, would be fraught with very dangerous consequences."³⁶

Of course no one to our knowledge, least of all a Marxist, has ever maintained that inter-imperialist rivalries will somehow stop an invasion of Albania, particularly in the course of world war. What Hoxha has set up to promote is that if war breaks out, if Albania is invaded, the principal source and character of the war would be an imperialist war against the "socialist

**He must really think
Kautsky was wrong
only in that he was
premature in his
promotion of
"ultra-imperialism" . . .**

Homeland."

Thus overall Hoxha presents a super-imperialism that could keep itself from all out *inter-imperialist* war because of its contradictions with socialism and world revolution, and could stay in that position for some time to come if it wasn't for the warmongering policies of the Chinese revisionists. Maybe Hoxha reasons that imperialism has somehow managed to keep from going to world war for over 30 years now (implicitly describing the USSR as having been an imperialist superpower since 1956³⁷), without inter-imperialist war having broken out—so if it breaks out now it must be China's incitement which causes it, with invasion of socialist Albania being the war's principal object.

Are we exaggerating Hoxha's efforts to reduce the international situation to the conflict between Albania and the various imperialist powers (in which he includes China)? Those taken in by Hoxha's line will emphatically point out, that while he might underestimate the contradictions between the imperialists, he does recognize the class struggle going on around the world. His supporters (or conciliators) might argue that Hoxha doesn't just recognize the contradiction between socialism and imperialism, pointing to many quotes showing that he recognizes the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and proletariat (at least in a non-socialist country) and the contradiction between the oppressed masses and imperialism, that he supports revolution around the world, not capitulation to imperialism such as the Chinese revisionists, and for that reason revolutionaries should still uphold his contribution at this time—such is the argument of many.

But Hoxha, while in words recognizing three separate contradictions, in reality, mushes them all into one. In fact, Hoxha does not understand that there is one basic contradiction in the world in this epoch—private appropriation vs. socialized production which takes the political form of the bourgeoisie vs. the proletariat—and that the other three contradictions, oppressed nations vs. imperialism, socialist vs. imperialist countries, and inter-imperialist rivalries,

all flow from this contradiction (though on a world scale or in a particular country one of these contradictions could be the *principal* contradiction for a time). No, Hoxha says:

"If Mao Tsetung and the other Chinese leaders have had and still have a good deal to say about contradictions 'in theory,' then they ought to speak not only of exploiting inter-imperialist contradictions and of compromises with the imperialists, but, in the first place, they ought to speak of the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the contradictions between the oppressed peoples and countries, on the one hand, and the two superpowers and the whole of world imperialism, on the other, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism."³⁸

Here Hoxha is clearly saying that only these last three are "the fundamental contradictions of our epoch." This is no minor word problem on his part—it is an "error" of replacing dialectics with eclectics, allowing the replacement of whatever pragmatically serves what interests he wants to promote (or anyone else who promoted such a line) for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of what is objectively going on in the world. In the name of opposing the "three worlds" strategy, he demotes the contradiction among imperialist powers from the status of a fundamental contradiction. He then advances his own "two worlds" thesis, which puts all the remaining contradictions together, and ends up essentially holding that one of them is always principal: that between socialism and capitalism. He opposes the "three worlds" strategy in the name of revolution, but his own "two worlds" mishmash is equally revisionist and does not promote revolution.

III. Hoxha on the National Liberation Struggles

The Communist article cited earlier illustrated how Hoxha does not see the basic contradiction under socialism as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but as socialism vs. imperialism; he makes the basis for class struggle under socialism external and in no way grasps the qualitative difference between socialism and communism, etc. This question will not be pursued further in this article since Hoxha's orientation on this question is directly tied to his attack on Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution and was gone into in depth in

The Communist. We'd also like to refer the reader to the first section of the same article, which exposes Hoxha's denial of the bourgeois character of the democratic, anti-imperialist stage in the oppressed countries, his underestimation of the anti-feudal character of this stage, his total opposition to the military strategy of people's war and his efforts to pit the leading role of the proletariat *against* mobilizing the peasantry as the main force in the revolution in a country like China. All of which demonstrates that Hoxha has landed in the camp of the Trotskyites, Wang Ming and the Soviet revisionists when it comes to his analysis of the Chinese revolution in particular. The Communist article correctly points out that this idiocy is not simply restricted to Hoxha's view of the Chinese revolution, but extends to his whole view of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations.

Hoxha of course does not promote this muck on a neon sign. He tries to cover himself, hiding behind the raunchy line of the Chinese revisionists and the reversal of the revolution in China to make himself look good. And if one wants to substitute formal logic for dialectics, and doesn't like the Chinese revisionists' line, then Hoxha is definitely the man to look to. But the world doesn't exist as the logical opposite to the Chinese line. While their "three worlds" strategy is thoroughly reactionary, it is just as reactionary to gloss over the difference between the oppressed and oppressor nations. Contrary to what Hoxha might think, neither Lenin nor Stalin reduced the world simply to "two worlds" of socialism and imperialism when it came to the national question. In Lenin's time he described "three different types of countries" when it came to the question of self-determination, or the national question:

"First type: the advanced countries of Western Europe (and America), where the national movement is a thing of the past. Second type: Eastern Europe, where it is a thing of the present. Third type: semi-colonies and colonies, where it is largely a thing of the future."³⁹

Things have advanced somewhat since the time of Lenin and what was once a question of the future (the colonies and semi-colonies) has become a question of the present, although these countries are generally dominated in the neo-colonial as opposed to direct colonial form (and what was a question of the present in Lenin's time, the national question in Eastern Europe, no longer has the same importance).

Lenin said at the time in criticizing "imperialist economists" who did not

support the right to self-determination, saying it was the same as raising "defend the fatherland" in the advanced capitalist countries and arguing on the basis that real liberation of the oppressed nations from imperialism was not possible without socialist revolution:

"In the Western countries the national movement is a thing of the distant past. In England, France, Germany, etc., the 'fatherland' is a dead letter, it has played its historical role, i.e., the national movement cannot yield here anything progressive, anything that will elevate new masses to a new economic and political life. *History's next step here is not transition from feudalism or from patriarchal savagery to national progress, to a cultured and politically free fatherland, but transition from a 'fatherland' that has outlived its day, that is capitalistically overripe, to socialism.*" (Emphasis added.)⁴⁰

And Lenin argued further:

"In these advanced countries (England, France, Germany, etc.) the national problem was solved long ago; objectively there are no 'general national tasks' to be accomplished. Hence, only in these countries is it possible now to 'blow up' national unity and establish class unity.

"The undeveloped countries are a different matter... In those areas, as a rule, there *still* exist oppressed and capitalistically undeveloped nations. Objectively, these nations still have general national tasks to accomplish, namely, democratic tasks, the tasks of overthrowing foreign oppression."⁴¹

Thus the first step in the oppressed nations is, in the main, the transition from semi-feudalism or other forms of enforced backwardness to "national progress" and they have the "democratic tasks of overthrowing foreign oppression."

But to Hoxha, everything collapses into a giant muddle, and despite his lip service to the question of two stages, he makes little distinction between the first stage of the revolution in the oppressed countries and the socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries! Constantly throughout the book he adds the task of *eliminating* exploitation as part of this first stage of the revolution, along with overthrowing foreign presence in those countries. He says things such as:

"In our time, in the conditions of imperialism, the main internal enemy of the revolution, not only in the developed capitalist countries, but also in the oppressed and dependent countries, is the

local big bourgeoisie which stands at the head of the capitalist order and fights with all its means, with violence and oppression, demagoguery and deceit, to preserve its domination and privileges, to smother and extinguish any movement of the working people which jeopardizes its state power and class interests in the slightest degree.”⁴²

And:

“The Chinese leadership takes no account of the fact that in the ‘third world’ there are oppressed and oppressors, the proletariat and the enslaved, poverty-stricken and destitute peasantry, on the one hand, and the capitalists and landowners, who exploit and fleece the people, on the other. To fail to point out this class situation in the so-called third world, to fail to point out the antagonisms which exist, means to revise Marxism-Leninism and defend capitalism. In the countries of the so-called third world, in general, the capitalist bourgeoisie is in power. This bourgeoisie exploits the country, exploits and oppresses the poor people in its own class interests, to make the largest possible profits for itself and to keep the people in perpetual slavery and misery.”⁴³

And elsewhere he says:

“Both in the countries of the ‘third world’ and in those of the ‘second world,’ it is the *bourgeois capitalist class, the same social forces*, which are ruling the proletariat and the peoples and which must be smashed. Here, too, the main motive force is the proletariat.”⁴⁴

While Hoxha is right about the Chinese revisionists’ refusal to carry out any class analysis, which is un-Marxist, Hoxha’s thesis that the “bourgeoisie” is in power is only half right and misses what the character of national *subjugation* is, and his premise that the exact same *social forces* are in power in the advanced capitalist and oppressed nations is absurd.

The colonies and neo-colonies of imperialism must go through a two-stage revolution, not simply because there are foreign imperialists present in their countries (and Hoxha does not fail to point out numerous times that there is plenty of foreign investment, particularly from the U.S., in Europe and in the USSR—a point which will be gone into later), but because imperialist oppression of these nations has meant national subjugation (whether openly or in a neo-colonial form) and has thwarted the completion of the *bourgeois-democratic* revolution.

This domination has meant in most of these countries the propping up of

feudal or semi-feudal relations to a greater or lesser degree, and denies, overall, the native bourgeoisie its own national market, its own nation-state to exploit. Imperialism makes an alliance with the landlords, who represent the old feudal society, and this arrangement crushes the peasantry even more than previously, as well as holding back the development of the national bourgeoisie. Of course the imperialists also viciously exploit the working class and squeeze the urban petty bourgeoisie and they do create a class of local bourgeois *accomplices* (or compradors) in such countries. For all these reasons it is *imperialism* that is the main target of the revolution in the oppressed countries and the role of other class forces is determined primarily by their *relation* to imperialism. Hoxha not only misses this material basis for the two stages of the revolution, he clearly disagrees with it. The article in *The Communist* pointed out clearly how Hoxha misses the centrality of the peasant question which is still the case in many if not most of these countries⁴⁵ and his disagreement with Mao’s (and Lenin’s and Stalin’s) analysis of the two-stage revolution in the oppressed countries and the bourgeois-democratic character of the first stage.⁴⁶

In passing, Hoxha once mentions that the “middle peasantry and that section of the bourgeoisie which is not linked with foreign capital and which aspires to an independent development of the country, can also be allies of the proletariat.”⁴⁷

But mainly he is saying the opposite when he criticizes Mao’s call in China for the alliance of workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, and in his constant theme that ending exploitation is part of the first stage of these revolutions. Hoxha’s line can have a certain appeal because it is true that the bourgeoisie, at the head of a liberation struggle or in power, whether initially patriotic or not, will tend sooner or later to capitulate to imperialism. It seems as if he has at least half a point because he mainly poses his line when talking about the Chinese revisionists’ current “organizing” efforts among the heads of state of the “Third World” countries. But some kind of an “anti-imperialist/socialist” single stage is still a recipe for defeat in many if not most of these countries and would have the same ramifications as the continued implementation of Wang Ming’s line would have had in China.⁴⁸

We can get a little more of the flavor of Hoxha’s line if we see what he means in practice in his book. He does go into the question of Indonesia a little, when he says:

“In order to quell the revolutions and

the liberation struggle in the countries of Asia and open the way to the realization of their hegemonic and expansionist plans, the Soviet and Chinese revisionists, in feverish competition with each other, have been and are engaged in a very filthy job of splitting and destroying the ranks of the communist parties and the revolutionary and freedom loving forces of these countries. This activity was one of the main causes of the catastrophe suffered by the Communist Party of Indonesia, and of the splitting and destruction of the Communist Party of India, etc. They advocate the alliance and unity of the proletariat and the broad popular masses with the local reactionary bourgeoisie, while each of them is trying to win the friendship of this ruling bourgeoisie, for its own ends.”⁴⁹

The catastrophe suffered by the Indonesian Communist Party Hoxha is referring to took place in 1965, when a U.S. imperialist-inspired coup overthrew Sukarno and replaced his regime with that of the reactionary General Suharto. In the wake of the coup, it is estimated that as many as a million communists and other revolutionaries and progressives were slaughtered in Indonesia. But what was going on at the time was not competition between the Soviet and Chinese revisionists; on the contrary, to the degree Chinese revisionists were involved (Liu Shao-chi and Co.—and these revisionists were not principal within the Chinese Party), their advice was exactly the same as that of their Soviet mentors, since these revisionists’ line dovetailed with that of the Soviets at the time. This “advice” was to liquidate their party into a mass people’s party, liquidate armed struggle, and work toward the parliamentary road to socialism in Indonesia, merging themselves with the national bourgeoisie (represented by Sukarno). The actual “splitting” that went on by the Chinese was a question of Marxism vs. opportunism.

The revolutionary line of the Chinese Communist Party, promoted through their series of polemics against the Soviet revisionists, was assisting various parties and genuine communists around the world in breaking with the grip of the revisionist line of the USSR! (Hoxha’s crying about “splitting” just exposes how his idealism about the two-line struggle in the communist parties in power applies to his views on the struggle in parties out of power and is just as reactionary, since it is a recipe for capitulation to opportunism in the name of not “splitting.”) He also exposes himself as being against the peaceful transition to socialism thesis in words only, since in practice, according to Hox-

ha's logic, a "genuine" party would not split over such a question!)

To give a brief description of what the developments were, there had been a mass, anti-imperialist, democratic struggle waged in Indonesia in the wake of World War 2. The national bourgeoisie (Sukarno, etc.) had been in the leadership of this struggle, and while the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) had a strong base of support among the people due to the role it had played in the struggle against Dutch imperialism and the Japanese occupation, it did not lead this stage of the revolution to victory because of errors in line. As the PKI put it:

"This theoretical shortcoming and inability to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the world and of Indonesia had resulted in that the PKI was unable to make use of this highly favorable opportunity given by the August Revolution of 1945 to overcome its shortcomings. The PKI did not consistently lead the armed struggle against Dutch imperialism, did not develop guerrilla warfare that was integrated with the democratic movement of the peasants, thus winning their full support, as the only way to defeat the war of aggression launched by the Dutch imperialists. On the contrary, the PKI even approved of and itself followed the policy of reactionary compromises of Sjahrir's Right-wing socialists. The PKI did not establish the alliance of the working class and the peasantry by leading the anti-feudal struggle in the countryside, and did not establish, on the basis of such a worker-peasant alliance, a united front with all other democratic forces. The PKI did not consolidate its strength, on the contrary, it even relegated to the background its own role. These are the reasons why the August Revolution of 1945 did not proceed as it should, did not achieve the decisive victory, and finally failed in reaching its objective goal."⁵⁰

Upon victory against the Dutch, the reactionary feudal and comprador state machinery was *not* smashed. A coalition government which included anti-feudal, anti-imperialist elements (and at times, on and off, even the PKI) was established, but in fact it was dominated by feudal and comprador interests, with the national bourgeoisie of course playing a vacillating role in this government. The PKI mistakenly took these concessions (the fact that popular forces were taking part in government) to mean that there was a "pro-people" aspect to this government that they should build on, that the agrarian revolutionary war was not necessary, that the vanguard character of the Party could be li-

quidated and that it was quite possible to carry on the peaceful transition to socialism through parliamentary means. As the PKI later summarized, "The August Revolution of 1945 should have established a completely new state, a state *jointly ruled* by the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes *under the leadership of the working class*. This is what is to be called a people's democratic state."⁵¹

While there could be much more said about the experience in Indonesia and the above is just a sketchy outline of what happened and some of the political questions involved, it is clear that the PKI's errors did not lie in recognizing Sukarno as a patriotic bourgeois and potentially a part of the united front, but rather in merging themselves with the national bourgeoisie (tailoring behind Sukarno), liquidating the question of armed struggle, confusing the change of regime with the smashing of the state machinery of the reactionaries, etc. It is only in the simpleminded reactionary line of Trotskyites and E. Hoxha that the error lay in the PKI not recognizing that Sukarno (patriotic national bourgeoisie) and Suharto (comprador to U.S. imperialism) were "identical," because both were bourgeois, and that therefore Sukarno should have been the "target of the revolution." As the PKI summed up after the coup:

"By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our Party must work to win the national bourgeois class over to the side of the revolution."⁵²

But even leaving aside Hoxha's rewriting of history on the question of Indonesia, he exposes himself for his lack of support for the national liberation struggles going on today in other ways too. Hoxha is conspicuously silent about the revolution that was beginning in Iran when his book was first written, and which was at a high peak of struggle in December 1978 when the volume was re-edited. (The editor says, "Some events that have taken place during the period since the first publication have also been included." But the Iranian revolution was not one of these!)

Of course the proletariat did not have "hegemony" in this stage of the struggle, not only in Hoxha's dreamland Trotskyite sense, but even in the real meaning of the word (although proletarian forces were gaining and continue to gain strength toward that goal). Hoxha does not only fail to mention the revolution going on at the time of the writing, there

is one section of the book that seems to be a backhanded slap, since it's the only reference to any type of "struggle" going on in Iran:

"The prolonged struggle which went on between the American oil companies and the Mexican Government and which ended in 1938 with the collapse of the Mexican Government's policy of opposition, is well known. There was a similar outcome to the struggle between the British oil monopoly and the Iranian Government, which resulted in the toppling of Mossadegh. Such ruinous conflicts are going on all the time and they end with the triumph of the big American Trusts."⁵³

Is it possible that we are stretching a point by insinuating that Hoxha just sees the mass upsurge that was going on in Iran at the time of the writing of his book as a "ruinous conflict" (in the same way that the Cultural Revolution was a "countrywide putsch")? We don't think so, because Hoxha definitely does not support the revolution in Iran. In fact, he goes out of his way not to mention or analyze what was going on in Iran. Three or four times he has the opportunity to at least acknowledge the existence of this struggle, when he criticizes the Chinese revisionists' dealings with the Shah or his government. He fails to mention that these revisionist dogs from China actually carried on their frenzied dealings with the Shah while he was in the midst of trying to crush the massive revolutionary upsurge against his fascist regime and the U.S. imperialists behind it. (Keep in mind that Hoxha, throughout the rest of the book, spares no space in taking shots at the Chinese whenever he has the opportunity.)

A few months ago the Albanian party finally acknowledged the Iranian revolution—after the new government came to power and around the same time that the Soviets, who were also conspicuously silent during the mass upsurge, recognized the installation of the Khomeini-Bazargan government. (An interesting side note of remarkable bourgeois advice is the PLA's fixation on "correctly wielding the weapon of oil" as key to continuing the revolution.⁵⁴) The struggle in Iran just didn't fit into Hoxha's idealized view of what a national liberation struggle should look like at any point in its development, because all exploiting classes weren't the target, the proletariat did not have hegemony from the beginning, etc.

What Stalin said in *Foundations of Leninism* still holds today: "The revolutionary character of a national movement under conditions of imperialist oppression does not necessarily presup-

He opposes the "three worlds" strategy in the name of revolution, but his own "two worlds" mishmash is equally revisionist.

pose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement...⁵⁵ Not because the class-conscious forces desire that the working class not be in leadership of these struggles, and not simply because they weaken the imperialists (which they do!), but because the class-conscious proletariat is acting on the *material* world, must understand what represents progress and what represents reaction, support and unite with what is genuinely progressive (and definitely not uncritically or in a tailist fashion), in order to gain "hegemony" in the real sense of the word and lead all the class forces at the particular stage that will advance the revolution forward, toward the socialist revolution and the eventual triumph of communism.

While Hoxha thought it better not to explicitly attack the struggle in Iran, some of his loyal followers in the U.S. (such as the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee, now known as—believe it or not—the CPUSA-ML) went all the way with this line, like every Trotskyite and his mother who called for the equal targeting of the Bakhtiar stand-in-for-the-Shah regime and Khomeini. This idiocy only aided the forces of reaction, objectively siding with U.S. imperialism. Had such a line been implemented in Iran at the time, it would have actually weakened the proletariat's ability to gain hegemony in the revolution and strengthened Khomeini's position.

Hoxha's "very revolutionary" two worlds thesis, complete with its "three fundamental contradictions," overall misses the particularity of the contradictions between the oppressed nations and imperialism, promoting the erroneous view that revolutionary struggles in both types of countries are basically the same, except maybe in the one case they have to deal quantitatively more with foreign domination than in an advanced capitalist country. While occasionally mentioning "two stages," he merges the content of both stages into one—the socialist revolution—and in turn imposes the criteria for a socialist revolution on these oppressed nations. Thus he rates the potential and problems in making revolution in large part according to

the size of the working class—the social force he demands must be the main force—regardless of the class composition and social relations in the countries themselves. Consequently his line smacks of the idealism of the Trotskyites on this question (as well as of plain old national chauvinism).

Hoxha does speak about the areas of Asia, Latin America and Africa as being "cauldrons" of struggle, and he mentions some ongoing struggles in Asia and says that Latin America is in a revolutionary situation (perhaps because it has a larger working class than many other parts of the underdeveloped world?). But overall, as we pointed out earlier, his emphasis is on how truly difficult it is to have a revolution in these countries (repeated numerous times in each continent his book traverses in the underdeveloped world). And while Hoxha uses Stalin's formulation of the "weak link" of capitalism as to where revolution will most likely take place, this is used in specific reference only to the advanced capitalist countries, not in connection with the oppressed nations and peoples at all. And it's no wonder. If these countries must take Hoxha's route to revolution, it will probably be a cold day in hell before they get there.

Hoxha's "two worlds" thesis, and his particular feature of muddling the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions in the oppressed nations into a single proletarian-national stage, may sound very revolutionary but in fact it is just the opposite. How this line, in the form of classical Trotskyism, can lead to attacking the revolutionary struggles in the oppressed nations is relatively well understood. But the same line can also lead to a more openly right-wing opportunism.

As pointed out in the *Communist* article, such a line abandons the need of the proletariat to fight for the leadership of the democratic revolution, denying its *bourgeois* character. And a bourgeois revolution will undoubtedly involve *bourgeois* forces who will contend for the leadership of the revolution. As can be seen from countless examples around the world, these bourgeois revolutionaries often adopt a Marxist garb and many even join the communist party while remaining bourgeois in politics and ideology. By recognizing the two stages of the revolution and recognizing the conflicting class forces and class ideologies that would be brought forth in the first, or democratic, stage, genuine Marxist-Leninists can (as Mao did) identify and struggle against exactly those bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies which would prevent the revolution from winning complete victory over imperialism and from being

transformed into a socialist revolution. Hoxha's line of *proletarian nationalism* is not only theoretically repugnant, it leaves the door wide open to various types of "socialists" in the underdeveloped countries who in fact abdicate the task of carrying through the struggle against foreign domination and often end up a tool of the Soviet social-imperialists. Mengistu, the "socialist" butcher of the Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples is a fine example.

IV. The Advanced Capitalist Countries and Imperialist War

For all of Hoxha's talk about a revolutionary situation enveloping Europe, his recipe for revolution there is no more correct than his other theses. Hoxha's orientation toward the working class is fairly simple. He emphatically states that "The most important organizations of the masses are the trade unions."⁵⁶ Then he explains that most of the trade unions are counterrevolutionary organizations that must be "smashed." How should they be smashed? "By getting into them in order to fight and erode them from within..."⁵⁷ He even gives us the political orientation genuine revolutionaries must have in order to accomplish this. He tells us, "In every case the aim must be to achieve a steel unity of the proletariat in the fight not only against the employers...—"but also in the all-round struggle against the bourgeoisie? Not quite, according to Hoxha: "but [continuing from where we left off] also against their agents, the trade union bosses!"⁵⁸ All this with the final aim of "the setting up of genuine proletarian trade unions."⁵⁹

Thoroughly refuting this economist and classical syndicalist malarkey is not within the scope of this article. Already the RCP,USA has carried on extensive polemics (and will most likely continue to do more in the future) around this type of deviation which is so prevalent among revisionists of every stripe and which is also such a strong spontaneous drag on the ranks of the proletariat and genuine revolutionaries. Nevertheless, it deserves some brief comments here. Obviously the struggle in the trade unions is an arena of class struggle, and at times it can be a very important arena, but promoting a strategy of setting up "genuine proletarian trade unions" is just as ridiculous a *theory of stages* as the Economists' (of Lenin's time) promotion of *building* trade unions among the workers as a stage, despite Hoxha's warning to Marxist-Leninists not to stoop to trade-unionist, reformist, and

anarcho-syndicalist positions.⁶⁰ Hoxha just about explicitly says that accomplishing this is a prerequisite to making revolution! And as we pointed out, Hoxha's political orientation to the trade unions is just as economist as the original revisionists of that name.

And Hoxha may have more in common with the old-time Economists than just their over-fascination with the trade unions as organizations and their focusing of the workers' attention on the fight against the employers (and, oh yes, the union officials too). Hoxha's riff on "propaganda and actions"⁶¹ is not that dissimilar to the old-time Economists' thesis on propaganda as an explanation of the workings of the capitalist system, and agitation as "calls to action," a thesis which Lenin criticizes in *What Is To Be Done?*⁶² Hoxha even uses the same quote by Marx, "Every step taken by a genuine movement is worth more than a dozen programs," which the Economists raised against Lenin. Whether Hoxha means exactly what the Economists did is not completely clear, since he counterposes his theses on "action" only to the activity of terrorists and he never explains what he means when he says that the class struggle proceeds "from a simpler to a higher form"⁶³ (from economic to political, maybe?). But even if one gave him the benefit of the doubt and put the best possible interpretation on these points, his orientation of "proletarian trade unionism" has little to do with forging a class-conscious movement preparing for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

But Hoxha has some other problems equally as serious, if not more so, when it comes to the question of revolution in these countries. These center around his orientation toward imperialist war and, closely linked to this, his efforts to resurrect *national* tasks in *imperialist* countries (a point addressed more fully later).

It is important to note that when Hoxha is talking about the developments toward a revolutionary situation in the advanced capitalist countries (or the revolutionary situation that already exists in Hoxha's mind) and the program for making revolution in those countries, he does not emphasize that the proletariat should be preparing to turn the imperialist war moves into their opposite, i.e., through preparation for civil war, nor is there *any* mention of the orientation of *revolutionary defeatism* in response to such a war. (There is one quote by Lenin in this section⁶⁴ which puts forward the thesis that in the face of reactionary imperialist war, the duty of the proletariat is to prepare for world proletarian revolution, which Hoxha raises in response to the followers of the Chinese revisionists in Europe who call for reliance on U.S. imperialism. Hoxha

never repeats or goes into Lenin's words in the body of this section, leaving opposition to imperialist wars in the abstract, not in the concrete context of the growing danger of world war. His overall political line in this section is erroneous, as discussed below.)

Obviously, Hoxha's overall lack of emphasis on the tasks of communists in relation to an inter-imperialist war is linked with his view that such a world war is far off and has no real significance with regard to the tasks of communists at the present time. Hoxha's reduction of a revolutionary crisis to the level of the political and economic crisis which exists *today* is also linked to his downplaying of the threat of world war (and may also help explain and be linked to his economism).

This in itself is no insignificant error, but even more damning is that when he does put forward an orientation around world war, it is far from revolutionary. On the contrary, Hoxha's position is reformist and goes along with his Kautskyism on the nature of imperialism. And for all his criticizing the social chauvinism promoted by the Chinese, Hoxha has a more refined, if not particularly original, "defend the homeland" line himself—although it is not so apparent, masked as it is in his polemic with the Chinese revisionists. There are two sections of the book in which Hoxha goes into this question of the orientation of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries toward inter-imperialist war (aside from the quote from Lenin mentioned above). First, in the part mentioned earlier where Hoxha says nuclear war is inevitable between the superpowers, if not today then tomorrow. There he says:

"When the superpowers fail to achieve their predatory interests through economic, ideological and diplomatic means, when the contradictions become exacerbated to the most acute level, when the agreements and 'reforms' prove unable to resolve these contradictions, then the war between them begins. Therefore, the peoples, whose blood will be shed in this war, must strive with might and main not to be caught unawares, to sabotage the predatory inter-imperialist war so that it does not assume world-wide proportions, and if they are unable to achieve this, to turn it into a liberation war and win."⁶⁵

The other major reference is in his section "China's Plans to Become a Superpower." We'll quote at length from this section to give readers the full flavor of Hoxha's line:

"Many a time the Party of Labour of Albania has raised its voice to expose

the deafening pacifist propaganda which the superpowers spread in order to lull the peoples and the freedom-loving countries to sleep and blunt their vigilance, in order to bemuse them with illusions and catch them unawares. More than once it has drawn attention to the fact that American imperialism and Russian social-imperialism are leading the world towards a new world war and that the danger of the outbreak of such a war is real and by no means imaginary. This danger cannot fail to be a matter of constant concern for the peoples, the broad working masses, the peace-loving forces and countries, the Marxist-Leninists and the progressive people everywhere in the world, who, in the face of this danger cannot stand by passively and do nothing. But what should be done to stay the hand of the imperialist warmongers?

"This cannot be achieved through a course of capitulation and submission to imperialist warmongers, or of toning down the struggle against them. The facts have proved that the unprincipled compromises and concessions of the Khrushchevite revisionists did not make American imperialism any tamer, better behaved, or more peaceful, but the contrary they made it more arrogant and voracious. But the Marxist-Leninists are not for pitting one imperialist state or grouping against the other, nor do they call for imperialist wars, for it is the peoples who suffer in them. The great Lenin pointed out our policy is not aimed at inciting war, but preventing the imperialists from uniting against the socialist country.

'...if we were really driving workers and peasants to war' he [Lenin] said, 'that would be a crime. All our politics and propaganda, however, are directed towards putting an end to war and in no way towards driving nations to war. Experience has shown very clearly that the socialist revolution is the only way out of eternal warfare.'

"Hence, the only correct course is to raise the working class, the broad strata of the working people and the peoples in revolutionary actions to stay the hands of the imperialist warmongers in their own countries. Marxist-Leninists have always been and are the most determined opponents of unjust wars.

"Lenin taught the communist revolutionaries that their duty is to smash the warmongering plans of imperialism and prevent the outbreak of war. If they cannot achieve this, then they must mobilize the working class, the masses of the people, and transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary libera-

tion war.

"The imperialists and social-imperialists have aggressive war in their bloodstream. Their ambitions to enslave the world lead them to war. But although it is the imperialists who unleash imperialist world war, it is the proletariat, the peoples, the revolutionaries and all progressives who pay the price in blood. That is why the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the peoples of the world are against imperialist world war and fight relentlessly to foil the plans of the imperialists so that they do not drive the world to a new slaughter."

"Hence imperialist war must not be advocated as the Chinese revisionists are doing, but must be combated. The duty of Marxist-Leninists is to raise the proletariat and the peoples of the world in struggle against oppressors to wrest their power and privileges from them and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. China is not doing this, the Communist Party of China is not working for this. With its revisionist theory, this party is weakening and delaying the revolution, splitting the vanguard forces of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties which will organize and lead this revolution."⁶⁶

While Hoxha may appear to be on the mark by bringing up that the duty of the proletariat is to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, there are some serious errors in his orientation which in reality cut against the proletariat successfully doing so. One is the whole backdrop for this section—that world war is *impending* only to the degree that the Chinese are *inciting* it. Second, Hoxha overestimates the degree to which the masses can stave off world war short of revolution. Third, his program of what to do in the face of world war, including in the imperialist countries, is to wage a "war of liberation." In addition, Hoxha wrongly handles the question of defense of a socialist country.

World War—China's "Policy"

Hoxha falls into extremely voluntarist views on the question of world war. Just the fact that his most major treatment of the question of world war is in his section "China's Plans to Become a Superpower" is telling in itself. Hoxha's line is that China is inciting the two superpowers to war so it can become an imperialist superpower. Revealing how far he has departed from a materialist explanation of the source of imperialist war, Hoxha writes:

"The great ambition of the Chinese

leaders to transform their country into a superpower as soon as possible and to establish its hegemony everywhere, especially in the so-called third world, has impelled them to make incitement of inter-imperialist war the basis of their strategy and foreign policy. They greatly desire a frontal clash between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in Europe, during which China, from a comfortable distance away, would warm its hands at the atomic holocaust that would destroy its two main rivals and leave it the all-powerful, sole ruler of the world."⁶⁷

And, it might be noted, this formulation of Hoxha's is not even original—for it is essentially the same line that the Soviet revisionists have used for years to cover their imperialist tracks.

Hoxha does have half a point when he notes the desire of the Chinese revisionists that a major war not be focused against China itself. But fundamentally he is wrong. World war is not developing because of China's "incitement" and the role of the Chinese revisionists is not decisive in determining the nature of a third world war or how it would be fought.

Hoxha's underestimation of the depth of inter-imperialist rivalries is further shown by his arguments with the Chinese about Europe as the focus of a war between the two superpowers. Hoxha does not believe that world war is a question for *survival* of one imperialist bloc against the other (or as Stalin put it, their necessity to *crush* one another), and for this reason does not see that Europe, while not being the only center of warfare, will undoubtedly be a key arena because of the development of the productive forces in that continent which are so vital to each bloc for dominating the rest of the world. On the contrary, China's revisionist line and current capitulation to the U.S.-led imperialist bloc are in large measure a response (a *bourgeois* response, of course) to the growing threat of world war—toward which the deepening crisis of imperialism is propelling the two superpowers ever more rapidly today.

While Hoxha says a few times, mainly through quotes, that war will not be wiped out without wiping out imperialism, he promotes this mainly only in the general sense. (It should be noted that the Soviet revisionists uphold this Marxist principle in the abstract also.) But in the *concrete* of today's world situation, the superpowers moving closer and closer to world war—not because of China's incitement but because of the very workings of capital—the proletariat must be preparing for these developments, exposing and struggling against these war moves

as part and parcel of its preparations to make revolution. And the developments toward world war themselves are bound up with the developments toward emergence of revolutionary situations.

Hoxha poses the contradiction as being between "inciting war" and being opposed to it—in other words as war vs. peace. But the contradiction actually is between imperialist war and revolution, or as Mao Tsetung so aptly put it: Either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will give rise to revolution. Hoxha's orientation fosters illusions about reforming away world war. (If it's impending because of a policy, then it might be possible, though not easy, to defeat this policy, at least for the time being.) While particular wars may be stopped through the people's struggle, this cannot stop the imperialists' moves toward world war. World war is not a "policy" that the imperialists can do away with, no matter how great the pressure from the people. The proletariat, of course, is not for world war. Moves toward world war must be exposed, opposed and militantly fought through revolutionary struggle, but the class-conscious proletariat cannot stoop to spreading illusions that world war can possibly be stopped by fighting against the imperialists' war moves—or even by smashing China's policies. Nothing short of revolution in the superpowers (or possibly revolution in a significant number of countries in either's camp) can stop the particular collision course these imperialists have already embarked upon. Hoxha emphasizes the opposite in his book, in the name of combatting the Chinese attempt to scare people into submission, but Hoxha's emphasis is nothing less than disarming in the face of the developing world situation.

Defending the Homeland, Hoxha-Style

Hoxha at least does not promote the absurdity that permanent peace is possible under imperialism. But here is where he gets into deeper, if not as obviously Kautskyite, waters. Hoxha talks about turning the imperialist war into a *liberation war* or a *revolutionary liberation war*, making no distinction between capitalist and semi-colonial countries; and the two phrases quoted by Hoxha, aside from his one quote from Lenin, are the only mention of turning the war into *revolution* in the whole book. This maybe could be chalked up to inaccurate wording on Hoxha's part. But even if that were the case, in the context of world war developing and the efforts of revisionists to paint such an inter-imperialist war as a "war of aggression"

vs. a "war of national salvation" in the advanced capitalist countries, it is more than a minor problem of choosing words, particularly when it is seen in light of Hoxha's overall analysis and emphasis.

Hoxha criticizes the Chinese for promoting a "defense of the fatherland" position:

"When the Germany of Wilhelm II attacked France and Britain, the heads of the Second International advocated 'defense of the bourgeois homeland'. Both the German and the French socialists fell into this position. How Lenin condemned this and what he said against imperialist wars is common knowledge. Now when they preach unity of the European peoples with imperialism in the name of defense of national independence, the Chinese revisionists, too, are acting in the same way as the partisans of the Second International. Contrary to the theses of Lenin, they are inciting the future nuclear war which the two superpowers are trying to launch, and issuing 'patriotic' calls to the peoples and the proletariat of Western Europe to put aside their 'petty' differences with the bourgeoisie (over oppression, hunger, murders, unemployment), to refrain from threatening its state power and unite with NATO, 'United Europe', the Common Market of the big bourgeoisie and the European concerns, and fight only against the Soviet Union, and become disciplined soldiers for the bourgeoisie. Even the Second International could not have done better."⁶⁸

This sounds good, even very good. But Hoxha, who conveniently avoids going into Lenin's condemnation of this social chauvinism, does not really understand the political basis of the "defense of the fatherland" line, and he ignores what Lenin said to do instead (turn imperialist war into a *civil war*). As we pointed out earlier, Hoxha sees the national domination of the oppressed nations as being only *quantitatively* greater as compared to the advanced capitalist countries. (The neo-colonies are "more dependent" on foreign capital and the "democratic and anti-imperialist tasks" of the revolution have a "special importance.") This leads him to a classical two-into-one on the national and class character of the revolution in the non-superpower advanced capitalist countries.

But not only does Hoxha fail to understand the material basis for the national liberation struggles of the oppressed nations—he does not thoroughly grasp the fact that the national question is a thing of the *past* for the imperialist countries, or as Lenin said, "the national movement cannot yield here anything

progressive." It is Hoxha's confusion on this point that has him put "patriotic" in quotes in describing the Chinese line (above). Hoxha does this consistently throughout his book, attributing a national aspect to the struggle in the advanced capitalist countries (except the U.S.). Thus he talks about the positive "patriotic" forces in Europe⁶⁹ and even tends to make U.S. imperialist penetration into Europe and even the USSR a question of *national* subjugation. Since war is an extension of politics, it's no surprise that the kind of war he proposes for the advanced countries (*liberation war*) reflects his "national" program. This confusion is reflected in the section that we referred to earlier where Hoxha quotes Lenin about building for proletarian revolution in response to reactionary imperialist wars. Criticizing the followers of the Chinese revisionists in Europe today, Hoxha says:

"The main slogan of these parties, which is also the basic slogan of the Chinese policy, is that, in the present situation, the sole and fundamental task of the proletariat is to defend national independence, which is allegedly threatened only by Soviet social-imperialism. They are repeating, almost word by word, the slogans of the chiefs of the Second International who abandoned the cause of the revolution and replaced it with the thesis of defense of the capitalist homeland. Lenin exposed this false and anti-Marxist slogan, which does not serve the *defense of true independence* but serves the instigation of inter-imperialist wars. He clearly defined what the stand of the true revolutionary should be towards the conflicts between imperialist groupings. He wrote:

'If the war is a reactionary imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world coalitions of the imperialist, violent, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the *world proletarian revolution* as the *only escape* from the horrors of a world slaughter...'

That is what internationalism means, and that is the duty of the internationalist, the revolutionary worker, the genuine socialist.'⁷⁰

Hoxha says a little later:

"At the same time these hangers-on of the Chinese have become ardent defenders of the bourgeois capitalist state institutions, especially of NATO,

the European Common Market, etc., which they consider as the main factors for the 'defense of independence.' Like the Chinese leaders, they whitewash and prettify these pillars of capitalist domination and expansion. They are assisting precisely those organisms which, in reality, have *seriously violated the independence and sovereignty of their countries*."⁷¹

Sorry, Hoxha—"defense of the fatherland," while being a cover for the predatory nature of the war, would also be the slogan for the safeguarding of these countries' "true independence"—the only problem is that there is nothing progressive about safeguarding these nations or defending these "fatherlands" at all! These nations themselves (with a possible exception or two) have reached the stage where they are based on their own imperialist plunder and exploitation (regardless of the fact that they might be exploited and even dominated by other stronger imperialists, and during a war they will be plundered, etc.) While U.S. imperialism's role of propping up these imperialist countries should be exposed and fought in these countries, given that these countries are already developed capitalist nations—nations overripe for socialist revolution—the question of independence and sovereignty has nothing to do with the impending world war or their revolution, regardless of the fact that U.S. troops may be stationed in them or even in the event of military aggression against these countries in the course of the war—just as Lenin emphasized in *World War I*.

In analyzing Hoxha's line it is particularly important to take a hard look at his "quotes"—often what he omits is more revealing than what he includes. Not only is this true with regards to his hatchet job on Mao Tsetung Thought,⁷² he also falsifies Lenin! In his excerpt from Lenin cited above, Hoxha omitted two sentences:

"I must argue, not from the point of view of 'my' country (for that is the argument of a wretched, stupid, petty-bourgeois nationalist who does not realize that he is only a plaything in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie), but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution."⁷³

Quite an omission, and one that was hardly accidental, as it speaks *exactly* to Hoxha's own deviations. It's wrong, according to Hoxha, for the working class to have the orientation of defending "their country" only against possible Soviet aggression. This is not in the interests of "true independence": no,

"their country" is already compromised by U.S. imperialism. Some might say that even though Hoxha tends to claim the mantle of the imperialist nation for the proletariat, he constantly and consistently emphasizes making revolution against the bourgeoisie, not relying on them as the Chinese promote, so if anything, his error is minor. But even with Hoxha's emphasis on never *strategically* siding with the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries, he still misses the boat because he's promoting a *national*, i.e., a *bourgeois* program.

Lenin took a comrade of his to task around a similar problem. Rosa Luxemburg, who staunchly fought Kautsky's capitulation to the German bourgeoisie and who was working toward proletarian revolution in Germany in the face of World War 1, made some similar errors in this direction by saying that making proletarian revolution was really the only way to "defend the homeland" in the course of World War 1. In response to the German social chauvinists who promoted the idea that working for revolution in the context of World War 1 would be abandoning the homeland, and that the working class must be the staunchest defenders of the homeland, etc., Luxemburg said that "On the contrary, there is complete harmony between the interests of the country and the class interests of the proletarian International, both in time of war and in time of peace; both war and peace demand the most energetic development of the class struggle, the most determined fight for the Social-Democratic programme."⁷⁴

And Lenin sharply criticized this orientation. Here we quote part of his response (he uses the pronoun "he" since Rosa Luxemburg wrote under the pseudonym "Junius").

"He suggests that the imperialist war should be 'opposed' with a national programme. He urges the advanced class to turn its face to the past and not to the future! [Since Junius used the revolutionary class struggle of an earlier period where the revolution was in the best interests of the German nation, Lenin continues] In France, in Germany, and in the whole of Europe it was a *bourgeois-democratic* revolution that, *objectively*, was on the order of the day in 1793 and 1848. Corresponding to this *objective* historical situation was the 'truly national,' i.e., national *bourgeois* programme of the then existing democracy; in 1793 this programme was carried out by the most revolutionary elements of the bourgeoisie and the plebians, and in 1848 it was proclaimed by Marx in the name of the whole of progressive democracy. *Objectively*, the

feudal and dynastic wars were then opposed by revolutionary-democratic wars, by wars for national liberation. This was the content of the historical tasks of that epoch.

"At the present time, the *objective* situation in the biggest advanced states of Europe is different. Progress, if we leave out for the moment the possibility of temporary steps backward, can be made only in the direction of *socialist* society, only in the direction of the *socialist revolution*. From the standpoint of progress, from the standpoint of the progressive class, the imperialist bourgeois war, the war of highly developed capitalism, i.e., primarily civil war for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; for unless such a war is waged, serious progress is impossible..."⁷⁵

Hoxha does not pose any earlier bourgeois revolution in promoting his two-into-one view of the tasks of revolutionaries in the advanced capitalist and oppressed nations. On the contrary, he poses the World War 2 model, just as the Chinese revisionists do, to promote his national program. Hoxha's emphasis on the attack on "the socialist country" as being at the heart of the imperialist war question, his continual metaphysical insistence that nothing much has really changed in the world with the defeat of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, coupled with no more than a few references to the line around World War 1 (revolutionary defeatism, etc.), indicate that he's opting for the "World War 2" model of defense of the socialist motherland in combination with revolutionary wars of national salvation—like the successful Albanian Liberation War (in which, he reminds us, they tactically united with the British and U.S. imperialists without capitulating to them and specifically points out the possibility of a similar situation arising again).⁷⁶

This implicit and *de facto* promotion of the World War 2 model is very dangerous in today's situation. Leaving aside Albania and its social character, this analysis glosses over the fundamental character of the war that is developing today. Despite Hoxha's preachings on making proletarian revolution everywhere, if war comes, it will be the "bad guys" against the "good guys," it will be a war to defend the socialist motherland and be a war of liberation. In the name of defending socialism and "really defending" national interests, Hoxha is preparing the proletariat to fight a war against U.S. aggression—in the PLA's opinion, their "main enemy." And although Hoxha sees this threat to the "socialist motherland" coming from the U.S., his "proletarian nationalism" or "true independence" line if adopted

Hoxha sees one bloc... headed by U.S. imperialism... The Soviet Union is not only treated as a part of this same bloc, but is viewed as practically a neo-colony of the United States!

by communists in advanced capitalist countries could lead them to fight a liberation war against any actual invader of "their" country, even the USSR. (Then we would see how long Hoxha's "socialist camp" would last!)

And Hoxha is not in the same camp as Rosa Luxemburg. The root of her problem was bowing somewhat to petty-bourgeois nationalism, but in the context of an overall line which called on the German proletariat to have the orientation in World War 1 of revolutionary defeatism. Hoxha has exactly the line Lenin attributed to the petty-bourgeois nationalists. It could only be from the point of view of nationalism that Yugoslav revisionism (Yugoslavia is Albania's neighbor) in a book entitled *Imperialism and Revolution* (not *Socialist Albania's Problems*) is attacked and criticized with such zeal and at such length—much more so than Soviet social-imperialism. (And just in terms of ideological penetration into the working class of Europe and in the national liberation movements around the world, Soviet-style revisionism is, by far, the much greater danger.)

Hoxha's particular version of combining nationalism with Marxism takes the form of metaphysically merging everything into the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. It also appears in his idealist contention that nothing has changed in the world in terms of the socialist camp with the resurrection of bourgeois rule in the USSR (and today, China).

The struggle between a socialist country or even several countries and imperialism is not the same as the worldwide struggle—the historic march toward communism. It is not equivalent to that march—it is only a part of it, *subordinate* to the whole. Defense of a proletarian state is not an absolute—the proletariat's ultimate goal is not protecting the sovereignty of nations which have reached the socialist stage. The proletariat's goal is worldwide com-

munism and its outlook is internationalism, seeing all the struggles in light of that goal, including the struggle to defend a socialist country against imperialist aggression, as important as it is, as subordinate to that worldwide goal. Equating the struggle between the socialist country and imperialism with that goal, or viewing the worldwide struggle principally from the point of view of defending the socialist country (which the promotion of this "two worlds" theses does) is slipping into nationalism in the name of internationalism.

It's absurd to talk of a socialist camp—"even if it is one small country"—and try to use the argument that the proletariat and oppressed masses' aspiration and struggle for socialism is part of this camp, as Hoxha does.⁷⁷ A socialist camp is just that—the actual existence of the proletariat holding state power in a significant section of the world—a significant material force posing a certain freedom and necessity for the proletariat worldwide *and* for the imperialists. Thus under the conditions of the imperialist invasion of the USSR in World War 2, it was correct, stemming from the interests of the worldwide proletariat, to adjust the class struggle temporarily, and for the proletariat in those countries to temporarily place their own struggle for socialism in a secondary capacity (though not liquidate it) in order to facilitate the defeat of the imperialist bloc trying to annihilate the proletarian state. (However, this "adjusting" generally resulted in the dragging of the red flag for the "national flag".) Had the imperialists succeeded in overthrowing proletarian rule in the Soviet Union through the World War 2 Nazi invasion, it would have been a devastating blow to the worldwide march toward communism. This was not only because of the tremendous moral force the USSR was as an example to workers everywhere, but also because of the material force the USSR was as a powerful bastion of revolution and a vital reserve for the struggle worldwide.

However, the implication of Hoxha that an invasion of Albania would determine the character of a general world war and (again by implication) require revolutionaries everywhere to base their strategy and tactics on the defense of Albania, is a dangerous one. Hoxha does not explicitly call on the proletariat to subordinate its struggle for power to defense of Albania in the event of war—he just sets people up for this line by merging everything into the contradiction between socialism and imperialism, with the Albanian nation of course at the head of the "good guys" in this simple world of two opposing armies.

Slipping into nationalism in the name of internationalism by equating defense of the socialist country with the worldwide revolutionary struggle is nothing particularly new. This happened to a great degree in World War 2. The Axis countries had to be fought, and the other imperialist bloc had to be tactically united with, because Germany had invaded the bastion of socialism. But defeating the fascists was *equated* with the advance toward socialism in these capitalist countries themselves, and the fascist threat to the Soviet Union was presented as the reactionary enemy of the British, French and U.S. *nations*, an enemy that had to be defeated in those countries as a stage preceding making revolution.

Hoxha, while taking a quick pot shot at Browder,⁷⁸ still overall embraces this orientation. Instead of learning from the historical experience of the proletariat, he enshrines these errors⁷⁹ and takes them to new depths with Albania raised as the center of this monolithic struggle for hegemony between socialism and capitalism. He's not much different from the Chinese on this count—he just shrouds his nationalism more thoroughly with the mantle of orthodoxy.

For those upset by our crass disrespect for the socialist motherland in the face of imperialist aggression against it (in the context of World War 2), they would do well to consider the situation toward the end of World War 1, immediately after the success of the Bolshevik revolution. At that time, the war was still going strong and Germany in particular was encroaching on the proletarian state. The Bolsheviks correctly took a stand of defending the socialist state, and the class-conscious proletariat stood and fought politically against the imperialist aggression. But there was no call by Lenin for adjustment of the class struggle in the belligerent countries, no calling on everybody to fight the enemy of the socialist country as their main enemy.

Why? Revolutionary situations were developing rapidly in Europe and adopting such a line would have cut short the real possibility of immediate victory for the proletariat elsewhere. (Lenin had hoped that the Russian Revolution would be just the first victory in a chain of such victories, and these hopes were based on a correct assessment of the objective conditions.) In fact, revolution was attempted in a number of countries, but was not successful. To have demanded that revolutionaries in France, for example, unite with their bourgeoisie because Soviet Russia was confronting the German army would have completely obscured the fact that the *main character* of the war was *still* a fight

among imperialists for the division of the world. Also, the relationship of the imperialists against Soviet Russia was very fluid, and its immediate danger was not just from the German bloc. These of course were different conditions than existed during the World War 2 invasion of the USSR. But that is exactly the point. Today we have very *different* conditions than at the onset of World War 2, and promoting this model, with defense of Albania as central to a world war situation (since even an invasion of Albania, despite Hoxha's protestations to the opposite, will in no way be a determining feature in such a war), is petty nationalism, not internationalism, justified through the rankest idealism.

V. Hoxha and the USSR

In case there is any doubt that Hoxha is promoting a "U.S. imperialist main danger" line, let's examine a little more what he says about the character of a war between the superpowers. As was already pointed out, despite his references to superpower contention, he promotes the notion that the Soviet Union is dependent on, dominated by, has its sovereignty threatened by, etc. the U.S. There is a definite method to his madness. Masterfully, while quoting from Lenin's polemics against Kautsky's view of World War 1, Hoxha turns around and shows how *his own* far-off world war will be predatory all right. Predatory against socialist Albania as we already pointed out, but also predatory against the USSR, rather than predatory on the part of all the imperialists!

It is useful to quote at length from Hoxha, including his citation from Lenin, to show how he opportunistically uses a quote from the classics and turns around and promotes the opposite in his interpretation. Hoxha says:

"In his polemic with Kautsky, Lenin said:

... in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons or of the German "Marxist" Kautsky, "inter-imperialist" or "ultra-imperialist" alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or general alliances embracing *all* the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a "truce" in between periods of wars.'

"These teachings of Lenin's are very relevant in the present conditions when the Chinese revisionists are talking

about, and making feverish efforts to set up, an alliance and a great world front of all the fascist and feudal, capitalist and imperialist states and regimes, including the United States of America, against Soviet social-imperialism.

"Alliances between imperialist countries, Lenin stressed, are possible, but they are created for the sole purpose of crushing the revolution and socialism, of jointly plundering the colonies and dependent and semi-dependent countries."⁸⁰

Hoxha must figure no one really bothered to read or try and understand the quote from Lenin. Lenin in his polemic with Kautsky is emphasizing the opposite of Hoxha's interpretation. Lenin says nothing about all the imperialists jointly plundering anything. He is arguing that truces among imperialists (whether between blocs or embracing all the imperialists) are nothing but a truce between them in *between wars between them*, i.e., a war against each other over who can plunder the world. Instead Hoxha promotes his Kautskyism of a new type and describes a grand coalition of all the fascist, feudal, capitalist and imperialist states (specifically *leaving out* the USSR, one of the two most powerful imperialist powers!) and regimes for the joint crushing of the revolution and socialism (read: Albania) and for the joint plunder of the colonies and dependent and semi-dependent countries (perhaps including the Soviet Union!).

Half the time the Albanians call the Soviets imperialists, and the other half they attribute to them the character of a dependent country. And consistently Hoxha says they are but a tool, an "agency" of U.S. imperialism⁸¹—which cuts against the understanding that the Soviets are "equal contenders" for hegemony, despite Hoxha's few references to that effect. Hoxha's "two worlds" thesis is definitely a bourgeois logical opposite of the Chinese "three worlds," though he covers himself with more revolutionary phrases and more of a mantle of "orthodoxy." If the Chinese's narrow nationalist interests have them tailing and promoting U.S. imperialism—for now—through their "three worlds" strategy, Hoxha's "two worlds" thesis is definitely tailing after the Soviets—and for the same reason.

Hoxha's entire treatment of the Soviet Union's war preparations is extremely interesting. Take for example his statement that "it is most likely that the policy of the United States of America and the wrong strategy of China itself, may impel the Soviet Union to increase its military strength even further, and as the imperialist power it is, to attack China first."⁸² Or "The problem is that

the increase of U.S. military potential relatively weakens Soviet fighting strength and forces the Soviet Union to follow the United States of America step by step in order to balance its military potential and aggressive powers."⁸³ When the nasty adjectives are eliminated, what's left is the USSR's very own justification of their war preparations—that they are "forced" to carry them out by the U.S. and China in order to "balance" the world power equation!

This tendency for the Albanian position to dovetail with the line of the Soviet social imperialists comes out in many particular positions taken as well as the common features of their overall international line. For example, most readers will no doubt be familiar with Hoxha's full support for Vietnam's Soviet-backed invasion of Cambodia. But Hoxha's support for the Soviet position in the Middle East may come as more of a surprise.

It is interesting that someone who constantly hits China for simply looking at *countries* when it comes to the "third world," himself totally slips into this orientation of "countries" when it comes to his main section on the Arab world, and lands implicitly in the camp of supporting the Soviet mini-state position when it comes to the Palestinian question.

Hoxha says:

"The fight against Israel—the most bloodthirsty tool of U.S. imperialism—which has become a great stumbling block to the advance of the Arab peoples, is a common problem for all these peoples. In practice, however, not all the Arab states are of one mind about the struggle they should wage jointly against Israel and about the character this struggle against their common enemy should have. Frequently, some of them see this struggle from a narrow nationalist angle. We cannot agree with such a stand. We stick to our stand that Israel must withdraw to its own lair and renounce its chauvinist, provocative, offensive and aggressive attitudes and actions against the Arab states. We demand that Israel give up the territories of the Arabs, that the Palestinians gain all their national rights, but we can never accept that the Israeli people should be wiped out."⁸⁴

Full Palestinian national rights are, of course, really in contradiction with the Zionist state of Israel having a "lair" to withdraw to, and if one supports the liberation of Palestine, one does not lecture about driving "Israelis" (as he doesn't say Jews, he must mean the state of Israel) into the sea. This little riff by Hoxha is a new emphasis for him.

Could it be that Hoxha himself is praying for a maintenance of equilibrium between the superpowers in the Middle East, that the struggle for restoration of the full national rights of the Palestinians is too revolutionary for Mr. "super-Marxist" because the Soviets need some sort of base, a mini-state, etc. as soon as possible? (Such is the material basis for the promotion of the mini-state by the Soviets.)

Who else has the same line as Hoxha on Mao Tsetung Thought and the Cultural Revolution, who else has the line that China is instigating world war instead of the blind forces of imperialism propelling both the Soviets and the U.S. in that direction? Who else says that the Soviets are arming, as Hoxha does, because the U.S. is making them arm, and who else sees the contradiction between socialism and imperialism as what really defines the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the world today?

In an article written in October 1975 in the Soviet theoretical journal *International Affairs*, entitled "China's Ideological Subversion," the Soviets take on the Chinese differentiation of the "three worlds" (sorry, Enver, you were not the first). They say:

"While the 9th Congress of the CPC in 1969 pronounced that in the contemporary epoch, imperialism was moving toward a complete collapse, and socialism to worldwide victory, the report to the 10th Congress characterized this epoch by referring to the 'instructions of the helmsman' according to which 'we still [Soviets' italics] live in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.'

"The repetition of Lenin's definition of the epoch with the ad-libbed word 'still' in absolutely new conditions, a definition made prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution, is definitely intended to obliterate the world historic significance of the victory of the Socialist Revolution in the USSR... By falsifying the Leninist formula and then using it to describe the contemporary epoch Maoist theoreticians endeavor to justify their rejection of the world socialist system.

"Furthermore, the Chinese leadership juggled with the definition of the epoch to justify their line of instigating a dangerous aggravation of the world situation. Since they say there have been no fundamental changes in the alignment of forces, and socialism as a vehicle of a peaceful policy does not exist, then the aggravation of tensions with another world war as the most probable outcome is 'naturally' the dominating feature of the contemporary epoch..."

The Soviet article goes on to explain how differentiating the world into three is a plot for China to become a superpower, and that Peking is inciting war between the Soviets and the U.S. for its own hegemonic ends, etc.

The Soviet socialism vs. imperialism thesis differs a little from Hoxha's, since it emphasizes the Great Socialist Soviet Union as a force for world peace, whereas Hoxha doesn't have this same emphasis; but their main political conclusions are just about identical: what's shaped the world since the victory of the Bolshevik revolution is the contradiction between socialism and imperialism, world war is really not on the horizon, but to the degree that it is it flows out of the hegemonic aims of Peking.

The similarity between Hoxha's line and the Soviets' has two main sources. First, revisionism is revisionism. The Soviets use "Marxism" to cover their bourgeois rule and national interests, and Hoxha does a similar two-into-one which has both lines parroting similar distortions of Marxism. (And for the same reason, Hoxha's line dovetails with the Chinese revisionists', as well as the Soviets', on some fundamental questions, such as the class struggle under socialism, both having to reject Mao Tsetung's contributions on this score, and so forth.⁶⁵) But many particular political lines dovetail with the Soviets' because Hoxha sees his main enemy as the U.S., especially because they back up Yugoslavia, the most immediate threat to Albania, and because he sees less of a danger coming from the Soviets at this time. His line definitely leaves a big opening for a rapprochement with the Soviets.

His main political differences with the Soviets seem to fall out on such questions as the peaceful transition to socialism, and Hoxha's contention that the Soviet Union is not a socialist country. But on the question of "peaceful transition," the Soviets more and more are rejecting this form of revisionism in many parts of the world such as Africa as things sharpen up between them and the U.S. While Hoxha acknowledges that the Soviets have been changing their tune somewhat in connection with the liberation struggles, he emphasizes the opposite aspect of the Soviet line overall, maintaining that the Soviets are clinging to the peaceful transition line. But when it comes to the advanced capitalist countries, the Soviet revisionists will most likely reject this "peaceful" road as the situation sharpens between them and the U.S.—at least in countries where they feel the revisionist parties might have a real chance of coming to power by other, non-peaceful, means. And as we pointed out with the example of Indonesia, Hoxha's

opportunism has him ignoring the necessary line struggle against this "peaceful transition" revisionism in order to be able to attack what he considers more serious problems—such as Mao Tsetung Thought!

And even the difference over whether the Soviet Union is socialist or not will probably not serve as much of an obstacle to uniting with it. The Soviets have certainly shown they can tolerate a few insults as long as people line up with them when the chips are down! As we pointed out, Hoxha is already portraying a scenario in which U.S. imperialism, Number 1 bad guy, will be assaulting Number 1 good guy, Albania, and going after the U.S.'s semi-dependent agent, the Soviet Union. But even beyond that, Hoxha's fixation on Khrushchevism (is Hoxha aware that Khruschev was dumped by the Soviet bourgeoisie?) as the essence of Soviet revisionism, and his emphasis throughout his whole book that Western imperialist investment in a socialist country is the basis for capitalism there, even leaves the door open for socialism to be restored in the Soviet Union (short of proletarian revolution) if it dumps this western "subjugation" and if the Khrushchevite form of revisionism is more thoroughly rejected.

It is certainly not too difficult to imagine a situation in which the Soviets posthumously rehabilitate Stalin's name as a "national war hero" (of course, they could never uphold his revolutionary essence—but then neither does Hoxha!) and criticize Khrushchev and his policy of capitulation to the West, his open renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. In fact there is much evidence that this is exactly what the Soviets are planning to do. And especially if this were coupled with a more aggressive and hostile stand toward Yugoslavia, it is very difficult to see what the remaining obstacles to a Soviet-Albanian rapprochement would be!

Hoxha even has two sections of his book that makes one think this "restoration of socialism" in the USSR is not that unlikely in his opinion. One is a section in which Hoxha goes into a long explanation as to the character of loans and aid between socialist countries and the obligations of "economically developed socialist states."⁶⁶ Though none exist today, he poses the question as if it had immediate implications. The other is where Hoxha states that those who made errors in the past can reject them and return to the Marxist-Leninist road. Though these sections don't conclusively prove that Hoxha will move in that direction—and Hoxha has shown that he can combine the interests and outlook of "socialist" Albania with those of the im-

Politically it would not be that difficult for Hoxha to re-define the character of the rulers of the USSR if it became necessary for "the salvation of Albania."

perialist Soviet Union without too much difficulty—politically it would not be that difficult for Hoxha to re-define the character of the rulers of the USSR if it became necessary for "the salvation of Albania." (It is interesting to note in this vein that Hoxha attributes a socialist character to the system in the China of the 1950s in some sections of his book and a capitalist character to it in other sections. If China can simultaneously be socialist and capitalist, won't it be possible for the USSR to have some of the same "dual character"?)

In form, Hoxha's revisionism does not at this time involve the same blatant and wholesale capitulation to Soviet imperialism as the Chinese revisionist bootlicking to the U.S. No—he's opted, because of having a different freedom and necessity, for a more "orthodox" approach. In part this has to do with how the Albanian rulers can best get over with the Albanian masses and the PLA's loyal followers around the world. For years Albania had been a part of the international struggle against Soviet revisionism—and today they pose as standard bearers in the fight against revisionism (though mainly of the Chinese and Yugoslav variety), which allows them to ride on this tradition. It would be difficult, to say the least, to justify Albania's being the blatant gendarme for the Soviets like Cuba is. (Though it has not been so hard to take to the defense of the Vietnamese revisionists when it came to their invasion of Cambodia!) And once more, it's not that likely that the Soviets are interested enough in Albania to negotiate Cuba-like terms for its national subjugation.

Overall, Albania does not have the same "capital" the Chinese do to sell themselves to the imperialists, or for that matter, to be part in any major way of the evaluation the imperialists make of the world situation. (This is also why the Albanians—very subjectively of course—can promote the "moral" socialism of never dealing with the major imperialist countries. They lie about history and try to misrepresent Lenin's

line, to contort it to mean never dealing with them as some Leninist absolute, when it is nothing more than ascribing an absolute principle to the position in the world in which Albania finds itself.)

But whether a line reflects capitulation to imperialism cannot be measured only by how much direct whoring a revisionist is doing for a great power. Indirectly Hoxha does promote the political view and needs of the Soviet imperialists to a great degree. In fact the content of Hoxha's whole presentation of the world situation is almost identical to that of the Soviets—except that in Hoxha's case it is presented through the

prism of narrow Albanian nationalism, while the Soviets present the same line openly from a great nation, imperialist standpoint. Hoxha promotes a thoroughgoing revisionist line, trying to drag many who have stood against revisionism throughout the years with him. But the proletariat is capable of distinguishing nationalism from internationalism, and metaphysics and idealism from dialectical and thoroughgoing materialism, no matter what type of drape of "leftist" rhetoric is used to cover these distinctions.

Hoxha's tactic in writing *Imperialism and the Revolution* reminds one of a

peacock. General phrases about the class struggle, revolution, proletarian dictatorship, and the "purity" of Marxism-Leninism are displayed with great pomposity and fanfare. He hopes the dazzling display of presumed "orthodoxy" will mask the reality of some of his more noxious theses, especially his attack on Mao Tsetung. But on examining the substance beneath the fluff and show, the reader finds a mishmash of eclecticism, idealism, metaphysics and, one must add, plain old-fashioned doubletalk. Hoxha's recipes, if followed, would produce a strange-tasting goulash. ■

Footnotes

1. Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution* (Tirana, 1979), see p. 96 for example.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 279 for Lenin's supposed thesis on the "two tendencies of capital."
3. P. 47
4. P. 28
5. See pp. 365-66 for example.
6. See pp. 21-22, 24-25 for example.
7. P. 109.
8. P. 348; emphasis added.
9. P. 351.
10. P. 122; emphasis added.
11. P. 155.
12. P. 157.
13. P. 163.
14. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 254; Lenin's emphasis.
15. For more on this point see "Normalization: China Joins U.S. War Bloc" in the January 1979 *Revolution*. For a more detailed analysis of how the Chinese revisionists are restoring capitalism, see "The Destruction of China's Socialist Economy" in *Revolution*, May 1979.
16. Hoxha, p. 124.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
18. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Peking, 1970), p. 88.
19. Hoxha, p. 150.
20. *Ibid.*, see pp. 93, 122.
21. See *Albania Today*, Sept.-Oct. 1976, "The Economic Crisis and the Sharpening of Contradictions in the Capitalist-Revisionist World," pp. 31-32.
22. Hoxha, pp. 139-40.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
24. Lenin, *Imperialism*, p. 142.
25. Hoxha, pp. 21-22.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
27. P. 24-25.
28. P. 25.
29. P. 365.
30. P. 300.
31. P. 12.
32. P. 25.
33. See *New York Times*, May 23, 1977, for text of Carter's speech.
34. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* (Peking, 1972), pp. 32-35.
35. Hoxha, pp. 301-302.
36. P. 303.
37. P. 340.
38. P. 299.
39. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 38; Lenin's emphasis.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
42. Hoxha, p. 217.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
44. P. 263; emphasis added.
45. *The Communist*, No. 5, May 1979, "Beat Back the Dogmatico-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought," see Section 1 especially pp. 3-5 and 16.
46. *Ibid.*, Section 1, especially pp. 6 and 10.
47. Hoxha, p. 222.
48. See Section 1 in the above-cited article in *The Communist*, especially pp. 4-5, 24.
49. Hoxha, p. 193.
50. "Statement by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (Excerpts)," p. 14, reprinted in the pamphlet *People of Indonesia, Unite and Fight to Overthrow the Fascist Regime* (Peking, 1968).
51. *Ibid.*, p. 15; PKI's emphasis.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
53. Hoxha, p. 102.
54. *Albania Today*, No. 2, 1979, p. 62.
55. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism* (Peking, 1975), p. 77.
56. Hoxha, p. 229.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
58. Pp. 231-32.
59. P. 232.
60. P. 232.
61. Pp. 237-40.
62. See *What Is To Be Done?*, Chapter III, Part B, "How Martynov Rendered Plekhanov More Profound."
63. Hoxha, pp. 239-240.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
65. P. 50.
66. Pp. 370-73.
67. P. 363.
68. Pp. 377-78.
69. P. 287.
70. Pp. 247-48; emphasis added.
71. P. 249; emphasis added.
72. *The Communist*, No. 5 presents detailed evidence of Hoxha's dishonest and opportunist method of quoting. See for example pp. 22, 32, 64.
73. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 287.
74. Lenin, "The Junius Pamphlet," *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 315.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16; Lenin's emphasis.
76. Hoxha, p. 226.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-59.
78. P. 306.
79. See the three articles in *The Communist* (in Vol. 1, No. 1; Vol. 2, No. 1; and Vol. 2, No. 2) dealing with the origins, nature and outcome of World War 2 and the role of communists in relation to it.
80. Hoxha, p. 136; emphasis added in last paragraph.
81. *Ibid.*, see pp. 24, 25.
82. P. 366; emphasis added.
83. P. 289; emphasis added.
84. P. 177-78.
85. See *The Communist*, No. 5, especially pp. 80-88.
86. Hoxha, p. 95.