

Labor Aristocracy

By MC5

In this special issue of MIM Theory we examine four different lines on the existence, non-existence or size of the proletariat in the United States:

I) *Political line is decisive*, and since Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a science, there is no need to argue over how to tailor MIM's line to the proletariat of the United States. Particularly in regard to world war, the international proletariat has already said "enough!" No further investigation is needed.

The scientific explanation of World War is in Lenin's book *Imperialism*. This analysis has proved factually well-researched and valid. There is no need to modify the most basic conclusions through an analysis of US conditions.

The advanced are those who respond in action against the current imperialist World War III. These people need to be welded together in a vanguard party to lead revolution.

II) *There is no proletariat in the United States anymore*, only oppressed nationalities such as Afrikans, Mexicanos etc. which have proletarians within their nations. This is the position of J. Sakai, published by Morningstar Press.

A prisoner and another correspondent introduced MC5 to the works of Morningstar Press. MC5 will now bring Sakai's arguments to MIM.

With victory in World War I and World War II, the United States white "settler" population was elevated right out of the working class into the petty-bourgeoisie completely. If there are white working class elements they are scattered, demonstrate no proletarian class consciousness and only hope to gain access to the privileged classes that whites are generally found in.

The bulk of the proletariat in the world is found in the Third World. US imperialism's superexploitation of the Third World and colonies internal to the US has made a frivolous living standard possible for white settlers.

The main problem faced by the US ruling class is how to exploit non-settlers without concentrating them in one place too long where they will become revolutionaries and manage to overthrow the system.

III) *The labor aristocracy, or bourgeoisified working class, has become a majority of the US population*. This is the position of H.W. Edwards in *Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy*. Comrade MC6 upholds this book and MC5 is also quite impressed.

This book is similar to Sakai's in that it uses many indicators to show that there is no proletarian consciousness or culture in the US in order to prove that the proletariat is a lot smaller than usually assumed by the "Left." On the other hand, Edwards implies that there might be a white proletariat; although, he does not discuss any evidence that a white proletariat does exist. Rather, Edwards says the workers are bought into social democracy and/or racism in the West.

This is in contrast with Sakai, who in criticizing the anti-racist movement says that the goal of Afrikans should be national liberation, not integration into the American bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie.

IV) There is the position of the M-L Collective of 1976 that details some of the history of the formation of the labor aristocracy and its pernicious influence. Yet, the M-L Collective position is that *the labor aristocracy is a minority of the United States*. Comrade MC6 introduced this paper to MIM.

In the opinion of comrade MC2 and sometimes MC5, the labor aristocracy is a material basis for social-democracy and general political quiescence. Yet, some *statistics in the most recent years show that increased unemployment, Reagan cutbacks and deindustrialization have started to knock the labor aristocracy down a few pegs*.

This line implies that communists are losing their excuses for not leading a vibrant proletarian movement. It also implies that a forthright struggle may win workers away from social-democratic influence.

TABLE 3.1

Long-Term Earnings Losses of Permanently Displaced Prime-Age Male Workers

Industry	Average Annual Percentage Loss	
	First 2 Years	Subsequent 4 Years
Automobiles	43.4	15.8
Steel	46.6	12.6
Meat-Packing	23.9	18.1
Aerospace	23.6	14.8
Petroleum Refining	12.4	12.5
Women's Clothes	13.3	2.1
Electronic Components	8.3	4.1
Shoes	11.3	1.5
Toys	16.1	-2.7
TV Receivers	0.7	-7.2
Cotton Weaving	7.4	-11.4
Flat Glass	16.3	16.2
Men's Clothing	21.3	8.7
Rubber Footwear	32.2	-9

Source: Louis S. Jacobson, "Earnings Losses of Workers Displaced from Manufacturing Industries," in William C. Dewald, ed., *The Impact of International Trade and Investment on Employment*, A Conference of the U. S. Department of Labor, (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1978), and Louis S. Jacobson, "Earnings Loss Due to Displacement," (Working Paper CRC-385, The Public Research Institute of the Center for Naval Analyses, April 1979).

TABLE 3.2

What Happens to the Earnings of Workers Who Leave the Aircraft Industry (in current dollars)

1972 Industry/Region	Number of Workers	Percentage in Category	1967 Average Earnings	1972 Average Earnings	Percentage change in Average Earnings
Aircraft/inside New England	37,700	64.7	\$9,575	\$11,595	+21.1
Aircraft/outside New England	600	1.0	9,829	11,455	+16.5
Other "Primary" ^a Industries	11,900	20.4	8,733	9,345	+7.0
Other "Secondary" ^b Industries	2,100	3.6	6,054	4,468	-26.2
Not in Jobs Covered by Social Security	3,700	6.3	6,175	0	—
Disabled, Deceased, Unknown	2,300	3.9	—	—	—
Total	58,300	100.0			

Source: Special tabulations of Social Security LEED File prepared by Alan Matthews and Barry Bluestone, Social Welfare Research Institute, Boston College, September 1979.

^a"Primary" Industries include most durable manufacturing, wholesale trade, public utilities, and some services.

^b"Secondary" Industries include most nondurable manufacturing, retail trade, and lower-skill requirement, higher-turnover personal services.

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The Deindustrialization of America

Industry	1963-68	1969-75	Percentage Change
Rubber products	91	61	-36.2
Glass products	120	79	-34.2
Steel industry	73	44	-39.4
Fabricated metal products	80	64	-20.4
Radio, television equipment	122	38	-69.2
Machine products	139	93	-33.4
Farm machinery	84	41	-51.4
Machine tools	129	61	-53.1
Electrical equipment (heavy)	132	77	-40.1
Motor vehicles and parts	163	67	-64.8
Shipbuilding	58	31	-47.0
Railroad equipment	78	34	-56.9
Average for the twelve industries			-46.3

SOURCE: U.S. Department of the Treasury, U.S. Internal Revenue Service, *Sourcebook of Statistics of Income*, Publication 647 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1963-75.

Discussion of four positions

In discussions MC2 and MC5 both note the trends of deindustrialization, the growth of the service sector and unemployment and still conclude that *the white worker still expects (and justifiably so based on material conditions) that s/he has more to gain from seeking the privileges of middle class life than from organizing revolution*. Hence, as Sakai points out, even pockets of unemployed miners in the Appalachian region may concentrate their efforts on regaining privilege instead of revolutionary organizing. In any case, such workers are isolated and constitute no material basis for speaking of revolutionary class consciousness.

MC2 and MC5 note Sakai's analysis that the CIO served as the shock troops for FDR's New Deal and that especially since that time, white workers have had a stake in the system. Prior to the 1930s, there were the Wobblies which even Sakai views as evidence of proletarian class consciousness among whites.

The demise of the Wobblies and the Communist Party are important indicators according to Sakai. The problem is not mere false consciousness in a white proletariat. The problem is that there is no white proletariat in fact or consciousness. There is no objective basis for white proletarian class consciousness.

Where MIM has stood, should stand

No one in MIM holds that there is no labor aristocracy in the United States, that its influence is minimal or that the vanguard can just step right into the working class for instantaneous response. MIM has put economism behind itself, at least relative to most "leftists."

Comrade MC5 has held all four lines at one time or another! In practice line 1 has been MC5's and MIM's line. MIM tries to publicize its line as broadly as possible and welcomes all who take it up.

On the other hand, comrades in ORU and occasionally comrade MC6 have criticized MIM for not applying the mass line. According to them, MIM needs an idea of social base.

In practice, it seems to MC5 that line I has some limitations. Line I ends up in pragmatism if only because MIM has limited resources to publicize its existence, events and publications. Line I implies that we discover the best places and periodicals to publicize our existence through practice. For example, identical ads in the Nation, Guardian, In These Times and Progressive, reveal that the Guardian is far and away the best place for MIM to advertise in terms of number of responses. Still, one could argue that without a notion of social base, MIM won't be able to tell which periodical gave us the best *quality* of response.

Problem of MIM's social base

More importantly, if MIM just says its social base is the people who respond to Lenin's line against imperialism and militarism, as it has, then there is still the question of how to most effectively target those people. Will MIM reach them through periodicals such as Aeronautics Review or Psychology Today? Given the choice of distributing limited quantities of leaflets against the bombing of Libya, would we circulate them in Macy's Department Store or in a campus setting? The obvious answer shows that we have some basic sort of notion of who the MIM social base is. Less obvious is the choice between focusing on campus and the proletarian neighborhoods of Detroit.

For now, MC5 would like MIM to distribute both Sakai and Edwards as extremely valuable books. Later as debate within the organization unfolds, MIM should develop its position. The following will focus on positions II and III.

Position II, no white proletariat in the United States

"We hold that settlerism is the historic instrument created by the European ruling classes to safeguard their colonial conquests with entire, imported populations of European invaders." (Settlers: Mythology of the White Proletariat, p. 2)

"In return for special privileges and a small share of the colonial loot these settlers became the loyal, live-in garrison troops of Empire over us. . . So that in South Africa, in Palestine, and right here in the U.S. Empire, the Revolution is objectively locked in battle with the European settler masses." (p. 2)

"Amerika not only has a capitalist class, but all classes and strata of Euro-Amerikans are bourgeoisified, with a preoccupation for petty privileges and property ownership the normal guiding star of the white masses." (p. 9)

"Amerika is so decadent that it has no proletariat of its own, but must exist parasitically on the colonial proletariat of oppressed nations and national minorities." (Settlers: Mythology of the White Proletariat, p. 9)

SETTLERS IS REALLY A BOOK OF U.S. HISTORY, which shows that from the beginning, Amerika was founded on the genocide of the Indian people and the desire of the European masses for their own land.

By 1775, Sakai finds that "70% of the total population of settlers were in the various, propertied middle classes," which include capitalists, large farmers, small land-owning farmers and various members of the petty-bourgeoisie with their own means of production. Fully 40% of the population consisted of small farmers. White people could migrate to the United States and expect to enter the propertied classes very quickly, and at the expense of the Indians. (p. 10)

The Euro-American class structure at the time of the 1775 War of Independence was revealing:

80% bourgeois & petit-bourgeois	{	10% - Capitalists: Great Planters, large merchants, etc.
		20% - Large farmers, professionals, tradesmen & other upper-middle elements.
	{	40% - Small land-owning farmers
		10% - Artisans: blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, shipwrights, etc.
		15% - Temporary workers, usually soon moving upwards into the ranks of the small farmers
		5% - Laborers(26)

This situation caused Marx to comment that “the average wages of the American agricultural laborer amount to more than double that of the English agricultural laborer.” (p. 11)

Significant events in early American history are often tied to European land-grabbing according to Sakai. The Bacon Rebellion of 1676 had many populist overtones, but its real appeal to Europeans was its call to make war on the Indians for their land.

In the American Revolution itself, New York offered 400 acres of land for new enlistments against England. Virginia offered a slave and 100 acres; South Carolina offered slaves from Tory estates. (p. 17)

Even more important class forces were at work in Black enlistment. “65,000 Afrikans joined the British forces—over ten for every one enlisted in the Continental U.S. ranks.” The reason for this was that the British offered Black slaves their freedom in return for freedom. At the end of the war, tens of thousands of Blacks escaped Amerika on British ships. (p. 19)

Throughout U.S. history, there is a cycle of exploitation and dispersal according to Sakai. The settlers exploit internal colonies, especially the Afrikan people, but then as Afrikans become concentrated in urban areas and start to gather revolutionary strength, the settlers insure their dispersal or partial cooptation. At the same time, by allowing white immigration, Amerika made sure that Europeans were never outnumbered anywhere very long.

White masses not uniformly bought off through history

Lest anyone think Sakai is simply arguing that white people are inherently reactionary for some genetic or other pseudo-scientific reason, it is important to note that Sakai sees quite a bit of variation in the white settlers' outlook. According to Sakai, the majority of white people were wage-earners by 1860. Also, many of the newly arrived immigrants had had revolutionary experience in Europe.

At the same time, the white capitalist class solved the problem of its own creation by promising ever greater genocide and spoils for the white working masses. For example, a majority of German and Irish workers voted for mass murderer and perennial advocate of genocide, Andrew Jackson to be president in both 1828 and 1832. (p. 28)

Later in U.S. history, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) developed and Sakai credits this organization of whites as “genuinely proletarian.” (Settlers, p. 66) According to Sakai, the IWW failed both for subjective reasons and objective reasons. Most importantly, the U.S. Empire won WWI and entered a new stage of privileged existence. (p. 75)

In the Depression, white workers would again rise up and show class consciousness, but the New Deal and World War II's successful conclusion put an end to the material basis of this threat also.

Contemporary class structure of U.S.
 Sakai presents relevant statistics on the class structure of the United States at various times in history. To bring reader up-to-date, Sakai offers the following statistics: "When we look at the overall distribution of employed Euro-Americans, we see that in 1980 white-collar workers, professionals and managers were 54%—a majority—and service employees an additional 12%. Only 13.5% were ordinary production and transportation workers. . . . By 1982 there were thought to be more Third-World domestic servants in California alone than Euro-American workers in the entire U.S. steel industry." (p. 138, also, see chart p. 147)

1970 Census:

BOURGEOIS & MIDDLE CLASSES — 37%*
 Managers 12.17%
 Professionals 15.34%
 Salesman, Agents & Brokers 5.20%
 Farmowners & Managers 3.11%
 Clerical-Admin. 1.15%

CORE OF LABOR ARISTOCRACY — 24%
 Craftsmen 21.82%
 Protective security 1.90%
 (police, firemen, etc.)

WORKERS (INCLUDES MUCH OF LABOR ARISTOCRACY) — 39%
 Factory & Transport. 18.31%
 Machine Operators 6.87%
 Laborers 6.45%
 Clerical 2.31%
 Retail Sales Clerks 5.30%
 General Service

(4)
 *The actual U.S. bourgeoisie is abnormally large. The wealthiest 1% of the U.S. Empire's population — one out of every 100 adults of all nationalities (primarily Euro-American) — own an average of \$1.32 million each. (5) This is the zone where the upper petit-bourgeoisie and local bourgeoisie meet. Earlier studies indicate that the actual Big Bourgeoisie (DuPonts, Rockefellers, Morgans, etc.) is only a fraction of this number, perhaps as few as 15,000 individuals.

Average Hourly and Weekly Earnings

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676. AVERAGE HOURLY AND WEEKLY EARNINGS IN CURRENT AND CONSTANT (1977) DOLLARS, BY PRIVATE INDUSTRY GROUP 1970 TO 1985

Base weekly earnings includes overtime. Data are for production and related workers in mining, manufacturing, and construction and non-supervisory employees in other industries. Excludes agriculture. See footnote table 670. See also Historical Statistics, Current Times to 1970 series C 877-882.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY GROUP	CURRENT DOLLARS					CONSTANT (1977) DOLLARS				
	1970	1975	1980	1984	1985	1970	1975	1980	1984	1985
Average hourly earnings										
Manufacturing	3.23	4.83	6.88	8.22	8.57	5.84	8.16	11.89	14.91	15.08
Construction	3.35	4.83	7.27	9.19	9.53	5.25	5.44	5.34	4.42	5.43
Transportation, public utilities	3.85	5.95	9.17	11.83	11.88	8.01	8.70	8.74	8.06	8.83
Other non-supervisory employees	5.24	7.31	9.84	12.13	12.31	8.17	8.23	7.30	7.18	7.01
Manufacturing	3.81	5.86	8.87	11.12	11.40	6.01	8.62	11.11	13.88	14.05
Construction	3.44	4.73	6.86	8.99	9.16	5.37	5.33	5.11	5.24	5.22
Transportation, public utilities	2.44	3.34	4.88	5.85	5.94	3.81	3.78	3.58	3.45	3.42
Other non-supervisory employees	2.07	4.06	5.79	7.83	7.84	4.78	4.57	4.25	4.50	4.50
Base	2.91	4.02	5.85	7.59	7.89	4.38	4.53	4.30	4.48	4.50
Average weekly earnings										
Manufacturing	120	184	236	293	296	187	184	173	173	178
Construction	134	191	289	374	388	204	215	212	221	220
Transportation, public utilities	164	249	397	504	520	256	280	282	267	268
Other non-supervisory employees	195	284	388	459	464	304	300	270	271	264
Manufacturing	146	223	351	436	450	243	262	258	258	257
Construction	127	183	287	362	352	214	208	187	202	200
Transportation, public utilities	82	108	147	174	176	128	128	128	123	120
Other non-supervisory employees	113	148	210	278	288	176	167	154	164	168
Base	97	135	191	247	258	151	152	140	148	148

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, monthly.

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Personal Income

714. PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA IN CURRENT AND CONSTANT (1982) DOLLARS—STATES 1970 TO 1985

(1985 preliminary. See footnote table 713.)

State	CURRENT DOLLARS					CONSTANT (1982) DOLLARS				
	1970	1980	1983	1984	1985	1970	1980	1983	1984	1985
Alabama	4,091	9,010	12,003	13,116	13,076	4,442	9,010	12,003	13,116	13,076

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As for poor whites as in the Appalachian region, Sakai has this to say:
 "Approximately 10% of the Euro-American population has been living in poverty by government statistics. This minority is not a cohesive, proletarian stratum, but a miscellaneous fringe of the unlucky and the outcast. . . . They are scattered and socially diffused." (p. 153)

Thus, Sakai is not surprised to find failure in revolutionary organizing efforts among miners for instance. "The Euro-American coal miners are just concentrating on 'getting theirs' while it lasts. . . . They have no class goals or even community goals, just private goals involving private income and private consumerism." (p. 153)

"Despite the 60 years of repeated radical organizing drives there has been, in fact, zero revolutionary progress among the mining communities." (p. 153)

Conclusion

Quite simply, this is the best book on U.S. history that I have ever read. More than any other book it says something about the internal basis for revolution in the United States. For revolutionaries in the United States, *Settlers* has to rank among the handful of most important books to read. For revolutionaries abroad, *Settlers* is the book to read to understand the United States.

Both theoretically coherent and incredibly historically detailed, this book alone can take a reader a long way towards an appreciation of Marxism-Leninism. In this respect it is worth special distribution efforts even more than a good book such as Howard Zinn's *Peoples History of the United States*. MIM has attempted to buy copies of *Settlers* from the publisher in order to distribute them, but with no luck. Is there anyone out there who can help with this?

Although I have been reading Marx for ten years, I still find this book shocking in a revolutionary sense. I am unable to do justice to the kinds of details that Sakai presents to expose the history of the U.S. Empire.

Perhaps more importantly, and as the book sinks in more and more, I am now able to say that there is no white proletariat in the United States.

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Line III, majority of US population bourgeoisified

WHILE J. SAKAI uses primarily historical evidence to prove that there is no white proletariat in the United States, H.W. Edwards focuses mostly on statistical evidence to prove that the US working class is bourgeoisified. His book is appropriately titled *Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base of Social Democracy*.

H.W. Edwards brings back the debates on the labor aristocracy since World War I. Just as some are now saying that Reagan is wiping out the labor aristocracy, some social democrats and communists seemed to have found the labor aristocracy out of steam before. For example, Dimitroff thought the Depression had "thoroughly shaken the position ...[of the] labour aristocracy." (p. 51) In 1935, Palme Dutt also saw hope: "Many new developments have taken place, among the most important of which are the new processes taking place in the Social Democratic parties, offering hopes of a healing of the split in the working class and of the passing over of the majority of the workers to the revolutionary cause." (p. 46)

Of course, where genuine communists failed to prove Dimitroff and others wrong, FDR did: the labor aristocracy was far from dead, but soon to go in on WWII with the bourgeoisie.

"Unfortunately, Dimitroff had relied not just on the crisis, but on a crisis to which he envisaged only one solution: namely, revolution. It proved a serious and costly underestimation of imperialist parasitism." (p. 51)

In contrast, H.W. Edwards cites Lenin, who said that certain social democratic misleaders of the proletariat may return to the proletariat: "'but the TREND can neither disappear nor 'return' to the revolutionary proletariat..."

"We have not the slightest grounds for thinking that these (Social Democratic) parties can disappear BEFORE the social revolution. On the contrary, the nearer the revolution approaches, the stronger it flares up...the greater will be the role in the labour movement of the struggle between the revolutionary mass stream and the opportunist-philistine stream." (p. 52) One should notice how this implies that various divisions within the "Left" cannot be overcome by mere polemics. There exists a material basis for the existence of "the opportunist-philistine stream."

[While we are on the topic, MIM Theory reviews the work of social-democratic and revisionist groups, not because we believe we can achieve unity with these groups, or because we believe we can destroy these groups through the incredible strength of our analysis. The question is only one of degree, especially among those who are just sorting out the differences among various groups for the first time. As Kostas Mavrakakis says, we do not want to lose any genuine communists to Trotskyism or a loud-sounding variant of revisionism just because of the confusion out there or the lack of "hygiene" (careful work) on the part of Maoists. We might be able to win over a few people who mistakenly pick another trend, but we can not eradicate the material basis for revisionism and opportunism.]

"Revolutions have never been made out of wishes. . . . I consider it a hindrance to basic change that a decisive section of the world proletariat can allow itself to enjoy, and will defend to the death, privileges which (a) hide its own exploitation and (b) derive from

the blood, sweat and tears of proletarian brothers and sisters in the Third World." (p. xiv)

Scandinavia

In the case of social-democratic Scandinavia, H.W. Edwards finds that the population is mostly labor aristocracy. The mechanisms of extracting super-profits are well-hidden and there is no major direct racial/national question as in the United States. That is why these countries mistakenly appear as paradise to the labor aristocracy and some genuinely confused people.

In a chapter that communists need to expand upon, H.W. Edwards says, "the success of Sweden's mass Social Democratic party is the result, not the cause of Swedish labour's well-being, despite the absence of territorial colonies, but based in large part on foreign economic activities." (p. 60)

Myths of small super-profits

H.W. Edwards reviews various legal reasons overseas profits are underreported by US corporations. He also finds that US exports and investments abroad are much larger than usually thought.

Edwards refutes various social-democratic myths regarding imperialism and militarism. He refutes the notion that militarism is too costly to imperialism and the myth that foreign business operations are too small to create the super-profits sufficient to bribe the labor aristocracy.

As for the argument that the sectors of better-paid workers are declining, H.W. Edwards is quite willing to admit the shift toward the service industries. Edwards points out that the United States is able to go to a service economy because other exploited economies do the work that is of productive value. That the United States does not produce steel, bicycles, electronic equipment etc. only proves that it lives a parasitic existence.

Blacks bribed also

One of the few issues that Sakai glosses over is that of the exact connection between land and nation. Are Blacks exploiters just because they live on the land that was once the Indians'? The logic of *Settlers* would say that Blacks are an occupational force too.

According to H.W. Edwards there is really a two-tier labor aristocracy because while Afro-Americans suffer exploitation through racism, they also benefit from the US's plunder of the Third World. (p. 140) Edwards calls the exploitation of Blacks the existence of a "quasi-colony" (p. 251) in the US.

"On the one hand, it forms a super-exploited internal quasi-colony living among its own super-exploiters and the resulting labor aristocracy. This is illustrated by its wages, standing at 55.4% of those for whites.

At the same time, relative to the world hinterland, the Afro-American community belongs to the U.S. labor aristocracy as a whole — the wages of even its lowest categories are considerably better than the average wage in Black Africa; and, for what it is worth, its average family income is close to the British one." (p. 258)

H.W. Edwards would never support the idea that the exploitation of the working class in the Third World is the same as the one in the imperialist countries.

Explaining American life

Edwards quotes Lenin to explain US political life: "Now the 'BOURGEOIS LABOR PARTY' IS INEVITABLE and typical for ALL imperialist countries." (p. 151) Lenin noted this while he noted the expansion of imperialist bribery of working classes in imperialist countries. Lenin pointed out that in Engels' time, only England could afford to bribe its working class. Since then, Lenin found that all imperialist countries started to bribe their working classes.

In any case, Edwards explains several trends as resulting from or indicating the expansion of the labor aristocracy in the United States—rising participation (%-wise) of the US electorate in the two-party elections for president, decreasing union membership, increasing membership in sports clubs including yachting and golfing, increasing church attendance, increasing family affluence,

increasing meat consumption, increased purchasing on credit, increased appliance ownership, decreasing (low) political dissension rates and decreasing (low) strike rates. (pp. 154-182)

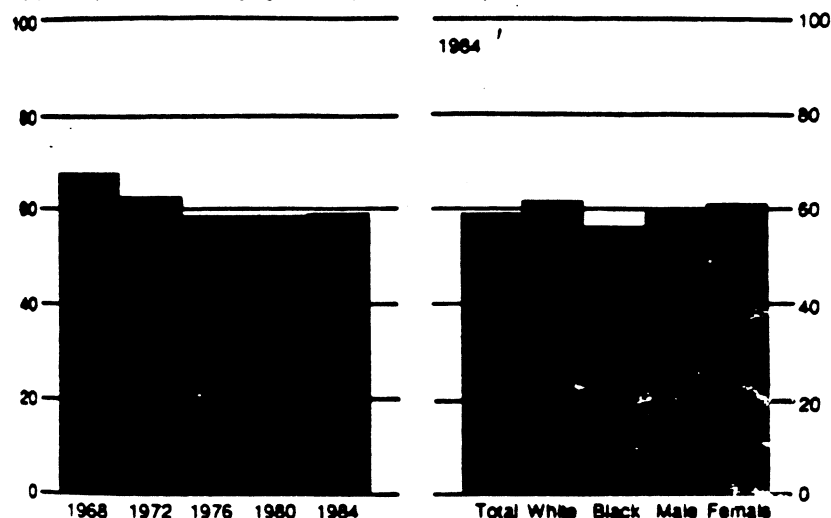
These trends while interesting and persuasive point out the only important weakness of Edwards' book. While the book came out in 1978, parts of it appear to be written in 1968, and some of its statistics only reach as far as 1960. While this book is still of considerable historical and theoretical value, it cannot be the last word on the current situation without some statistical extension.

For example, participation in presidential elections did indeed increase as Edwards noted until 1960. Since then, however, that trend has reversed. Using Edwards' theory, this implies that the labor aristocracy must be shrinking in the United States. (SEE US STATISTICAL ABSTRACT)

Figure 8.2

Voter Participation in Presidential Elections: 1968 to 1984

Percent of persons of voting age who reported that they voted.



Source: Chart prepared by U.S. Bureau of the Census. For data, see table 420.

NO. 420. VOTING-AGE POPULATION, AND PERCENT REPORTING REGISTERED AND VOTED: 1972 TO 1984

(As of November. Covers civilian noninstitutional population 18 years old and over. Includes aliens. Figures are based on Current Population Survey (see text, section 1 and Appendix III) and differ from tables 418 and 419 based on population estimates and official vote counts.)

CHARACTERISTIC	VOTING-AGE POPULATION (M)								PERCENT REPORTING THEY REGISTERED								PERCENT REPORTING THEY VOTED							
	Presidential election years				Congressional election years				Presidential election years				Congressional election years				Presidential election years				Congressional election years			
	1972	1976	1980	1984	1974	1978	1982	1984	1972	1976	1980	1984	1974	1978	1982	1984	1972	1976	1980	1984	1974	1978	1982	1984
Total	126.2	126.5	127.1	126.8	126.1	125.8	125.5	125.2	72.3	68.7	65.9	63.3	62.8	62.5	62.1	61.8	64.5	60.9	58.0	55.8	61.4	58.3	55.8	53.2
White	121.2	120.3	117.7	116.8	125.1	123.4	121.6	120.8	73.4	68.3	65.4	62.8	62.3	61.8	61.5	61.2	64.5	60.9	58.0	55.8	61.4	58.3	55.8	53.2
Black	13.5	14.0	16.4	18.4	14.2	15.0	17.6	17.6	65.5	56.5	50.0	46.3	44.9	43.1	41.1	39.1	52.1	48.7	45.5	42.8	48.3	45.3	42.8	40.3
Spanish origin ¹	5.0	6.0	8.2	9.5	6.1	6.0	8.0	8.0	44.4	37.8	36.3	40.1	34.0	32.0	30.3	28.3	37.4	31.0	29.0	32.0	22.0	22.0	22.0	22.0
Male	63.8	60.0	74.1	80.3	66.4	71.5	78.0	73.1	67.1	66.6	67.3	62.8	62.8	63.7	64.1	64.1	64.1	59.6	56.1	56.0	46.2	46.6	46.6	46.6
Female	72.4	77.6	83.0	89.6	74.9	80.2	87.4	71.6	68.4	67.1	66.3	61.7	62.5	64.4	62.0	58.8	58.8	58.4	55.0	60.0	43.4	45.3	45.3	45.3
Region ²																								
Northeast	(NA)	33.8	35.5	36.9	33.3	35.1	36.4	(NA)	65.9	64.6	66.6	62.2	62.3	62.5	(NA)	59.5	56.5	56.7	56.7	46.7	46.1	46.1	46.1	46.1
Midwest	(NA)	38.2	41.5	42.1	38.1	40.3	41.9	(NA)	72.3	73.8	74.6	66.6	66.2	71.1	(NA)	65.1	65.8	65.7	65.7	49.3	50.5	50.5	50.5	50.5
South	42.6	47.1	50.6	57.8	44.8	46.8	55.4	66.7	64.6	64.8	66.9	58.8	60.1	61.7	55.4	54.9	55.6	54.6	54.6	36.0	39.6	39.6	39.6	39.6
West	(NA)	26.2	29.5	33.4	25.0	27.5	31.6	(NA)	63.2	63.3	64.7	58.6	58.1	60.6	(NA)	57.5	57.2	56.5	56.5	46.1	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5
18-20 years old	11.0	12.1	12.3	11.2	11.6	12.2	12.1	58.1	47.1	44.7	47.0	36.4	34.7	35.0	48.3	36.0	35.7	34.7	34.7	20.8	20.1	20.1	20.1	20.1
21-24 years old	13.6	14.8	15.9	16.7	14.1	15.5	16.7	59.5	54.6	52.7	54.3	45.3	45.1	47.8	50.7	45.6	43.1	43.5	29.4	26.2	26.2	26.2	26.2	26.2
25-34 years old	26.0	31.7	35.7	40.3	29.3	33.4	38.6	66.4	62.3	62.0	63.3	54.7	55.5	57.1	58.7	55.4	54.6	54.5	37.0	38.0	38.0	38.0	38.0	38.0
35-44 years old	22.2	22.8	25.6	30.7	22.4	24.2	28.1	74.8	68.6	70.6	66.7	66.7	66.7	67.5	66.3	63.3	64.4	63.5	49.1	50.1	50.1	50.1	50.1	50.1
45-64 years old	42.3	43.3	43.6	44.3	43.0	43.4	44.2	79.7	75.5	75.8	76.6	73.6	74.3	75.6	70.8	66.7	66.3	66.8	56.9	56.5	56.5	56.5	56.5	56.5
65 years old and over	20.1	22.0	24.1	28.7	21.0	23.0	25.6	75.6	71.4	74.6	76.9	70.2	72.8	75.2	63.5	62.2	65.1	67.7	51.4	55.9	55.9	55.9	55.9	55.9
Employed	80.2	86.0	95.0	104.2	83.1	83.2	87.2	74.3	68.9	66.7	66.4	63.8	63.0	65.5	66.0	62.0	61.6	61.6	46.8	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7
Unemployed	3.7	8.4	8.9	7.4	5.0	4.8	10.8	56.7	52.1	50.3	54.3	44.4	44.1	48.8	48.9	43.7	41.2	44.0	26.8	27.4	27.4	27.4	27.4	27.4
Not in labor force	52.3	54.1	56.2	56.4	53.2	53.5	57.5	70.3	66.2	66.8	66.1	61.3	63.4	64.3	56.3	56.5	57.0	56.9	43.0	46.2	46.2	46.2	46.2	46.2
School years completed																								
8 yrs. or less	28.1	24.6	22.7	20.6	24.4	23.6	22.4	61.5	54.4	53.0	53.4	54.1	53.2	52.3	47.4	44.1	42.8	42.8	34.4	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6	34.6
High school	22.3	22.2	22.5	22.1	21.7	22.3	22.3	63.0	55.6	54.6	54.6	54.3	52.9	52.3	52.0	47.2	45.6	44.4	35.9	35.1	35.1	35.1	35.1	35.1
College	50.7	56.7	61.2	67.6	51.7	56.4	66.2	74.0	66.9	66.4	67.3	61.9	62.0	62.0	66.4	59.4	56.8	56.7	44.7	45.3	45.3	45.3	45.3	45.3
1-3 years	18.3	23.6	26.7	30.9	23.7	25.1	29.8	61.7	75.2	74.4	75.7	68.8	68.7	70.0	74.8	66.1	67.2	67.5	49.6	51.5	51.5	51.5	51.5	51.5
4 years or more	15.8	20.2	24.0	28.6	19.6	22.2	26.9	67.8	63.7	64.3	63.6	78.0	78.9	79.4	63.6	79.6	79.6	79.1	61.3	63.9	63.9	63.9	63.9	63.9

NA: Not available. ¹ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race. ² For composition of regions, see fig. 1, maps that cover. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, series P-20, No. 406 and earlier reports.

NO. 695. WORK STOPPAGES 1960 TO 1985

Excludes work stoppages involving fewer than 100 workers and lasting less than 1 day. Information is based on reports of labor unions appearing in daily newspapers, trade journals, and other public sources. The names of the disputes are corrected by telephone when necessary to clarify details of the stoppages.

YEAR	Number of work stoppages ¹	Workers involved ² (1,000)	DAYS OUT		YEAR	Number of work stoppages ¹	Workers involved ² (1,000)	DAYS OUT	
			Number of work stoppages ³	Percent of total working time ⁴				Number of work stoppages ³	Percent of total working time ⁴
1960	222	896	13,280	08	1976	231	519	23,362	12
1961	268	998	15,140	10	1977	298	1,212	21,258	10
1962	381	2,182	31,320	18	1978	219	1,008	23,774	11
1963	392	1,855	35,587	20	1979	235	1,321	20,409	10
1964	412	5,788	29,387	16	1980	187	795	20,544	10
1965	381	2,468	52,761	28	1981	145	729	5,308	37
1966	398	2,518	35,538	19	1982	38	558	3,381	34
1967	250	3,175	4,784	28	1983	81	308	7,481	38
1968	317	1,400	16,280	38	1984	62	378	5,189	38
1969	424	1,798	31,808	16	1985	54	324	7,379	38
1970	235	365	17,583	28					

¹ Beginning in 1981, workers counted more than once if involved in more than 1 stoppage during the year. ² Agricultural and government employees are included in the total working time; private household, forestry and fishery employees are excluded.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Wage Developments, monthly.

"All talk of the present 'revolutionary' nature of the world's industrial proletariat has the objective effect, willy-nilly, of preventing such real political development in metropolises, whether the talkers are conscious of this or not." (p. 214)

Racism as replacement for social democracy

Where there is the opportunity to coopt class struggle through racism, racism may replace social democracy as the leading ideology of the labor aristocracy. This is how Edwards explains the failure of social democracy in both South Africa and the United States.

"Whenever colonial people live directly in the midst of their own super-exploiters — Social Democracy is replaced by open chauvinism which, in THIS situation, becomes the FORM of class collaboration ensuring the continuous influx of super-profits to the metropolis." (p. 259)

"On Saturday, April 20, 1968, a British Tory named Enoch Powell startled not only his parliamentary colleagues but a good portion of the world when he voiced the existing virulent racialism of his own society.

"On Tuesday, April 23, 1968, at least a thousand British dockers staged England's first political strike in a long while — supporting Enoch Powell." (p. 7)

Combating wishful thinking

As a Marxist-Leninist, Edwards explicitly treats various positions within the international communist movement and shows how social-democracy is a tool of imperialism. He seems to indicate general sympathy for Mao and Lin Biao with some criticisms of Mao for seeing the United States as a fatally weakened imperialist power (at about the time of the passing of the Lin Biao era.)

Along with the book by Sakai, this book can serve to directly answer the line of the Progressive Labor Party and various Trotskyist groups that says the industrial working class is the mass base for communism in the United States. Like Sakai, instead of glorifying every little political noise or wage struggle from the industrial working class in the United States, Edwards remains true to Marx by explaining why the industrial working class does not support revolution as a class (despite the stances of various individuals) and why the revolutionary proletariat is now found in the Third World.

Throughout the book, Edwards showed in a myriad of ways that the advanced and industrialized working class of the imperialist countries was not about to rise up and overthrow imperialism. These workers had become bourgeoisified. To target these workers for special revolutionary work only prolongs the bloody life of imperialism.

The real proletariat, the proletariat as in Marx's sense of revolutionary class is in the Third World.

"Colonial workers! You are the world's overwhelming majority! The metropolises cannot exist without you. BUT YOU CAN EXIST WITHOUT THEM! TAKE YOUR DESTINY INTO YOUR OWN HANDS! DO NOT EXPECT HELP WHERE NONE MAY BE EXPECTED! INSCRIBE ON YOUR BANNERS THE SOBER, COSTLY BUT EFFECTIVE WATCHWORD: Self-Reliance!!!

"This — and this alone — will eventually bring unity to the world working class, thus enabling world revolution at last to succeed! Meantime, the rest of us must find ways effectively to support colonial liberation struggles!" (p. 370)

Back issue MIM Notes #23, 4/28/86 on the bombing of Libya 60 cents!

In this special joint MIM Notes #23/MIM Theory #4 MIM exposes the bombing of Libya and goes on to connect that bombing with various theories of social change: Where were the Democrats? Where were the Soviets? What did the so-called Second World do? Find out the facts in MIM Notes.

Appropriately, MIM Theory #4 officially delivered a conclusion, shall we say heresy, that MIM comrades had had for some time—that the world war had already started. Unlike all other parties out there, MIM boldly rips away at the social-chauvinist thinking that World War III isn't here until the white boys go to war.

For those who realize that the bombing of Libya, the invasion of Grenada, the aggression in Lebanon and now the maneuvers in the Gulf mean that the international proletariat has precious little time to stop the current World War III before it intensifies militarily, this back issue is a must.

The United States bombs Libya, gets bombed by Iran and Iraq, mines harbors in Nicaragua and invades Grenada.

Meanwhile, the Soviets invade Afghanistan, shell and napalm Eritrea and offer Kuwait to fly Soviet flags on their ships.

For their part US proxies such as Israel and Soviet proxies such as Cuba slug it out across the globe for their imperialist and social-imperialist masters.

Millions of Third World people already know that conditions are no better than during World War I or World War II. So why don't we call it World War III?

Confidentially, officials in the State Dept., the Pentagon and the National Security Council say they are fighting World War III by proxy already.

With military officials like Ollie North running the real government in a war against the Soviet bloc, why don't we announce?

World War III is on!

Don't wait for "our boys" and the boys of Europe to join the fray as in World War I and World War II. The nukes may drop before that ever happens.

Subscribe to MIM Notes, an anti-imperialist/militarist newsletter that exposes the current war effort and its sources.
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US Domination of Mexico: The Super-Exploitation of the Mexican Working Class

By MC6

THE UNITED STATES dominates the Mexican economy and U.S. monopoly capitalists severely exploit the Mexican workers on both sides of the border. And, because of this, in Mexico there has been a steady rise in unemployment, poverty, disease and malnutrition—all of which now affect the majority of the population. Mexico is one of the top food producers in the world and one of the richest Third World countries; yet, it is heading for total economic collapse under US domination.

In San Quintin, 200 miles south of the US-Mexican border on the Baja peninsula, wealthy Mexican growers "employ," at least forty thousand Mixtec Indians to harvest tomatos. The Mixtecs earn \$3-\$4 a day, live in metal shacks 15' by 20', which of course, are generously provided by the growers. In these "squatter villages" there is no electricity or running water. Infant mortality is high, the main killer of children under seven years old being dysentery, an easily curable disease, if there is clean water. The growers have made special deals in two areas: first, to rent the land from ejidos, which are family and communal farms set up under the land reform of 1917, an act which is technically illegal; and secondly, with US agribusiness, specifically Castle and Cooke, doing business under the Dole label. Besides tomatos, cucumbers and bell peppers are shipped to California; and since 1981, these exports have increased eightfold. (Los Angeles Times, June 29, 1986)

The Guardian, on March 26, 1986, in a special report, describes the super-exploitation of the Mixtecs even further: Efforts to unionize have been met with repression from the growers' security guards. Insecticides are dropped from planes, the poisons falling on children and pregnant workers. The workers are normally required to pick thirty barrels of tomatos a day, yet the foremen force them to pick two to three times that amount for the same pay.

There should be no doubt that Castle and Cooke wholeheartedly approves of the savage treatment of the Mixtec Indians, and actually demands it as part of its special arrangement with the Mexican growers. Nor should it be surprising that Castle and Cooke does not confine its activities to Mexico but rather is quite influential in another area of the world of special importance to US monopoly capitalists, namely Central America. there the subsidiary of Castle and Cooke, Standard Fruit, has allied itself with military governments to crush unionization and worker organizing. Standard Fruit president Don Kirchoff is quoted to have urged corporate leaders to "take the offensive" in a "guerilla war against opponents of business." (Dollars and Dictators, The Resource Center, 1983)

A more civilized approach taken by US monopoly capitalists in its exploitation of Mexican workers is that of the "twin-plant" or maquiladora program. Maquiladoras are factories owned by Americans, usually operating along the US-Mexican border, which manufacture products, particularly electronic components, which are then shipped duty-free to the United States "sister" plant for incorporation in to the final manufacturing process. Workers in maquiladoras receive the Mexican minimum wage, which is no more than four dollars a day, and the vast majority of these workers are women. Actually there were less than 500 maquiladoras in Mexico, employing 70,000 people. In 1985-86, the numbers increased to 1000 and 250,000 respectively. And, up until the fall of 1986, Americans could not own more than 49% of a maquiladora, at which time it was conveniently changed

to allow Americans to own 100% of the plant. Most of the plants in Mexico are new and therefore modern, so that they could not be described as "sweat shops." Yet, since they are involved in the manufacture of electronics for the most part, various kinds of fumes are emitted causing severe damage to the workers, particularly pregnant women who have a high rate of miscarriage. It should not come as a surprise that attempts to organize have been met with brutality. In 1984, women workers, protesting on the steps of Tijuana's city hall for the right to form a union were attacked and beaten by the police. (from Maryknoll Publications, March 1985 and other sources)

The super-exploitation of Mexican immigrant laborers has been lost sight of in the hysteria created around the "invasion of illegal aliens," which has led to passage of the reactionary "English Only" law in California and the Simpson-Rodino immigration law. Most "illegal aliens" work for less than the minimum wage which is \$3.35 an hour. Very often, construction workers are paid as little as \$2.50 an hour for heavy and dangerous work. These workers have no democratic rights whatsoever; yet, they perform a much needed service to US capitalists, especially in agriculture.

Even within the boundaries of the United States, Mexican workers are treated with nearly the same disdain as they would be in Mexico. An example of such treatment can be found in the murder of Juan Casillas on August 5, 1986. Juan had "contracted" to work for Fred Hatashita, who owns 100 acres twenty-five miles east of San Diego. Two hours after Monitor 4, one of the most toxic of all pesticides, was sprayed on the fields, Juan was sent to work on the advice of a "specialist" who said it was safe. Juan collapsed and died in the field, and his body was taken back to Tijuana by Mr. Hatashita, who panicked at the prospect of being caught with a dead worker in his field. Nevertheless, the incident was discovered, and Mr. Hatashita faced criminal charges of... violation of the pesticide warning law, a misdemeanor. The law, it seems, stipulates that 24 hours must elapse before workers can be sent into fields sprayed with Monitor 4 type pesticides. And, since the pesticide inspector was unaware of this, the case could only be considered an accident. As if by magic, no trace of chemical was found in Juan Casillas' body, which was conveniently embalmed after a second autopsy.

300,000 farm workers are poisoned annually by pesticides, rising on the average of 14% per year since 1973. Yet, on August 20th, 1986, the California legislature refused to pass a law that would have forced growers to post warning signs in the fields after spraying. Considering the fact that these lawmakers are reluctant even to pass a law requiring latrines and drinking water in the fields, such behavior is understandable. Farmworkers, from San Quintin to San Diego, deserve only to be treated as animals according to agribusiness.

US monopoly capitalists consider Mexican workers a source of cheap labor. And, since one's labor is also identified with one's life, we can conclude, and facts prove, that the lives of Mexican workers are considered cheap by the capitalists. What makes it more disgusting is the naked hypocrisy with which the US government is using the "invasion of illegal aliens" as a pretext to exploit workers as a whole even more. This has led to outright vigilante attacks against Mexican workers in the US. The Los Angeles Times, on November 22, 1986, had the following headline in its San Diego County section: "3 Teens Held in Sniper Attack on Aliens." Three white teen-age boys, dressed in camouflage, inspired by the movie, "Rambo," no doubt, and acting in the wake of anti-Latino propaganda, these white youths simply acted out what they considered their responsibility in stemming the tide of the foreign invasion.

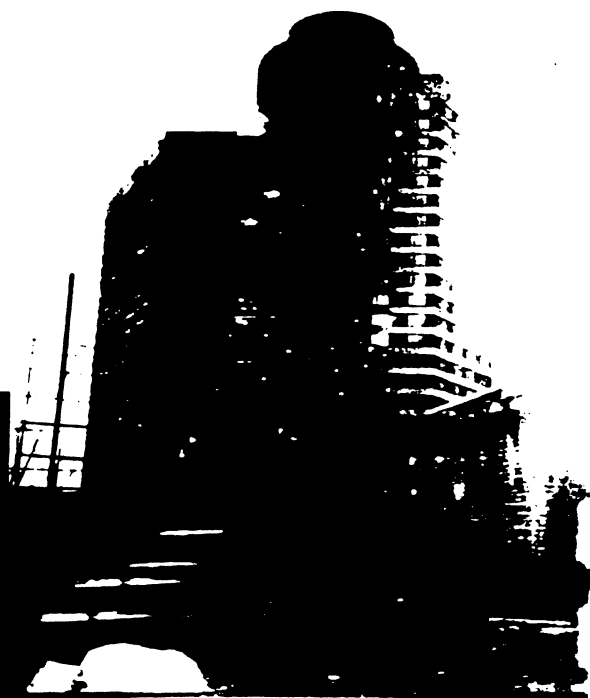


....China summer of 1987

Errors of the US supporters of Deng Xiaoping



....cosmetic sales have boomed in counterrevolutionary China



....China builds first-class hotels

Theoretical Errors of Forward Motion

16

By MC6

The article, "Big Changes," FM, Aug.-Sept. '86, contains a number of errors from the theoretical point of view which need to be examined in order to understand the crisis affecting the world capitalist economy, dominated by the United States.

First, the article maintains that there "has come a revolution in the forces of production"...which is defined as the area of "communications" and "information processing." However, the classic definition of the forces of production includes not only the instruments of production, but also, and more importantly, the people who operate the instruments of production. To equate technological development with a "revolution in the productive forces" is totally un-Marxian.

From this error, the article makes another error, stating that "the classical Marxist view" is that "advanced monopoly capitalism crushes creative development in technology." The only classical Marxist view on this subject comes from Lenin's *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in which it is stated: "Certainly, monopoly capitalism can never completely, and for a very long period of time, eliminate competition in the world market (and this, by the by, is one of the reasons why the theory of ultra-imperialism is so absurd). Certainly, the possibility of reducing cost of production and increasing profits by introducing technical improvements operates in the direction of change. But the tendency to stagnation and decay, which is characteristic of monopoly, continues to operate, and in certain branches of industry, in certain countries, for certain periods of time, it gains the upper hand." (VIII. The Parasitism and Decay of Capitalism)

Lenin also points out: "At the same time the extremely rapid rate of technical progress gives rise to increasing elements of disparity between the various spheres of national economy, to anarchy and crises. Liefmann is obliged to admit that: "In all probability mankind will see further important technical revolutions in the near future which will also affect the organization of the economic system."" (1. Concentration of Production and Monopolies)

Therefore, the classical Marxist view is that monopoly capitalism creates conditions of stagnation and decay which likewise include technical revolutions at certain times. However, we can also state that other conditions lead to the "crushing" of "creative development in technology," namely conditions of war, which destroy the productive forces, particularly people.

Another error is contained in the statement that: "the center of gravity of the US economy is shifting irreversibly from manufacturing toward service and finance. This may sound un-Marxist, but the shift is happening..." There is no quarrel with the fact that the shift is happening, but, again, Lenin pointed out that: "The percentage of the productively employed population (in England) to the total population is declining." (VIII, above) And he shows how imperialism lead to a decrease in manufacturing in general.

Actually, Marx showed that the increase in the "service sector" was a feature of developing capitalism: "the extraordinary productiveness of modern industry, accompanied as it is by both a more extensive and a more intense exploitation of labour-power in all other spheres of production, allows of the unproductive employment of a larger and larger part of the working-class, and the consequent reproduction, on a constantly expanding scale, of the ancient domestic slaves under the name of a servant class, including men-servants, women-servants, lackeys, &c." (*Capital*, part IV, Chapter XV, section 6)

The main problem with the "Big Changes" article is the equation of the economic base of the United States with manufacturing. Lenin shows that: "The export of capital, one of the most essential economic bases of imperialism, still more completely isolates the rentiers from production and sets the seal of parasitism on the whole country that lives by exploiting the labour of several overseas countries and colonies." (VIII, Imperialism)

As can be seen by the charts, bank profits from foreign operations have increased from 22% to 60% from 1970 to 1982. And, it can be guaranteed that the percentage is higher than 60% in 1987. Furthermore, for the first time in postwar history, Third World countries have become "net capital exporters" (sources of profits) to the usurers, increasing by a factor of ten in the past four years. And, it is primarily the enormous increase in the super-exploitation of the Third World that accounts for all the economic and political changes taking place within the US. Competition

from other imperialist countries, like the Soviet Union, Japan and Germany, serves as "fuel for the fire."

In order to protect these super-profits, there has been an accompanying, dramatic increase in the growth of the US military and military related industries. The "Big Changes" article fails to mention this phenomenon as part of the "shift." The Guardian reported in its Sept. 4, 1985 edition that employment in defense products industries increased 14% from 1983, compared with 5% in manufacturing; and, while there was a 12% slump in profits in manufacturing, there was an increase of 26% in profits for corporations involved in military production.

It must be stressed that the "changes in the world division of labor" which the "Big Changes" article describes came about as a result of violence against the mass of people in the Third World. The massive increase in the shipment of arms to Central America and other countries has bolstered and kept in power military dictatorships which could not last a day without US aid. There should be no doubt that direct US military intervention, particularly in Nicaragua, is inevitable.

The United States became an imperialist country at the turn of the century, and was actually the dominant power after World War I. And, US imperialism has contained all the features which Lenin described in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. The chief feature of the US economy is the subjugation of the Third World, which has led to an enormous increase in super-profits in the past ten years, a fact which explains the recent rise in the Stock Market. But, while the monopoly capitalists and the coupon clippers are getting richer, tens of thousands of workers are being laid off in the wake of runaway shops, small farmers are being driven out of business, social services are being cutback to increase government revenues and pay for wars of aggression, and thousands of workers are becoming homeless. In short, the US economy displays nearly all the features of a genuine crisis similar to the Great Depression. And, because there is fierce competition from other imperialist powers, the rise of the Right and the election of Reagan can be understood as necessary for the "protection of American interests."

Furthermore, to achieve its aims, US imperialism must institute fascism at "home." We have seen the growth of the basic structure of fascism during the past several years, beginning with events as seemingly innocuous as the "anti-drunk-driving campaign" and leading up to the rise of the KKK and neo-nazis who brazenly murder Black people in New York and attack Black activists in Georgia. In addition, there has been a systematic increase of attacks on women, Latinos, and the Gay community. The Iran/Contra deal is nothing but the extension of lawlessness to the executive branch of the government.

The editors of FM have called upon its readers to deepen the analysis of the changes taking place within the US and world economies, including "study of Marxist theory, more investigation of current trends, and discussion on its correctness and applicability in particular areas where we're doing political work." It is hoped that this short paper will add to those efforts.

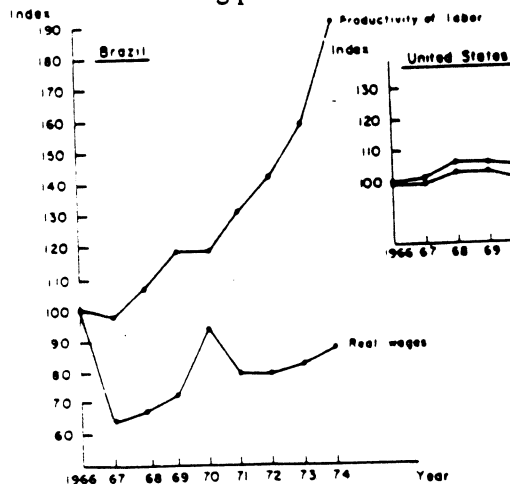


Figure 1.4. Productivity of Labor and Real Wages in Manufacturing, United States and Brazil, 1966-74

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND REFORMISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Alain D. Janvyn

Table 1.5. Flow of Funds Related to Direct U.S. Investment, 1960-72

Area	Million U.S.\$		
	Net capital account inflows	Repatriated dividend income	Inflows less repatriate
All regions	38,533	59,408	-20,875
Canada	7,058	9,195	-2,137
Western Europe	16,954	11,709	5,245
Latin America	4,188	13,443	-9,255
Other	10,333	25,161	-14,828

Source: Richard Newfarmer and Willard Mueller, "Multinational Corporations in Brazil and Mexico: Report to the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., 1975", p. 1.

* A negative sign indicates that income returned to the United States was greater than the flow from United States to the recipient areas.

“Maoists” to our right: FRSO’s “Principles of Unity, 1985”

By MC6

A. Page 2, the crisis of Marxism

The text states “we recognize a crisis in Marxist ideology and practice of historical dimensions...”

And, there have been three approaches to this crisis, the second of which is: “simply to ask ‘What crisis?’ to see the whole problem as just something in the minds of a few thousand petty-bourgeois crybabies, and to point to their own organizations as evidence of all that’s right with the world of revolutionary Marxism.”

Comment:

We do think they are a bunch of petty bourgeois crybabies.

Point number 16 of the text states: “As at other times in the history of Marxist movements, the crisis of Marxism today raises serious challenges to the work of Lenin and the traditions that claim his work.” And, “our task is to develop that science (i.e. M-L) or to rediscover its foundation stones if need be.”

Comment:

Nowhere is there any evidence presented as to precisely what is meant by challenges to Lenin’s work, etc. That there has been a crisis in the application of Marxism there is no doubt. But that is not what the FRSO is saying.

The only reference to the theory of Marxism is the following: “We must build and support a wide variety of cultural resistance, recognizing what Marx called a ‘reform of consciousness,’” and, there is no footnote to this ‘famous’ quote by Marx. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx called for a “radical rupture with traditional ideas.” If Marxism is to be reduced to reforming people’s consciousness, then there is no need to worry too much about what is to be done.

Lenin said:

“Further, the authors of Credo also have an entirely wrong conception of the present state of the West-European working-class movement and of the theory of Marxism, under the banner of which that movement is marching. To talk about a ‘crisis of Marxism’ is merely to repeat the nonsense of the bourgeois hacks who are doing all they can to exacerbate every disagreement among the socialists and turn it into a split in the socialist parties. The notorious Bernsteinism—in the sense in which it is commonly understood by the general public—is an attempt to narrow the theory of Marxism, to convert the revolutionary workers’ party into a reformist party.” (A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats, 1899).

We agree with Lenin.

B. In general, the document does not have a program that is specific. For example, the document reiterates again and again the need to struggle against “white-supremacist national oppression.” But how? There are no appropriate demands. Because national minorities earn an average of 60% of what white people earn, which is what women earn compared with men, you would think that a program to raise wages for women and national minorities would be mentioned. And, because the FRSO is intent on working within the Rainbow Coalition, you would think that such a program would be presented to the RC.

C. Finally rules for membership and the conduct of the organization’s business are confusing and smack of bureaucracy. If you wish to join and do some meaningful work, you are liable to become very frustrated. For example, FRSO calls upon people to study Marxism, but there does not appear to be any regular study classes. If there were, there should be a syllabus which FRSO would be eager to share.

Comments on Forward Motion, published by FRSO, January-February 1987 edition:

A. In the editorial it is stated:

It is time to cheer up. Through the Beirut bombing, the elimination of the family farm, the continuing destruction of heavy Northern industry, the multiplication of the hungry and the homeless, the ballooning deficit, the

exploding deficit, the exploding space shuttle, the Marcos and Duterte exits, the South African drama, and the invasion of Grenada and bombing of Libya—through all this, under the deadening blanket of right-wing consolidation, those famous objective forces and contradictions which make history so much fun for Marxists were accumulating. What looked static was breaking up...it is finally fun to read the newspapers again."

Comment:

This is a bizarre attitude and sounds like "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The starvation of tens of millions of people in the world, and the slaughter of millions in addition to what is mentioned in the editorial, should make us alarmed. The content of the editorial is disgusting.

B. "Old Visions, New Visions" is an article on the tasks of the left in the trade-unions, etc. In a section on the history of the trade union movement in the fifties, not one word is mentioned about the McCarthy period, which was an attack on the working-class. More should be said, but that in itself is bizarre enough.

C. In an article on rock music, the author maintains that the stars and lyrics are "by and large not overtly reactionary," and then shows how the main theme in this music, sex, is "uh, a little sexist." Is sexism not reactionary? Most of the music the author would have us praise glorifies the brutal subjugation of women and should be attacked.

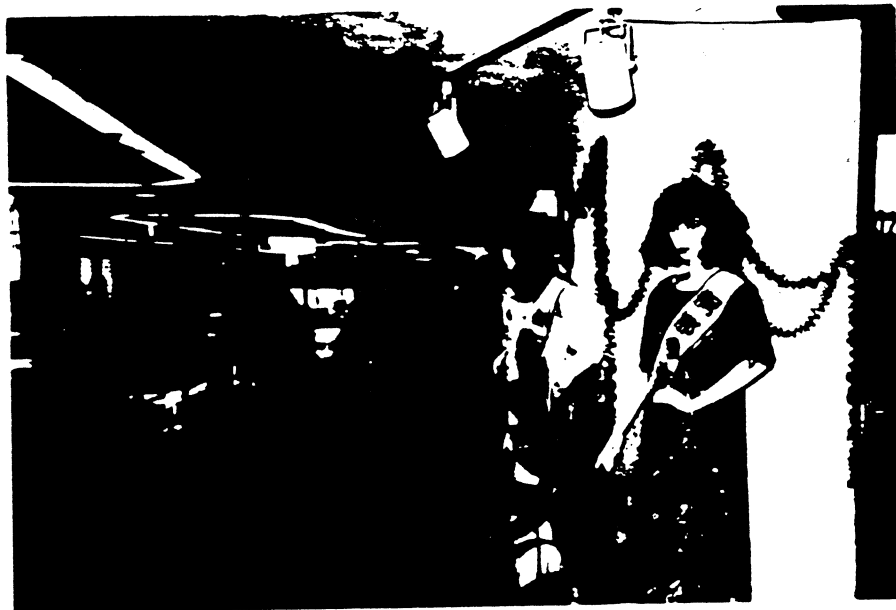
D. Finally, a little on what the magazine does not say. According to its editorial policy, this magazine wants to challenge "the historical pattern of white supremacy and national oppression in the capitalist domination of this country." Yet, there is nothing in the magazine concerning the recent passage of the "English only" law, the Simpson-Rodino bill, and the over-all increase in the attacks on national minorities. A bit hypocritical, wouldn't you think?

[Editor's note:

I agree on the crisis "crybabies" and the need for specifics in the battle against "white supremacism." As for "hypocrisy," although MIM comrades in the Southwest and Ann Arbor are engaged in struggles regarding immigration, MIM publications themselves are noticeably weak. The literature list has no specific item on Puerto Rico. Excluding our mass movement work, are we much better in our publications than the FRSO?

It's also too easy to get carried away by the liberal breast-beating in the Iran-Contra stuff. For a while, the whole "scandal" gave communists breathing room, but then North himself turned public opinion around and Reagan's desperation may be showing in the Gulf right now.

I too would like to see more stuff done criticizing rock lyrics. Many people are surprised when I tell them what the actual lyrics of Rolling Stones or Who songs are.]



....."Learning from the West"

Book Review:

Sooner or Later: Questions & Answers on War, Peace & the United Front: New Outlook Press, 120 pp., 1980.

Cuban intervention in Angola in 1975 and in Eritrea in 1978 and years following marked a turning point in the post-Vietnam era. In 1978, Vietnam invaded Kampuchea. With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the international situation gave rise to yet another new political trend in the United States, or did it?

Sooner or Later claimed to uphold a Maoist approach.

Now, however, its political trend is dead. Although there were several MIM comrades on hand working in Cambridge from 1980 on, they never encountered *Sooner or Later*. The Revolutionary Communist Party issued polemics against the book in the Revolutionary Worker.

The book upheld China and Deng Xiaoping as socialist; however, it went beyond the official Chinese line in condemning the Soviet Union. (p. 44)

Was the book a CIA project abandoned when its objectives were completed? Perhaps MIM Theory readers know the nature of this trend. It would be useful knowledge in order to expose its descendants if any.

In any case, *Sooner or Later* argues that sooner or later fighting "fascist social-imperialism" will be the top priority of all communists and progressive people.

In any case, the analysis that the Soviet Union is on the verge of taking over the world leads to several tactical decisions that include support for US military bases in Puerto Rico and the Philippines (p. 57), support for European deployment of Pershing II (p. 65), an adequate "civil defense against nuclear attack," (p. 73) support for the draft (p. 81) and labor action against Soviet ships and Iran. (p. 100)

While many will dismiss *Sooner or Later* for the above programme alone, it would be an empiricist error in method to do so.

Also, although the book supports the Deng Xiaoping revisionist regime in China, it would not matter too much to the analysis if China were a capitalist Third World country. Built on the Three Worlds theory, the analysis sees the Third World as the main force against Soviet hegemonism. According to *Sooner or Later*, communists in the US would demonstrate their independence in the united front against the Soviets by supporting the Third World against US aggression.

Hence, one can start a proper attack on *Sooner or Later*? with a criticism of the Three Worlds theory. Others have already done this.

To really nail this argument to the wall, however, it is necessary to do one of four things: 1) Show that the Soviet Union is not really a military threat to the imperialists of Europe and America. If the risk of the USSR's overrunning the world is small, one can argue that the international proletariat has other more urgent tasks which are already known. This is to refute the empirical analysis of *Sooner or Later* in order to leave existing Marxist-Leninist theories tact. 2) Argue strategically, that it would be better in terms of the position of the international proletariat to let the Soviet Union overrun Europe and/or the US before starting a military and propaganda offensive against Soviet hegemonism. This is akin to saying "let them invade Afghanistan; they'll suffer the hatred of peoples there and everywhere." 3) Argue theoretically that the USSR is not fascist and not driven to attempt to direct control of other nations. 4) Argue Mao and especially Stalin were wrong about the united front.

On different occasions the RCP has argued all four, especially 2-4. The author would tend to go with 2 and 3 and study 4 much more deeply.

Thoughts on 2-4 may sharpen in one's mind if one imagined a successful Soviet replication of Hitler's conquering of continental Europe. What would a communist do then?

The question in one is the bread and butter of MIM Notes. More needs to be done on how the poles of pacifist wishful thinking on Soviet militarism as in the Price of Defense and chauvinist militarism feed into each other!

This book is not for mass distribution. Those interested in the splintering of the international communist movement, what happened to the descendants of SDS, what happened with anti-revisionism and anti-dogmatism in the US will want this as background research material. It's also a good exercise in demarcation of political lines. Once again, this book is not urgent reading as events in Grenada, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Lebanon and Libya wiped out any genuine force that this trend might have and Reagan withdraw any state resources to even bigger items in the Pentagon agenda.

How to know if you're Maoist

Imagine yourself debating Ronald Reagan on television. As a well-read communist, maybe you would win.

As someone with political experience arguing with liberals, maybe you could beat Mondale in a TV game show.

What about Gorbachev? Would you depend on exposing Afghanistan and Eritrea? Would that be enough?

What about Deng Xiaoping? Have you got anything on him to say to the US public?

The politics of China are not of popular concern in the US. Sometimes Time Magazine will do a cover story like the Cultural Revolution "When China Went Mad."

It is important to expose both the racist arrogance of imperialism and the capitalist ideological essence of such mass media propaganda.

On the other hand, bringing home to the reader what is socialist and what is not is not the only purpose of agitation against state capitalism.

Perhaps more important is the party-building and political hygiene aspect of exposing Deng Xiaoping's revisionism.

Support or opposition to the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) separates Maoists and non-Maoists. Although the nature of the Soviet Union is also a major question, which happens to be thrust on the political agenda because of the current World War III, those who support the Cultural Revolution will also come down against the Soviets. Only opportunist Trots like Workers World tried to give lip-service to the Cultural Revolution while defending the Soviet Union.

Conversely, there are a few key arguments made against the Cultural Revolution by the imperialists, social-imperialists and Dengists.

If one can see what is wrong with their arguments, one is likely on the path to communism. For this reason, it is interesting to note that the Deng Xiaoping regime has finally published its evaluation of the Cultural Revolution.

For some years, the Dengists have held back on a full analysis of the question so as not to embroil the party and nation in ideological struggles.

Now though, China in Focus by Beijing Review has a collection of articles called "Rethinking the Cultural Revolution."

It is the most thorough, definitive and factually honest statement of the Deng regime known to the author yet.

The collection of articles includes many realistic interviews with people in China and a statement by the party.

Instead of reviewing the document in detail now, MIM will distribute the revisionist pamphlet free to readers at MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576. The only price will be that all who receive the articles will have to write letters to MIM on their opinions. Please, supporters of the Deng regime, obtain the pamphlet from your own sources. While Deng campaigns to overturn the Cultural Revolution, we call on readers to write criticizing the latest work of the Deng regime.

Future issues will publish letters of criticism.



....youth play in video parlor in China

On the Role of Leadership in Revolutionary Movements

By MC2

There are two erroneous approaches concerning leadership. The first is to keep the roles of each individual completely anonymous. In such a situation there is no accountability for mistakes or controversial policy decisions. An entrenched bureaucracy may develop that cares more for its own well-being than the social good and promotion of socialism. If the proletariat cannot hold faceless bureaucrats responsible for political and economic decisions then the conditions are ripe for the restoration of state monopoly capitalism. To some extent, Khrushchev and his successors were able to restore state capitalist relations of production because state bureaucrats were largely immune from popular criticism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was designed in part to permit the masses to attack party officials whose decisions had been made without popular knowledge. Since 1976 Deng has extolled the use of anonymous experts whose judgments are made in such a way that most people can never challenge them or know which individuals were responsible for particular policies. Anonymous political leadership can facilitate the growth of a bureaucratic elite whose goals are apart from the majority.

Anonymous leadership contains another danger. I have known some well meaning people who prefer to remain anonymous so that personalities do not obscure political issues. Such an approach can lead to the results they seek to avoid. Time after time I have seen dedicated people put enormous effort into a cause only to see some outside person claim credit for the work, and attempt to use that work to advance himself and goals the majority of anonymous hard workers strongly disagreed with. A recent issue of MIM Theory discussed the issues of formal versus informal leadership. ("A Response to the Shimo Controversy: Haymarket '86") Where there is no formal hierarchy within a political organization an informal one is likely to arise. This informal hierarchy is often selfish and opportunistic since it is elected by no one and accountable to no one. Anarchy sounds fine and equalitarian until an opportunistic informal hierarchy arises that is often worse than an existing formal hierarchy. If honest comrades choose to be anonymous and do not create a formal political hierarchy then an informal hierarchy of media superstars is likely to take away a movement from those who worked hard to build it.

A well functioning revolutionary party avoids the dangers of anonymous leadership. There is a formal hierarchy of leadership so the masses can identify which individuals formulated and carried out a particular policy decision. The popular masses can then criticize those leaders who fail them, and support leadership that contributes to the development of a better social order.

Obviously, there is the other extreme. A personality cult can arise in which the talents of a single individual are praised in a manner that depreciates the contributions of the majority. Even worse a leader may claim that he alone is infallible, and has access to revolutionary truth unavailable to others. A mere man or woman is treated as a super-person or demi-god. A cult develops about the extraordinary powers of that individual. Such quasi-religious sanctification of a single individual is completely at odds with equalitarian socialist principles. Lin Biao glorified the role of exceptional individuals. He sought to create a hideous personality cult about Mao Zedong in order to discredit Mao while at the same time promoting his own personality cult to justify his plan to overthrow Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. His crude efforts were exposed by Mao, who criticized those people seeking to place his leadership above the people. Mao did not attempt to conduct an anonymous leadership concealed from the people, nor did he claim he was infallible and exempt from popular criticism, although some of his followers for

various reasons did to a degree attempt to establish a cult of personality.

Correct revolutionary leadership requires policies designed to avoid the errors of both anonymous leadership and personality cults. Each of these incorrect approaches suffers from the same defect—political leaders are insulated from popular criticism whether they rely on the cloak of anonymity, utilize informal hierarchy to undermine and distort anonymous work by honest individuals, or establish a cult of personality. Positive leadership depends on the ability of the popular masses to recognize which leaders are taking revolutionary or counter-revolutionary positions, and to effectively attack incorrect leadership.

MIM has sought to avoid the error of creating a personality cult, but in doing so has sometimes fallen into the opposite error of anonymous leadership. Many people in MIM have attacked Bob Avakian for establishing a personality cult in the RCP. To avoid Avakian's example, MIM Notes does not name the individuals involved in its organization. While MIM activists have had good subjective intentions in following this policy, they have prevented people from knowing which leaders support which positions so the members can pick those leaders they believe are taking the best line. MIM is a good organization today. If its leadership remains anonymous, however, there is a danger that opportunists may attempt to establish an informal hierarchy and take control of the organization in a secret coup that most MIM subscribers might never find out about. It is time for the organizers of MIM Notes to reveal themselves so the members of the popular masses can choose who should lead in the future.

Response:

By MC5

The points in this essay are well-taken. I would like to immediately concede that the organization had been overly anonymous. From hereon in, MIM publications will at least use different code names to identify various authors.

There is only one point that the author, now named MC2, left out from my point of view. The point of anonymity or secrecy is not just good intentions; although, I admit given the example of Avakian and MIM's roots in mass movements anonymity was almost an automatic decision.

Secrecy is also valuable in raising some costs of state disruption. While it is true that secret organizations may have coups from within, open organizations are subject to decapitations from the outside. Currently, if the editor-in-chief of MIM Notes were removed from political action, the rest of the organization would not operate as before but it would not be wiped out either. Work would proceed in different forms. And as long as people have that literature list, they will be able to start the distribution of revolutionary literature again. The movement will not have to start from scratch.

As for state repression, it is a subject that MIM has debated before. Just how great is the problem? Some comrades are prepared to call the United States fascist right now. If this is the case, we should prefer secrecy. If conditions in the United States are democratic, albeit at the expense of Third World peoples, then we should take advantage of the situation to do open work.

For my part I have received New Right mail trying to sway me from the path of communism, personally addressed to me. This is not to mention South African memos, police harassment and other enemy activities that MIM is aware of.

Of course, none of this is to say that MIM has suffered any serious repression yet, only that caution is in order.

Basically what seems to be a question of organizational line is closely related to our line on domestic political conditions. This is something that MIM has not really worked out officially.

Thus there needs to be further debate on this subject. For my two cents, I would

not call the United States "fascist;" although, there is a real need to combat the New Right's various proto-fascists such as the Moral Majority, Moonies etc. In this regard, I feel we lag behind groups such as PL, which stress the lessons of the '30s in Germany.

In the future, MCS will make greater efforts to identify the types of organizing that is going on out there in the field and give credit where credit is due.

Comrades, please write and review for us the activities you have done for MIM, no matter how seemingly small. MCS will do what is necessary to conceal your identities in the MIM publications.

Remember, your actions are not only significant in themselves but also, they may give other people ideas, food-for-thought and encouragement. But only if you tell us about them.

Book Reviews:

India Development and Deprivation: Neocolonial Transformation of the Economy in a Historical Perspective: By T.G. Jacob. 213pp. 1985.

MIM Theory must start by apologizing for not reviewing this book earlier.

The Mass Line Press of India is connected with one of the largest Maoist movements in the world. Its newspaper Mass Line is widely read.

Thus it is with disappointment that the reviewer recommends India only for those doing substantial research on the political economy of India. Neither in terms of exposure nor theoretical contributions is India worth efforts of mass distribution.

Typical is the first chapter which has a bibliography that sports Andre Gunde Frank, Samir Amin and Arrighi Emmanuel. Ah, finally the subject of unequal exchange and underdevelopment will receive systematic treatment by an author of the international communist movement, right? Wrong.

Jacob regurgitates the Marxist critique of theories of unequal exchange in a dogmatic and shallow fashion. He correctly points out the distinction between comprador and national bourgeoisie, but fails to develop its implications. Yet the reader is told "from this elementary error which the dependency school theorists committed, many others followed." (p. 17)

The reader is also able to gather that Jacob sees the dependency school as falling into the trap of external determinism. By now anybody who has read the debates on dependency theory should know that the first line of attack is to say that dependency theory ignores internal class structures and histories of individual countries or regions and places too much emphasis on the actions of the imperialists.

Yet, this criticism of theories of unequal exchange and underdevelopment underestimates both sides of the argument. For example, Frank could easily say, "yes I asked Mao about this and the imperialists did ally themselves with the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie in China. After his analysis of the internal class structure of China, I achieve the same results with my theory." While simplistic this counterthrust parries an equally simplistic attack by Jacob and others.

Communists should also note how easily the anti-dependency critique grades into empiricism. Empiricism—with the call to study the histories of each country—leaves Frank et. al. untouched! One can refute a theory with a fact, but one can never replace a theory with a fact. If theories were to be destroyed with facts, Marxism would've been dead 100 years ago.

The debate over unequal exchange deserves serious attention. If only because these theorists argue that there are mechanisms of imperialist exploitation other than repatriation of profits from direct investments, Marxists must pay heed. When one reads Emmanuel or Amin one gets the sense of a surplus extraction so huge as to be previously unimaginable in Marxist-Leninism. According to Amin, the 3rd World surrenders 15% of its production to imperialism.

The question of the quantitative and qualitative nature of the surplus extracted by imperialism is very important to a proper understanding of the class structure of the imperialist countries. If Emmanuel is correct, the labor aristocracy—the bourgeoisified workers—could easily be the majority. If Jacob and others are correct, the lack of proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries must be explained by other means.

To return to Jacob's book, the reader will find a detailed explanation of the historical development of India's political economy. The book contains much information for example, to refute the notion that India's economy has stagnated since 1947.

According to Jacob, neo-colonialism is a new stage of development. In this stage, imperialists do not use direct force as under colonialism, nor do they hold back economic development. (p. 65)

An interesting thesis of Jacob's is that the success of revolutions such as China's has caused the imperialists to wise up on the land question. (p. 131) This too provided an impetus to the change in the nature of imperialism. The imperialists sought to avoid Chinese style revolutions "by developing the productive forces and integrating the sector with the world imperialist market system on a higher and more complex level." (p. 134)

At the same time, Jacob shows that the absolute deprivation of the masses of people has increased. He cites the eventuality of IMF riots in India. (p. 202)

Packed with historical analysis and statistical information India is for those doing in depth research on these issues.

Available for the first time from MIM!

Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base of Social Democracy

In his great classic, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin described the labor aristocracy of that time as a "tiny minority of the working class." Ever since, without relating current statistics to Lenin's guidelines, the world Left, especially in the West, has continued mouthing: "The labour aristocracy is a tiny minority of the working class."

This book undertakes to apply official U.S. and other data to the criteria for a labor aristocracy which Lenin set forth in his "Preface to the German and French editions" of the cited source. Supported by a resulting 43 statistical tables, it proves that, today, the entire working class of the West constitutes a labor aristocracy on a world scale; that its former "crumbs" from the capitalists' table have, due to the escalation of imperialism's parasitism, augmented greatly; that the labor aristocracy's acceptance of this kickback, which Lenin called "imperialist bribery," has created for them in the West a "Way of Life" such that a serious internal contradiction now exists within the international proletariat: the one between workers in the West and those of the "Third World;" that Social Democracy is and always has been the political mouthpiece of the labor aristocracy; and that the Least Common Denominator of Social Democracy is racism.

The author contends that, if not seriously studied and fought against, this internal contradiction can and will harden, if it hasn't already, into an antagonistic one within the international working class, in a world of which the imperialist section is now ruled by transnational corporations rather than by nations, as in Lenin's day. If such a political sclerosis is allowed to set, it can only postpone further the arrival of the necessary "final conflict." (from the back cover)

H.W. Edwards, Stockholm, Sweden, 1978, 430 pp.
\$8 cash, postal money order or write to make arrangements.

Sectarian review: (take that any way you like)!

Prensa Proletaria: Por La Unidad de la Clase Obrera en la Lucha por el Socialismo

Organo Central del Partido Marxista Leninista de Nicaragua (MAP-ML) Número 22.

Correspondencia: Apartado 611, Managua, Nicaragua.

What are Hoxhaites?

This is the publication of the Hoxhaite party in Nicaragua. The Hoxhaites support Albania as a beacon of socialism and are named after the now dead leader of Albania's Communist Party that led the struggle against fascist occupation.

It appears that MAP-ML is not an official franchise of the Albanian Communist Party, just a more critical ideological descendant. MAP-ML sprinkles pictures of MLP-USA and US anti-contra demonstrations in its publication to prove that Nicaragua should "continue combat, Nicaragua is not alone." Declarations in the periodical support Lenin and Stalin but do not mention Albania or Mao, so the author guesses that MAP-ML has some criticisms of Hoxha, like MLP USA.

In the United States, the Albania franchise is operated by US Marxist-Leninist Organization. It continues to print speeches from Albania's post-Hoxha leaders. MLP USA and MAP-ML may be neo-Hoxhaites, but this reviewer is not qualified to say which group is the "true" Hoxhaite group.

Those who have received "What's Your Line?" from MIM should note that comrade MC5 mistakenly listed USMLO and MLP USA together. MLP operates out of Chicago, USMLO out of Boston.

Hoxhaite stands in Nicaragua

MAP-ML criticizes the Sandinistas for insisting on the possibilities of negotiations with the contras and the United States. It also criticizes the Sandinistas for not preparing the people for the subject of these negotiations.

MAP-ML wants unity of the working classes in Nicaragua against internal enemies and imperialism at the same time. It also criticizes the Sandinistas for calling for national unity instead of unity of the people or working classes.

MAP-ML further calls for struggles against government officials guilty of anti-working class politics, bureaucratic inefficiencies, corruption or opportunism.

MAP-ML opposes the Contadora initiatives because the member countries are representatives of US imperialism.

MAP-ML criticizes the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Nicaragua for its bowing to domestic reaction in its theory of stages for Nicaragua to go through. In particular it does not support "democracy" for reactionaries to attack the people.

For the most part, the publication sounds pretty good, and the author is not really able to offer a critique without a more thorough understanding of Nicaragua. Those who want a copy of the 8 page August, 1986 issue in Spanish should send .40 to MIM.

Workers' Truth No. 7

Bulletin of the Organization for a Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party, March 1987

"Special Issue on International Seminar"

Workers' Truth Publications, Boxholder, PO Box 5830, Chicago, IL 60680. \$1.

This publication is by a trend that MIM has not addressed previously. The

Organization for a Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party (OMLWP) claims to uphold Marx and Lenin, but not Trotsky, Stalin, Mao or anyone else.

According to OMLWP, Marxism-Leninism "succumbed in the 1920s and 30s to the pressures of state capitalism." (p. 1) Only now does Marxism-Leninism reappear after decades of counterrevolution argues OMLWP. "During this more than half a century that has passed, the domination of Russian revisionism and the non-proletarian character of their challenging and critical communist currents...impeded the revival...of a workers' communism...But now a world economic crisis that has made the monility of the working class greatly more than before, the dead-end and the crisis of reformism and syndicalism (especially in the metropolitan and European countries), and the dead-end and the crisis of the traditional leadership of national and democratic movements...have furnished the objective grounds for the appearance of a genuine worker-communism." (p. 17)

Although OMLWP appears most fluent in Trotskyist discourse, its stands are not characteristically Trotskyist. OMLWP refers to Trotskyism as centrist and Maoism as reactionary because of the Three Worlds Theory. (p. 17) In particular, OMLWP upholds the democratic stage in revolution in "dominated/controlled nations." (p.2) In addition, this pamphlet supports national rights to self-determination (p. 7) and recognizes that super-exploitation of dominated nations contributes to the creation of "a higher standard of living and relatively greater political freedoms for the masses in the imperialist countries." (p. 6) On these questions, the OMLWP resembles the RCP, which MIM has considered in previous issues of MIM Theory.

MIM may have some additional criticisms of various OMLWP lines. For one, there is the following economist formulation: "An upward spiral in the standard of living of the working class can only be achieved through revolutionary class struggle." (p. 10) This implies that successful wage struggles are objectively revolutionary when in fact in imperialist countries especially they may only represent the success of the labor aristocracy in sharing the spoils of the superexploitation of Third World labor.

Practically, MIM also disagrees with the line that "world imperialism, especially the U.S. A. and U.S.S.R., are stepping up their preparations for a global showdown in imperialist WWII. MIM sees it as a mistake to consider the bombing of Libya "preparations" for World War. It is an act of world war.

More generally, this issue of Workers' Truth is devoted to "several of the most significant issues facing revolutionary Marxist-Leninists today," but it dismisses Mao for the Three Worlds theory. This is a combination of two mistakes. First, it is an empiricist mistake to throw out Maoism because of one bad theory — the Three Worlds Theory. Secondly, it is objectively chauvinist to dismiss Mao while according Trotsky so much attention given their relative importance to revolutionary history.

Forward Motion: A Socialist Magazine, July-August 1987. PO Box 1884, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130. \$3.

It is difficult to criticize this magazine because its theory is even less explicit than the theory informing our newsletter MIM Notes.

For example, from a one page article criticizing presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, one gathers that the magazine does not see much hope in the Democrats, or at least this particular liberal. The article is well-done but the thrust is not theoretical.

The interview with radical populist Mel King perhaps indicates that Forward Motion does not intend any hard-line. Among other gems concerning his congressional campaign in Cambridge Massachusetts, Mel King tells us that "I will say that I pushed for the red, white and blue because I firmly believe that we need to make the flag and those colors stand for what we believe is the ideal of America. We should not hand those symbols over to the moral majority folks and militarists." (pp. 5-6)

Implicitly, Mel King also offers a theory in regard to a Black nation proposed in

part of Boston called Mandela. The referendum lost "two to one in the predominantly Black wards," but King contends that further educational work could result in the creation of Mandela in the future.

Mel King also supports the Jesse Jackson campaign.

An obvious question in the minds of MIM folks is what did Mel King leave his partisans with after losses in the Boston mayoral race and the Cambridge congressional race. The answer that King has is to admit that the movement died down after these losses, but that he continues to try to build ongoing political organizations.

Also in this issue of the magazine is an interview with Don Rojas the former Minister of Culture in Grenada before the US invasion. Here again, Forward Motion uncritically promotes reformist and revisionist politics. Of course any information from the former government before the US invasion is useful, but Forward Motion does not really take us forward on Grenada. Rather we are left standing on the sidelines cheering.

The publication of a poem by the New People's Army of the Philippines in 1980 is likewise romantic, but rather uncritical.

Forward Motion gets to be like the Guardian, or worse, an SWP speaker, cheering for any political motion out there at all. The reader is left to his/herself to figure out that the movements s/he cheers for actually disagree with each other. Forward Motion cheers for Mel King, the New Jewel Movement, the New People's Army and the IRA without mentioning any contradictions.

Without stating the "connections" between these movements, Forward Motion leaves the reader with a big dose of wishful thinking and only some hard-probing analysis.

International Correspondence, April-May 1985, no. 7. N.I.D., PO Box 471, Ansonia Station, NY, NY 10623, \$1.50.

This issue includes a critique of the perhaps now defunct Bolshevik League, which used to distribute this magazine. Indeed, there appears to have been a coup d'etat in this group which upholds Stalinism and fraternal parties in Mali, Senegal and Canada.

The magazine reveals that the Bolshevik League formed out of the Revolutionary Wing and the U.S. Leninist Core and Demarcation. These groups were somewhat connected with Maoism in the '70s. The Revolutionary Wing was considered a "left" influence in a group that eventually merged into the Dengist LRS.

The mark of the Bolshevik League was a unique stance with various books backing their view with the appropriate citations from Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The Bolshevik League revealed little relationship to any mass movement. Between the rocks of "dogmatism" and "empiricism," the Bolshevik League steered a firm course for dogmatism.

Among its interesting stances was the line that Maoism and Trotskyism were convergent deviations from genuine communism.

The group in charge of the internal coup d'etat against the BL maintains its interesting positions though. According to the new line, it appears that communists should work in the Jesse Jackson campaign because the success of Jesse Jackson would destroy the Democratic Party. The white capitalists that finance the Democrats would flee the party. Then a real workers party at least as good as the Labor Party in England could form. Perhaps a revolutionary party would form. This is not a straight reformist line. According to this Stalinist analysis, reformist tactics can achieve revolutionary goals. It is not a simple matter to refute this approach from a revolutionary point of view.