

By TONY THOMAS

"Current policies of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) have reversed the revolutionary process in China, and have taken China back on the path of capitalism. . . . The concessions granted to the [Chinese] bourgeoisie by the policy of New Democracy had enabled a new ruling class to emerge and gain ascendancy. It differed in form from the old rul-

did in 1962, revolutionaries would be under no obligation to support China if she were, as the PLP now tells us, equally as capitalist as India.

Since the Soviet Union, which PLP analyzes in the same whimsical way it analyzes China, has been branded not only "capitalist" but "imperialist" and "fascist," it is necessary for PLP to clarify whether or not the same characterization applies to China also. In 1968 when the Soviet Army invaded Czechoslovakia, PLP supported

capitalist ownership of social wealth, resources and productive facilities. The economic life of these countries is not based on rational expansion of productive power, but on anarchic competition between the Mellons, the du Ponts, the Rockefellers, the Krupps, and other capitalists on a national and international scale. If it serves the needs of capitalist profit, production will be curtailed or halted altogether, wages slashed, and world economic crises precipitated.

It is this private ownership of the economic resources and the national and international competition and economic anarchy resulting from it, rather than the personal privileges of the capitalists, that determines the existence of capitalism.

Workers states, are states in which the private ownership of the dominant productive forces has been ended by a social and economic revolution, and planning rather than anarchic competition charts the economic course. Whatever private property remains—such as peasant holdings—plays a subordinate role in relation to the nationalized sector. Economic relations between a workers state and capitalist countries is governed by a state monopoly of foreign trade.

Marxists designate the Soviet Union, the Eastern European states including Yugoslavia, and China, Cuba, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea) as workers states because capitalist property relations have been overturned.

PLP openly rejects this Marxist approach in its attempt to analyze the social character of the Chinese state. It claims that the question of productive relations is irrelevant. It states, "The question of who holds state power cannot be answered by examining only forms (the Soviet Union, after all has a Communist Party and *state ownership of property*.)" (November 1971 PL, emphasis added)

In its search for determining when and how China became a capitalist state, PLP argues that during the making of the Chinese revolution Mao Tsetung and the CCP vacillated between "a . . . class struggle line . . . [and] a new democratic class collaborationist line. . . ." (November 1971 PL)

PLP also claims that Chinese peasants, workers, and lower echelon CCP cadres forced Mao to establish a workers state in 1949, which existed until 1959.

Whereas PLP contends that the Mao leadership from 1949 to 1959 had a centrist position, i.e., vacillating between reform and revolution, revolutionary Marxists argue that the Mao leadership was reformist and following the class collaborationist policies of Stalin at the time of the 1949 revolution. This was indicated in the first years after the revolution when Mao attempted to form a coalition government with capitalist parties and did not immediately expropriate capitalist-owned industry.

This policy failed, however, in spite of Mao's attempts to carry it out because of the extreme weakness of the capitalist forces in China, the tremendous mass mobilization of the peasants and workers, and the necessity to organize the economy on an efficient basis to cope with the threat of U. S. invasion during the Korean war.

It was during the Korean war, that capitalist ownership over production was overturned and replaced with a nationalized planned economy. This was accomplished in spite of the Maoist leadership, but Mao still retained his control and established a reformist, undemocratic and privileged bureaucracy over the new workers state. Thus the Chinese workers state was deformed from birth.

PLP further claims: "the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie [capitalists] . . . is what came to prevail in China in the period 1960-1966." It views the 1966-

1968 Chinese "cultural revolution" as an unsuccessful attempt by Chinese workers to win back power from the "red bourgeoisie" led by Mao.

Nature of bureaucratic caste

While ignoring the system of production existing in China, PLP points to personal privileges accruing to the Maoist bureaucrats, attitudes expressed by the Mao leadership on a number of political questions, Mao's acceptance of Soviet aid in the 1950s, and China's military policies as evidence that China is dominated by a capitalist class.

The role of the Mao bureaucracy, like that in the Soviet Union, is completely different from that of a capitalist class. The capitalist class is necessary to the *productive* process in capitalist society. Without Mellons, Rockefellers, etc., owning the means of production, forcing profits, exploiting labor, etc., you don't have capitalism. Capitalism without the capitalist class is as absurd as capitalism without wage workers.

The Maoist bureaucracy, however, rather than being a social group with a necessary role in the productive system of the Chinese workers state, plays a parasitic role. Without the Mao bureaucratic caste, which appropriates material privileges for itself, the nationalized and planned economy would not only continue to exist but would be more productive than it is now if there was mass participation in the economic planning.

PLP is unable to prove that the Chinese "red bourgeoisie" is engaged in individual ownership of the means of production, or that China suffers the competition, crises and imperialist investment that goes along with capitalism. Nor is PLP or anyone able to seriously claim that a "red bourgeoisie" in China can sell productive facilities to one another or foreign investors or will them to their children or relatives. In short, PLP is unable to prove that the Maoist bureaucracy is really a capitalist class for one simple reason: it isn't.

In reality, China is still a workers state. The main contradiction in China is not between the anarchy and exploitation wrought by individual profit-gouging capitalists and workers exploited by this system of production; but between a rational nationalized productive system and a privileged bureaucracy led by Mao and the CCP.

One of the attributes of this bureaucracy is a narrow-minded nationalist outlook that puts its own needs to stay in power before the needs of the world revolution. It's main perspective, like the Soviet bureaucracy, is the establishment of "socialism in one country" rather than defense of the revolution through its extension to other countries.

This is the basis for Mao's support to Yahya Khan in Pakistan and Bandaranaike in Ceylon. This is also the basis for Mao's two-stage theory of revolution in which the fight for socialism in colonial and semi-colonial countries is subordinated to alliances with the national capitalists.

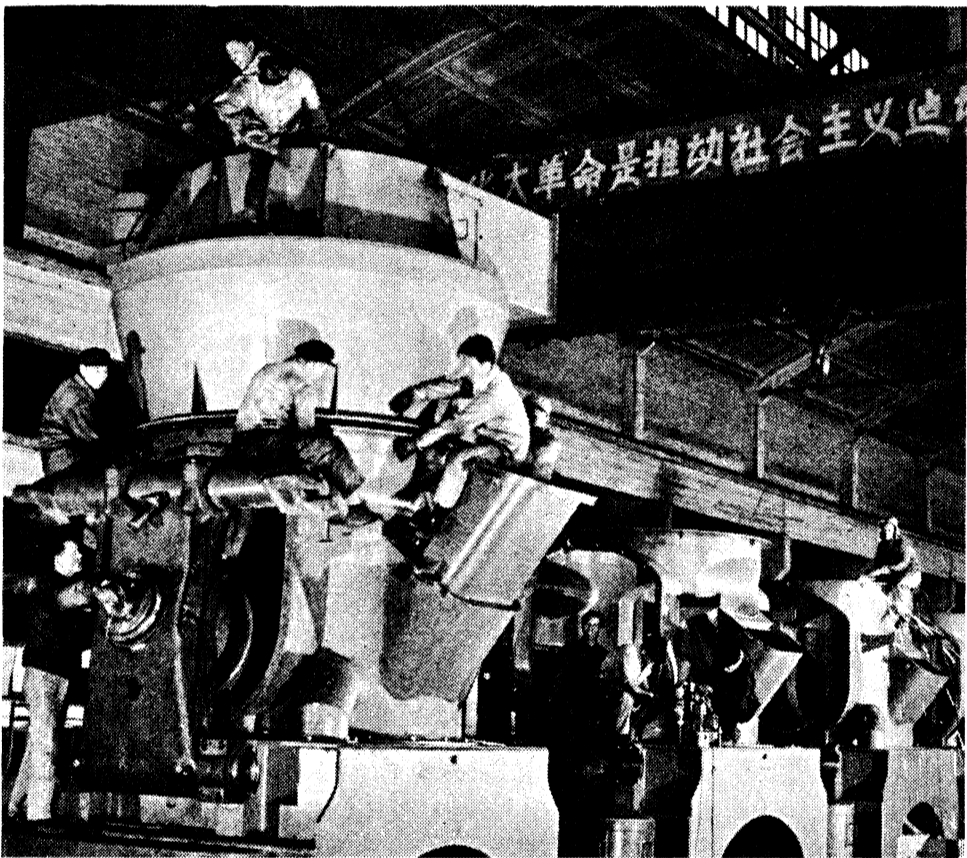
Revolutionary socialists have condemned, since the establishment of the Mao regime, many of the abuses the PLP criticizes: the privileges of the Chinese bureaucrats; the use of compulsion and the suppression of workers democracy; the repression and murder of pro-socialist dissidents including the Chinese Trotskyists—and an endless list of other crimes committed by the Mao bureaucrats against the Chinese revolution.

However, revolutionary socialists also recognize that China remains a workers state and that the gains of the revolution must be defended against the enemies of the Chinese revolution, including the Maoist bureaucrats.

The class character of China is a serious question, not a question of

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In defense of the Chinese revolution: An answer to Progressive Labor



Workers assembling coal pulverizers in Shanghai plant. Industrial development is made possible by China's planned economy—the basic conquest of the revolution which remains intact and to which PLP shuts its eyes.

ing class, but its capitalist essence remained identical."

Thus, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), in the November issue of its magazine *Progressive Labor*, brands Maoist China, which it once held up as the model of "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism" and socialism, as a capitalist state. This follows PLP's similar reversal in 1966 of its position on the Soviet Union. Once hailed as "socialist," the U. S. S. R. was dubbed a capitalist state.

By 1967, both PLP and the Chinese bureaucracy were branding the Soviet Union as "imperialist" and "fascist." Now the same anti-Marxist method is being used by the ex-Maoists of PLP to analyze China itself.

The question of whether or not China is capitalist has far-reaching implications. At issue are how many of the gains won in the Chinese revolution have been retained, and whether those gains should be defended. If China is no longer a workers state, revolutionary socialists would be under no obligation to defend China from capitalist attack. If war broke out between China and India, as it

China's branding of the Soviet Union as "imperialist" and "worse than Hitler," and claimed that Czechoslovakia was a bourgeois democracy which must be defended against "Soviet fascism." These jumbled and unscientific characterizations pose the question: Does PLP consider China "imperialist" and "fascist," and if so, would PLP defend China against U. S. imperialism which it characterizes as a bourgeois democracy?

Defense of the Chinese revolution is a serious question for all revolutionaries, and PLP's failure to state its position on this matter reflects its light-minded attitude to both theory and action.

Capitalist and workers states

What is the difference between capitalist states and workers states? Marxists determine this difference on the basis of the system of economic production that prevails within a country.

Countries like the U. S., Great Britain, France, Sweden, India, and so on are characterized as capitalist because the system of production in these countries is based on individual capi-

FERENCE. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. and all day Sat., Oct. 2. San Francisco City College. Sponsored by: Northern California Peace Action Coalition.

TWIN CITIES

SPEECH BY LINDA JENNESS, SWP CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. Party afterward. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave. NE, Mpls. Donation \$1. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Calendar

ATLANTA

AMERICAN POLITICS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, 1972 Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. at the Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. NE (at Poplar St.). Donation: \$1 (50c for high school students). A usp. Militant Bookstore Forum.

BOSTON

ATTICA REVOLT AND MASSACRE: A symposium on THE NATURE OF THE U.S. PRISON SYSTEM. Panelists: Derrick Morrison, Militant reporter present at Attica; a former prisoner; an attorney active in prison reform; taped interview with a prisoner; and others. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:00 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50 c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CAMBRIDGE

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN FUND RAISING SMORGASBORD. Featured speakers: Peter Camejo, 1970 SWP candidate for U.S. senator against Edward Kennedy, presently a member of the SWP '72 National Presidential Campaign Committee; John E. Powers Jr., recent candidate for mayor of Boston; Jeanne Lafferty, women's liberationist and Cambridge City Council candidate, as well as Matilda Zimmerman, '72 SWP Presidential Campaign Organizer. Sat., Oct. 9, 5 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. Smorgasbord. Entertainment and speakers to follow. Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Mass. Ave., Donation: \$2, students \$1.50. For further information, call 262-9688 or 354-1138.

CHICAGO

CONVICT HANRAHAN FOR MURDER: A panel on the campaign to bring Fred Hampton's and Mark Clark's murderers to justice. James D. Montgomery, atty., and others. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. Great Lakes Building, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310. Donation: \$1, students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

NIXON, MAO AND VIETNAM. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, member of Coordinating Committee of NPAC. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:30 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), 2nd floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FALL SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES. "The Popular Front," third of three classes on the Spanish Civil War by Les Evans, editor of the International Socialist Review. Sun., Oct. 3, 1 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. Fourth St.), 8th floor. 50c per session, \$3.00 for complete series of eight classes. For more information, call 260-0976. A usp. Socialist Workers Party.

MILITANT LABOR FORUM. Fri., Oct. 1, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. Fourth St.), 8th floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c.

PHILADELPHIA

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE STRUGGLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speaker: Mike Walker. Fri., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert (1 block north of Market). Admission: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REGIONAL ANTIWAR CON-

...PLP

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name-calling.

The Chinese workers and peasants in order to advance the Chinese revolution will be forced to overthrow the Mao bureaucracy. This, however, does not require a social and economic transformation. Rather, it will be a political revolution which will throw out the undemocratic, privileged bureaucratic caste that has usurped power over the Chinese people. The nationalized economy and planned economy already won will not be overturned.

PLP's apparent refusal to defend the gains of the Chinese revolution, puts them in league with such right-wing social democrats as Michael Harrington's Socialist Party. The SP uses its refusal to designate China, the Soviet Union, and Cuba as workers states as an excuse to be silent about or support U.S. imperialism's campaigns against them.

However, it must be remembered, that PLP's adherence to Mao Tsetung Thought had a lot to do with their current analysis of China. It was Mao Tsetung who taught them to brand the Russian bureaucrats as "capitalists," "imperialists," fascists," "worse than Hitler," etc. Mao, in turn, learned this from Stalin, who in 1948 branded Yugoslavia as a capitalist state when it refused to submit totally to the Kremlin. While PLP was still Maoist, it took the criminal positions that Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the Eastern European states, with the exception of Albania, were capitalist.

Thus, when Peking's recent support to the brutal repression of revolutionary forces in Ceylon and Pakistan and its projected meeting with Nixon revealed to PLP what revolutionary socialists had always known—that the Peking and Moscow bureaucrats differed only in style in their attempts to throttle the world revolution—PLP used the same incorrect Mao-taught method and branded China capitalist. PLP has still not indicated whether they think the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and Albania are capitalist, though they attack all three with most of the same terms they use against Russia, China and Cuba.

...inside

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math of the attack?

Gaifer: Obviously the power structure decided that they could not tolerate insurrection and insubordination by poor, Black and minority people any longer—regardless how many human lives would be lost. They made that decision based on the fact that they had to demonstrate authority and power so this thing would never happen again.

It should be clear to anyone who has common sense, who has the ability to reason, that murder was committed. The inmates had no weapons. They indicated to the prison officials that they did not intend to harm the hostages, that they just wanted to discuss the issues and demands, that if the hostages were harmed it would be through acts of the prison officials and not acts of their own.

The autopsies have proven that to be a fact.

Attica showed that the governor, the president, the men in charge of the lives of hundreds of thousands of people all over New York State are capable, at any moment, of committing cold-blooded murder without blinking an eye and then having the audacity to try and vindicate themselves by lying and subterfuge, by setting up blue-ribbon committees, by doing all the things that in the past have fooled the people, that have led us to the position where we are now.

I think it's pure murder. I think it will happen again unless we make sure that it doesn't by the manner of our protests, demonstrations and actions and by the involvement of the people.

...Attica

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most without exception, to the social inequities and distortions of human potential and character that are rooted in capitalist society.

The prisons of this country exist for one reason only—to try to terrorize people into accepting an inhuman, irrational social system based on maintaining the rights of the few over the majority. Once capitalism is eliminated, once it is replaced by a system which can abundantly provide for the needs of the many rather than the profits of a tiny handful, once we have eradicated all the distortions of human potential which flow from this inhuman system and the institutions that prop it up, there will be no need

for prisons. The very social system that has created and defined crime will have been eliminated.

But only a revolutionary upheaval powerful enough to take power out of the hands of the Rockefellers and Nixons and place it in the hands of the most oppressed and exploited—the workers, the prisoners, the Black and Brown communities, the women, the draftees—only such a fundamental reorganization of society can bring about the necessary changes. That is the "prison reform" we are ultimately working for.

New York Deputy Commissioner of "Corrections" William Baker told reporters the day of the Attica Massacre that prison riots, like proletarian revolutions, occur in a climate of rising expectations. He might have added, with even greater insight, that the prison revolts merely reflect the growing crisis of the capitalist system in its death agony.

The names of the individuals who struggled and died at Attica and San Quentin and in the other prisons of America, will go down in history alongside the names of men like Malcolm X as heroes of the masses in the coming American revolution.

1,000 honor Jackson in London

By T.J. O'FLAHERTY

LONDON—This city honored the memory of George Jackson in a rally held on Sept. 2 of over 1,000 at the St. Pancras town hall. It was organized jointly by the Friends of Solidarity, the Afro-American Committee, and the Committee for the Defense of Angela Davis.

Winston Pinder, a Black trade unionist, presided. Leila Hassan, representing the Black Unity and Freedom Party, and representatives of the Black Liberation Front and Black Workers Coordinating Committee also spoke.

Anthony Shiel gave an account of George Jackson's life, and David Udok read a funeral oration while slides of scenes of mourners at Jackson's funeral in Illinois were shown. There were a large number of other young Black women and men who followed with brief militant speeches. A message from Angela Davis was read amid acclaim.

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