

# THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

Mao Tsetung

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## FARM STRIKE!

On Wednesday, December 14, a nation-wide agricultural strike, led by the grassroots American Agriculture Movement, spread across the country. Thousands of small and middle tractor caravans, pickets, and bands of grain warehouses and packing plants to back-up the demand for an equitable price for their produce. This strike marks the resurgence of a significant social movement among the more exploited sectors of the farmers in the US, who are fighting for survival against parasitic elements in agriculture -- finance capital, the land and market speculators,

transportation and food monopolies and large corporate farms and farm landlords.

### FARMERS FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

The small and middle sized farmers have been pushed against a wall. Overall farm income, in terms of what it can buy, is the lowest since the 1930's. Nationally, farm income this year is 31.8% lower than in 1973. Farm income in the states of South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Kansas, Minnesota, and Iowa declined an average of 68.4% in the same period. While farmers gross income has grown to

over \$103 billion, between 1975 and the third quarter of 1977, their net income dropped from an annual rate of \$23.2 billion to \$15.5 billion.

This drop in net income is due to a steep rise in production costs concurrent with a decline in the prices they could get for their commodities. Farmers spent \$89 billion to produce their crops in 1976, a 9% increase from 1975. Ten years ago they spent \$37 billion. And, since 1959, farm production expenses increased 278%. Part of this is due to the increased cost of machinery used in agriculture. For example, a tractor costing \$9,000 in 1966 now costs the farmer \$32,000. But the largest increase has been in the amount of tribute paid in rent and the price of land to the large landlords and finance capitalists. In that 16 year period interest on farm debt rose 581% and the net rent paid by farmers rose 445%. While net income of landlords not engaged in farm production was equal to 10.1% of net farm income in 1959, by 1975 it had more than doubled to 21.1%. Other cost increases from 1959-1975 were fertilizer and lime, up 514%, seed purchased, up 454%, and taxes, up 223%.

This rise in costs has accompanied a decline in agricultural prices. Wheat prices today are only 20¢ a bushel higher than what they were at the end of World War I. In mid-June this year a bushel of wheat sold for \$2.26, down from \$3.71 a year ago. Corn is sold at \$2.25 as compared with \$2.94 last year. What this means is that the small farmers lose money.

For example, it costs about \$100 an acre to raise wheat in central Kansas, in the heart of the grain belt. The average yield is 30 bushels per acre, which, at the price of \$2.26 per bushel, would bring the farmer an income of \$67.80 per acre, or a loss of about \$32 per acre. The average acreage in cropland on a Kansas farm is 254 acres. On this basis the average sized farm would suffer a loss of \$8,128. This explains why, as reported in the Chicago Tribune, over 55% of Kansas farmers who were under mortgage or loan debt to banks suffered losses last year; nine percent face bankruptcy and 35% require refinancing of their land or other assets just to meet the interest payments on loans already outstanding. A study by the Department of Agriculture revealed that 14,000 farmers in the major grain-growing regions will not be able to repay their debts this year, and face bankruptcy. Another 59,000 will be forced to re-finance their bank loans or dispose of some of their property to meet their debt payments.

The need for financing has driven many farmers into production contracts with large corporations. One commentator stated that "Under production contracts, the corporation has virtually complete control over agricultural decisions, while the individual farmer retains merely nominal title and provides labor." The extent to which the farmer is reduced to the status of "housekeeper" for finance capital is revealed in the fact that 90% of production of vegetables such as tomatoes, beans, corn and peas

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### PLO: "US HAS LOST ROLE"

## ZIONISTS PROPOSE CRIMINAL PLAN

On December 29, Menachem Begin, Israeli Prime Minister, made public his criminal plan to continue Israeli occupation of lands taken in the 1967 Middle East War. This is the so-called "peace" settlement plan he had presented to Sadat a week earlier during a visit to Egypt. His proposal is that Israel withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula while continuing its illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. For the 1.1 million Palestinians and Arabs who would still be living under Israeli rule in those areas, Begin offers a vague proposal of "administrative autonomy" with an Israeli military presence to maintain "security" and "public order."

This plan clearly shows that the Israelis have no intention of giving up their Zionist plans of aggression and expansion for it ignores the heart of the Mideast struggle--the right of Palestinians to their homeland. Moreover, during the debate over the plan in the Israeli Parliament, Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan boldly acknowledged the emptiness of the so-called "peace plan" when he cold-bloodedly stated how Israel would deal with the Palestinians, "Any agreement can be broken and there is no court to look after our interests except ourselves. How will I prevent their refusal to sell land to Jews? How will I prevent the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Lebanon against our will? By the force of the army..."

### U.S. SUPPORTS ZIONIST PLAN

In its drive for hegemony in the Mid-East, the U.S. has been trying to maintain a cover as a neutral peace maker. However, the U.S. response to the Begin plan exposed this superpower's intentions to support Zionist aggression and to try to force Arab acquiescence. While emphasizing that the U.S. continues to oppose a separate Palestinian state, Carter quickly raised the Israeli plan as a "long step forward" which contains a "great deal of flexibility." He urged the Arab nations to be "open-minded" and thus to capitulate to Zionist aggression. As part of the U.S. effort to try to isolate the PLO, reduce Arab support for Palestinian rights, and split the Arab nations, Carter plans to visit Saudi Arabia and Iran as part of his current foreign trip.

### ARABS REJECT PLAN

But these superpower attempts are failing, the Arab nations are responding with unity rejecting Begin's plan and denouncing the role the U.S. is playing in the peace negotiations. The Arabs are

calling for complete Israeli withdrawal from all lands taken in the 1967 war and for self-determination for the Palestinian people.

Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat, in publicly rejecting the plan, stated that it failed to deal with the Palestinian issue which he called "the core and crux of the whole problem." In addition he strongly criticized President Carter's support for the plan on this very basis. And, the new Foreign Minister of Egypt, Ibrahim Kamel said that Egypt still holds that a comprehensive Mid-East settlement depends on Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territory and self-determination for the Palestinian people.

In assessing the U.S. support for the Israeli plan, the Pales-

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### Study PEKING REVIEW #45

## CPC THREE WORLD POLEMIC

A recent article in PEKING REVIEW #45 (1977) entitled CHAIRMAN MAO'S THEORY OF THE DIFFERENTIATION OF THE THREE WORLDS IS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO MARXISM LENINISM is an important explanation and defense of the three worlds theory. It is now available as a pamphlet and should be closely studied by every comrade and friend. It shows that Chairman Mao's assessment of the world situation today is thoroughly consistent with the contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin over many years of international class struggle and corresponds to the strategic requirements of that struggle at the present time. The document itself is a major contribution to our struggle. Because of its importance we propose a study of the article in two parts. First we will deal with the basic presentation of the theory. In our next issue we will deal with strategy based on the conclusions of theory.

### THE DATA OF THEORY

To begin with, the method of presentation.

According to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, theory studies the development of the objective processes of the working class movement. Its function is to provide a foundation for strategy which must be based on the data of theory. For example, in his article CONCERNING THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS, Stalin writes: "proletarian strategy can be called truly Marxist only when its operations are based on the fundamental conclusions of the theory of Marxism." Thus

the PEKING REVIEW article points out that the theory of three worlds is a comprehensive and concrete appraisal of international political phenomena today. It reflects scientific conclusions on which we can base a present-day strategy for international class struggle.

In other words, the classification of world political forces into three categories is a theory because it is a basic presentation of the data on which Marxist Leninist strategy must be based.

Strategy "is the conscious and systematic movement of the proletariat towards a definite goal." Its function is to determine the direction which ought to be taken by the working class movement in order to achieve its aims. According to Stalin this means identifying the main enemy, the main revolutionary forces, other revolutionary factors and the direction of the main blow. Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds gives us a differentiation of world political forces which makes it possible to identify these essential features of strategy.

### AN ORTHODOX PRESENTATION

It is significant that the article in PEKING REVIEW #45 is based on an orthodox presentation of Marxist theory and Marxist strategy. The first chapter, "The Differentiation of Three Worlds is a Scientific Marxist Assessment of Present Day World Realities", presents a summary of the conclusions of theory. The following chapters discuss the main

features of revolutionary strategy and each explains further the theoretical conclusions on the basis of which strategy must be formulated: (1) the main enemy ("The Two Hegemonic Powers..."), (2) the main force ("The Countries and Peoples of the Third World..."), (3) other revolutionary factors ("The Second World...") and (4) the direction of the main blow ("Build the Broadest International United Front and Smash Superpower Hegemonism and War Policies").

### CHAIRMAN MAO'S PRESENTATION OF THE THEORY

Chairman Mao's exhaustive study of world political forces in the present period is summed up in a statement he made to a third world leader in 1974. He said:

"In my view, the United States and the Soviet Union form the first world. Japan, Europe and Canada, the middle section, belong to the second world." "The third world has a huge population. With the exception of Japan, Asia belongs to the third world. The whole of Africa belongs to the third world, and Latin America too."

This differentiation is a scientific conclusion which reflects an investigation of all the basic contradictions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as they actually operate in the present period. For example, the third world, which includes the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America together

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# RCP REWRITES HISTORY OF NLC

According to the October issue of *REVOLUTION*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the Revolutionary Workers Congress (RWC) was recently dissolved and many of its members joined the RCP. We have had some close experience with these organizations—in particular with the RWC which consolidated the main right opportunist tendency in the old Black Workers Congress (BWC)—and find the result a predictable outcome of the failure of either to take up the tasks of party building or the struggle to defeat right opportunism and economism in our movement.

The RCP has used the occasion to dredge up discredited lines of the old Revolutionary Union (RU) on party building and the Black National Question.

The vehicle is a history of the National Liason Committee (NLC), a coalition formed by the RU, the BWC and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) in 1972 to carry on joint work and to lead to a party. Speculating on the ignorance of many comrades new to the struggle, a former leader of the BWC and the RWC, "D.B.", rewrites the history of the NLC making three basic points: (1) the NLC was a correct method to build the party sabotaged by the BWC and PRRWO; (2) the NLC was sabotaged by the narrow nationalism or "bundism" of these organizations; and (3) the lines of the RU/RCP were right all along on party building and the national question.

## WAS THE NLC A CORRECT APPROACH TOWARD BUILDING THE PARTY?

The fact is that the NLC was fundamentally incorrect as a method of party building and was rejected by the whole movement. This for two reasons:

(1) during the life of the NLC neither the RU nor any other member considered party building the central task of communists; (2) in a movement characterized by circle autonomy, amateurishness and lack of training, the NLC did not have a plan to prepare the conditions for a party nor did it address itself to the task of preparing the conditions.

Although he once learned better in the BWC, "D.B." now argues that it is dogmatic to consider party building as the central task whenever you don't have a revolutionary vanguard party. In spite of the degeneration of the CPUSA, "D.B." has adopted the RU line that before 1974 "building the new Party was not the main task because the young communist movement in this country had not accumulated enough practical experience in mass struggle...." (*REVOLUTION*, May 1974)

This is a line which belittles the indispensable role of the conscious element at all times and all places if our practical political work is to have a class conscious revolutionary character. It is a product of tailist work in the spontaneous movement. In other words, it is in essence a theoretical attack on the leading role of a vanguard party and an ideological justification for bowing to spontaneity.

The RCP and "D.B." claim that accumulating experience in the mass movement prepares the conditions for party building. We agree that the conditions must be prepared to organize a party. But these forces expose their backwardness by attacking party building as the central task on this basis. Instead it is essential to see preparing the conditions as a decisive part of the task of party building. A Marxist-Leninist approach insists on identifying openly and attacking in a conscious way the obstacles of theoretical backwardness, organizational amateurishness and political narrowness which prevent the formation of a solid vanguard core. These struggles are necessarily linked to the task of fighting for the practical leadership of the day to day struggles of the masses; but there is a world of difference between "accumulating enough experience in mass struggle" and fighting for the leadership and conscious political unity of the vanguard.

However, adopting the narrow economist view that characterized the RU/RCP party building effort, "D.B." writes:

"As the objective conditions were changing, including the fact that the struggle of the whole class was beginning to grow, the mass movement had come up against the absence of a genuine vanguard to lead the struggle..."

Not before?! Not in the Civil Rights movement or the great national rebellions of the 60s?! Only at the point where RU cadres had accumulated enough experience in practical activity?! Not since, as in last year's rebellion at Humboldt Park?!

To insist on this reasoning today is laughable.

Laughable and hypocritical. Though standing now on the RCP's line that party building could not have been the central task before May of 1974, "D.B." suggests that the NLC could have formed a party if it had not been sabotaged by the BWC and PRRWO. We disagree. The NLC could not have led a genuine party building effort under any circumstances because at that time the conditions for a new party had not been prepared and the NLC had no plan to prepare them. The only proposals brought forward were for a merger of the leading bodies of the RU, BWC and PRRWO and for "flying squads" to contact and collect local groups that were 'out there'. The proposal did not identify the source of fragmentation and disunity in our movement. It did not propose a concrete method to overcome these obstacles and lay the foundation for principled unity. No proposal was put forward for organizations and collectives to develop their work in a step by step way around a common plan, no proposal for revolutionary training, no plan for developing and stiffening organizational life, no method for protracted struggle over differences—in other words, a plan that was no plan. Honest comrades thirsted for direction, but the NLC offered none. After all, party building was not the central task.

As the BWC pointed out long ago, the basic view of the RU regarding the NLC was that it was a way to form a party before opportunist elements (meaning the October League and the Communist League) formed one first.

## DID BUNDISM BREAK UP THE NLC?

Shamelessly capitulating to the RCP's opportunism, "D.B." now claims that the NLC was split because of the "bundism" or narrow nationalism of the BWC and PRRWO.

These two organizations grew out of the Black and Puerto Rican national movements of the late 60s and early 70s. From the outset the BWC was saturated with petty bourgeois tendencies and petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies also. But the effort to make these the main thing in the struggle is incorrect and an obvious reflection of the RU/RCP's longstanding national chauvinism. It is nothing but a new attempt to revive its discredited line that narrow nationalism, not great nation chauvinism was the main danger to the communist and party building movements in 1974.

The BWC made serious nationalist errors, the most important of which was to justify a nationally exclusive form of communist organization as reflected in its name. But with study and progress in the grasp of Marxism-Leninism — progress which took a qualitative leap forward as the struggle with RU unfolded — it repudiated these lines and made public self-criticism. The break with the RU in the NLC, in other words, did not reflect a turn toward nationalism, but a higher level of Marxist Leninist consciousness on party building and the national question.

On the other hand, it was the backwardness and social democratic character of the organization that left it vulnerable to continuing nationalist tendencies in its ranks. The BWC's error on "revolutionary nationalism" is an example of this. At one point the BWC called Mao and other Marxist-Leninists of the third world revolutionary nationalists. What Mao said is that communists of an oppressed nation are patriots who give staunch support to the revolutionary aspirations of the masses for national liberation. This patriotism he called applied internationalism. But while a communist can be a patriot and be in the forefront of the national struggle, he is not a revolutionary nationalist, but a Marxist-Leninist. The BWC's failure to distinguish in an effective way between nationalism and patriotism showed an important theoretical confusion, but not bundism.

These errors came forward in a militant effort to defeat the much more grave national chauvinism of the RU which denied that the nationalism of the masses of oppressed nations is revolutionary. DB now joins in criticizing that line and writes: "revolutionary nationalism is itself a question of motion, and in the final analysis, again, either it must take a qualitative leap to the stand of the proletariat or go backward to bourgeois nationalism." This is abstract reasoning that liquidates the revolutionary significance of the national quest-

ion under imperialism today. The political fact is that the aspirations of the Afro-American masses for national liberation in the Black Belt South are a component part of world proletarian socialist revolution and, in the "final analysis," are aspirations for the seizure of state power. That is the point the RCP liquidates. Of course communists will wage tireless struggle to raise the revolutionary class consciousness of the Afro-American proletariat. A Marxist-Leninist is never content with national consciousness only. But the genuine national aspirations of the popular masses of the Black nation are revolutionary without any leap to proletarian class consciousness.

## THE OVERALL MOST CORRECT LINE?

But of course "D.B." and the RU/RCP also disagree on the question of state power for the Afro-American nation. Comrades remember that according to the RU because the "negation" had been "negated" we had entered a new era on the national question in the U.S. — a "nation of a new type" had emerged. Under rising capitalism the national struggle is an anti-feudal struggle and an internal and particular state problem. But as Lenin and Stalin make clear, in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the national problem in an oppressed nation is an anti-imperialist struggle as well and becomes part of the general international problem of worldwide proletarian revolution. This would seem clear. But, creative to the bone, RU explained that we had entered a new third period where the Black National question in the US was once again a particular and internal state problem based on the completely superficial fact that the Black nation fell within the boundaries of the US state.

The RU also explained that a nation of a new type was one that existed anywhere in the US Black people happened to be—that is, one that did not conform to the scientific criteria for the existence of a nation established by Stalin and the Bolshevik Party.

Can there be any doubt that these bizarre formulations, which the BWC and PRRWO adopted for a time, were at the source of their split with RU — and not the strawman of "bundism". These "young communists" from RU who had not accumulated enough practical experience to make party building their central task nonetheless took on the task of substituting their "new type" of views on the national question for the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism. In fact they came up with nothing new at all — their results were classical revisionist positions and the method was a classical ruse of petty bourgeois liberals as Lenin explained in *WHAT IS TO BE DONE*:

"As this criticism of Marxism has been going on for a long time now, from the political platform, from university chairs, in numerous pamphlets and in a number of learned treatises, as the entire younger generation of the educated classes has been systematically trained for decades on this criticism, it is not surprising that the 'new, critical' trend in Social Democracy should spring up, all complete, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. The content of this new trend did not have to grow and take shape; it was transferred bodily from bourgeois literature to socialist literature." (Pek. ed., p. 8)

Practical experience had to be accumulated (though not even much of that!), but Marxist theory was easy — that could be transferred bodily!

The attack on one error covers another and it is indisputable that the RU/RCP's attack on narrow nationalism was a cover for its own liquidation of the national question and of its revolutionary significance. Self-determination is not at the heart of black liberation, the RCP says, and yet self-determination is the highest, essential democratic right of every nation. The right to self-determination, which means the right to political secession and state power, can not be reduced to the status of just another demand in the struggle against discrimination. As Lenin said:

"This privilege (state power) was not mitigated by secession (the essence of reformism lies in mitigating an evil and not in destroying it), but entirely removed (the principle criterion of the revolutionary character of a program.) DISCUSSION ON SELF-DETERMINATION SUMMED UP.

For the RU/RCP, and for "D.B.", self-determination is a reformist demand.

The line of the RU/RCP also pretends that the proletarianization of the Black nation solved the land question in the Black Belt South and belittles the significance of the control of territory for an oppressed nation. But proletarianization has not eliminated the anti-imperialist tasks of the Black liberation struggle. It has not transformed economic control over land and capital in the Black Belt South by the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation. It has not reduced the national question to a question of class exploitation only. To merge the national and class struggles in the US does not mean that there is only the struggle against common class exploitation. The point is that the common struggle—in both cases for state power against the same enemy—is the basis for an alliance that will destroy US imperialism. But this involves the common revolutionary front of two struggles, not the liquidation of the one or the other.

Can there be any doubt that the revisionist and national chauvinist lines of the RU/RCP sabotaged what principled unity had been achieved in the NLC?

## PARTY BUILDING REQUIRES A VANGUARD STYLE OF WORK

The real failure which led to the disintegration of the BWC was the failure of those leaders who went on to the RWC to take up the struggle against right opportunism, economism and a social democratic style of work in the old organization. They refused to give up the habits of an earlier period and justified the refusal theoretically. They attacked the necessity to centralize the leadership of the BWC and defended the autonomy of local districts, they attacked the leading role of leadership, they attacked democratic centralism and the need for a unified center, they attacked regular reporting (one leader claiming that the tradition of the Black masses is oral), attacked the role of the newspaper in party building and the task of deepening and expanding the scope of propaganda to the advanced, and yet they developed a bureaucratic and cliquish style of work thoroughly isolated from district life which left them unable to give principled direction to innerparty struggle.

Their work after the formation of the RWC was a reflection of the bankrupt principles they had defended in the BWC. Their call was "back to the mass movement" and they showed themselves incapable of taking on the tasks of party building. Their newspaper "Movin' On!" was painfully economist and written in a condescending style of false simplicity which reflected their contempt for the working masses, and especially for advanced elements. This newspaper appeared only sporadically for a few issues. Later another paper, the "Revolutionary Worker," was published only long enough to attack the line of the Chinese Communist Party on the international situation and to abandon dialectics, calling both superpowers the same danger to the same degree and to the same extent.

Errors which plagued the leadership of "D.B." and others in the BWC also undermined the work of the African Liberation Support Committee, which to our knowledge is the only systematic task the RWC did take up. Although in leadership of this organization for a certain time, they did not provide systematic summations of the organization's work to local chapters or reports on the work of leadership. There was no conscious planning for a newsletter or national campaigns. When local chapters took initiative on these points, there was no coordination of work. In short, a downright sloppy style of work provided the elements for the disintegration of that mass organization as it had earlier done in the BWC.

There is a lesson here exposing the RU/RCP line on party building. Practical experience in the mass movement is worthless unless it is based on the effort to develop a vanguard style of work based on the revolutionary theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. But this in turn requires training and a conscious plan which considers first of all the task of training the advanced from our midst and from among the masses. The leaders of the RWC fought this line in the BWC and social practice has demonstrated with what results.

(An expanded version of D.B.'s history of the NLC is in the Fall/Winter 1977 issue of the RCP's theoretical journal.)

### FARM STRIKE

is controlled through contract or direct corporate ownership. In 1975, while the overall share of food marketing costs that went to the farmer was 42%, in the fruit and vegetable sector this was only 27%. Also since that year the overall marketing share the farmer receives has declined to 38% this year.

#### RUIN FOR SMALL AND MIDDLE FARMERS

Capitalist development has meant the ruin of millions of small and middle farmers. The number of farms in the US has dropped from 4.1 million in 1959 to 2.8 million today. The number of acres under cultivation has declined 10% in the same period to about one billion acres. Each year five million acres of land are converted to urban or industrial use. Overall farm population, which in the 1930's numbered 38.5 million and represented about 25% of the total US population is now 8.3 million, about 4% of the population.

What happens to farmers who are driven off their land? A glimpse can be gained from the 1970 US Census table, "Occupational and Geographical Mobility Between 1965 and 1970". According to this data 36% of those who were farmers or farm managers (managers were 1% of the farm population) in 1965 were no longer farmers in 1970. Of these approximately 13.4% joined the urban or rural working class as craftsmen, operatives, laborers, and farm laborers. Another 1% of the 1965 farmers were unemployed in 1970, while 16% were listed under the category "Not in Labor Force" which according to the government criteria consists mainly of housewives, retired people, students, etc. The remaining 6% of the 1965 farmers is spread out among different occupations.

Obviously, the attack on the agricultural producers has not hit evenly. Some farmers have prospered while the smaller farmers have suffered and been ruined. According to the Secretary of Labor, 150,000 farms in the US produce 60% of the food and fibre for the market. On the other hand, there are 1.7 million farm families who collectively sell only 5% of the food and fibre that makes its way to the market place. In another perspective, in 1969, 70% of all land in farms was held by the

largest 20% of farms. In some states the degree of monopolization of land was even higher -- in Florida and California, the largest 20% of farms accounted for 90% of the farmland. This was in 1969, and since then, as the number of smaller farms have declined, the concentration of farm wealth has increased.

A larger number of people on the small, poor farms must engage in wage labor in order to get by, and in fact belong to the strata of semi-proletariat. A Department of Agriculture study made in 1970 showed that farm families relied on non-farm sources for close to 60% of their net income and that over 50% rely on either full or part-time jobs. Without this added income, 72.4% of all farm families would have had an income below the poverty level of \$5,000 a year. Half of those doing outside work remained below the poverty line even with the added income. For example, the median farm family income from farm self employment in 1969 was \$2,869 per year; in the South this dropped to \$1,466 a year and for Black families the income from the farm was only \$855 a year. Increasingly in order to survive, the farm family cannot rely on their labor on the land alone, but must sell their labor power in addition. The reality of this situation means a rigorous life for the semi-proletarian masses in agriculture.

The generally deteriorating conditions of farmers has been aggravated further this year by extensive droughts in the Southeast and western US.

#### DEMAND FOR 100% PARITY

In the face of the devastating attacks on their standard of living and ability to keep hold of the land, small and middle farmers have risen up by the thousands in protest. At the present time the American Agriculture Movement has emerged as the spokesman for these farmers. The demands of American Agriculture focus on the call for "100% parity" in the prices farmers receive for their commodities. Parity is a measure of the buying power of the farmers' products in real terms, based on the relationship between farm prices and production costs in the years 1910-1914. The realization of this demand would mean that the prices they receive would keep up with the inflated cost of what is required to produce them such as tractors and other farm equip-

ment. As of November, 1977, the prices for farm products was down to 66% of parity, the lowest in 44 years. At 100% of parity a bushel of wheat would get the farmer about \$5.00 compared to the present \$2.26. Government price support programs for 1978 are set at \$3.00 a bushel for wheat, hardly near the demand for 100% parity demanded by the farmers.

#### FARMERS TAKE ACTION

In defense of their interests farmers mobilized in the thousands. Preceding the strike 20,000 farmers drove their tractors to Plains, Georgia in hopes of confronting Carter there on Thanksgiving Day. But the millionaire peanut farmer ducked off to Camp David instead. Tractor caravans rolled into the capitals of more than 30 major farm states. In Atlanta, Georgia, in the biggest demonstration seen since the civil rights movement, the caravan stretched for 25 miles as 10,000 farmers encircled the capital buildings with their tractors, bringing all traffic to a halt. On Wednesday, December 14, the beginning of the strike was heralded by a dawn procession of 50 tractors around the White House. Lonnie Arbuthnot, a Colorado farmer and American Agriculture spokesman, stated, "This is a strike against low prices which are strangling farmers, the family farm and agriculture."

The strike leaders have said that to get their demands met they will stop selling non-perishable produce, will stop buying supplies and machinery, and will not plant spring crops. Around the country pickets have been set up at grain elevators, farm implement dealers and meat packing plants. Highways used to transport agricultural products have been blockaded and trains have been forced to stop. There have been clashes with the police, and in Lubbock, Texas, militant farmers forced the police to release farmers who had been arrested.

The response of the government at this time has been to reject the demand for 100% of parity and to criticize the militant tactics used by the farmers. The president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, a government body that provides loans to the farmers,

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#### CRIMINAL PLAN

tinian Liberation Organization (PLO) stated that "The United States has lost its role as a neutral arbiter in the Mid-East with its support for Israeli occupation and expansion against Palestinian self-determination." While the U.S. denies that the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, has a role in the Mid-East peace negotiations, it is rather the U.S. that does not belong in the negotiations. The official Palestinian press service exposed the U.S. strategy as being aimed at "exterminating the Palestinian presence, annihilating the Palestinian national identity and consecrating the occupation of Palestine and other occupied Arab territories." In resistance to this, however, the West Bank mayors continue to express their support for the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and for the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people.

The U.S. has also been trying to break the unity of the Arab people by attempting to separate Jordan, as well as Egypt, from the rest of the Arab world in working out a peace settlement with Israel. However, the Jordanian government has issued a statement saying that it "completely rejects cooperation in implementing such a settlement calling for the surrender of Arab territories to Israel, thus rewarding aggression and putting an end to Palestinian and Arab rights."

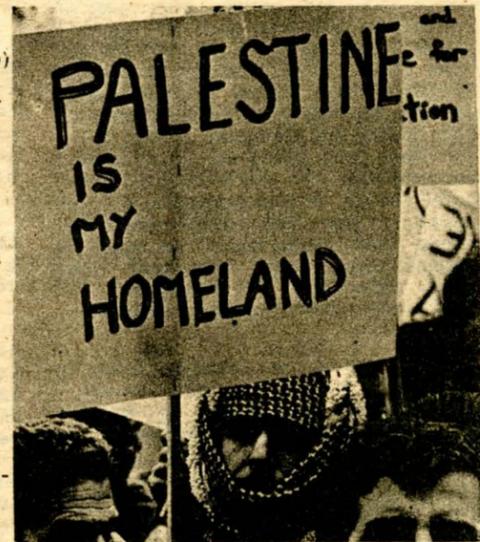
The Syrians also strongly condemned the Begin plan calling it

called the strike futile and irresponsible. Carter, finally forced to confront the farmers over Christmas in Plains, tried to appeal to his past while denying that the farmer had any problem except bad weather. "I have deep sympathy for the farmer," he claimed, "...I am one of them." He continued, "...we have already made great strides toward alleviating the problems of farmers... The ones who are primarily suffering... are not suffering from farm legislation or the absence of it but from weather conditions over which no one has any control."

Carter's claim is less than weak. It was not bad weather which over the years has laid waste to millions of small hard working farmers, driving them to ruin and bankruptcy. Carter spoke as a representative of the large capitalist farmer who has prospered, and the finance capitalists and large landlords who have earned billions in tribute in rent and interest off the labor of the small farmer. As a representative of these social vultures he attempts to disguise the deep-rooted antagonism that separates the small, poor and middle farmer from the large rich farmers and landlords and finance capitalists. For the majority of farmers his "sympathy" is hypocrisy.

Historically the small farmer, and to some extent the middle farmer, have been allies in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. The upsurge of the struggle of farmers today shows how deeply the present economic crisis has torn into the fabric of US monopoly capitalism. The laws of imperialism set different class forces in motion and create the basis for a powerful united front to challenge the whole system of capital. The farmers movement shows that those laws have lost none of their force.

The farmers movement deserves our closest attention and firm support. It is necessary to establish a firm and orthodox communist perspective on the agricultural sectors of society. In the next issue of THE COMMUNIST we will provide a deeper analysis of the American Agriculture movement and the orientation of the working class movement toward the farmers struggle.



"Zionist intransigence in its ugliest form" and saying that Begin had offered Egypt "the most humiliating terms" on withdrawal from Sinai, terms that would mean "total capitulation."

The sole intent of Israel's so-called "peace" plan, obviously developed with the U.S., is to maintain Israel's illegal occupation of Arab lands and to deny self-determination to the Palestinian people. There can be no peace on this basis. As the Arab world is demonstrating in their condemnation of Begin's plan and the role of the U.S., it is the unity of the Arab peoples that will prevent the U.S. from carrying out its plans to control the Middle East.

## DAWSON FIVE VICTORY

On December 20th, all charges against the Dawson Five were dropped. This case was only one more example of the brutal attacks and legal lynchings which daily threaten the Black masses in the Afro-American nation. It has been mass support from all across the country, from Africa, and the rest of the world which has forced the clearing of the five young men. Through this case attention was focused on the conditions that Black people must face in the small rural town of Dawson, Georgia which is just 21 miles south of President Carter's hometown of Plains.

#### A CASE OF LEGAL LYNCHING

After a white man was killed in a robbery attempt in a grocery store in January 1976, a legal lynching party arrested five young Black men -- Henderson Watson, Roosevelt Watson, Johnny Jackson, James Jackson Jr., and J.D. Davenport. The prosecution's only evidence in the case was "confessions" forced from the defendants. One of these so-called "confessions" came in the back seat of a sheriff's car as a deputy held a gun to the head of one defendant and threatened to pull the trigger. Another "confession", supposedly that of the "triggerman", was forced with threats of castration and electrocution. The defense later retracted all confessions. With this "evidence" the prosecution had the nerve to call for the death penalty.

Victory for the Dawson Five came after two years of struggle against the charges and after the defendants spent one year in jail before they could be freed on bail. Last month at the end of the trial Judge Greer was forced to throw out the "confessions". Then the prosecutor himself had to admit he had no case left, and the judge had to drop all the charges.

#### STRUGGLE FOR SELF DETERMINATION AND EQUAL RIGHTS

This case is only one more example of how Blacks are denied equal rights in the Afro-American Nation. While the bourgeoisie proclaims that all individuals in the United States have legal equality, cases such as this one clearly demonstrate that in practice Jim Crow justice continues in the Black Belt South. The struggle against the racism and brutality of attacks such as these is a struggle for the freedom of the oppressed Black Nation. It is a struggle which can only be ensured by the right of self-determination for the Black Nation.

The Black Nation, an oppressed and dependent nation, is enslaved economically, politically, and militarily by US imperialism. The struggle of the oppressed masses of the Black Nation for liberation is a revolutionary struggle and a movement staunchly allied to the revolutionary struggle of the multinational US proletariat to overthrow imperialism. National chauvinism is the main obstacle to building that alliance. Communists must therefore stand at the head of the struggle for self-determination and equal rights and root out completely every chauvinist weed that would poison that struggle.

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## THEORY OF THREE WORLDS

with the socialist countries, is determined by the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism and also by the contradiction between the socialist countries and imperialism. The differentiation between the superpowers of the first world and the lesser (or second rate) imperialist powers of the second world reflects contradictions among imperialist countries.

However, it would be wrong to conclude that Chairman Mao's theory involved only relations between countries and between nations in the present day world. The article points out that relations between nations are always based on relations between classes and in essence the theory of three worlds bears directly on the vital question of class struggle on a world scale. In particular, the differentiation of three worlds reflects class struggle

full of twists and turns. It necessarily involves different alignments of the world's political forces in different periods. Strategy and tactics change as objective changes in world events force a new differentiation of political forces. From the experience of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in guiding international struggle in different historical instances we can draw certain lessons that teach us the method we need to apply to adapt to these changes.

Marx and Engels, for example, showed the necessity to take into account the interests of the international proletariat as a whole as the starting point for investigation and not the interests of this or that country alone. On that basis they showed that it is necessary for theory to identify the arch enemy of international struggle and that re-

**'Tremendous changes in the present-day situation ... demand a new classification of the world's political forces, so that a new global strategy can be formulated...'**

gle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries.

Thus the differentiation of the three worlds reflects the operation of all four fundamental contradictions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

### THE QUESTION OF CAMPS

It is clear that this classification provides a more thoroughgoing, more comprehensive and more concrete summary of the alignment of world political forces at the present time than a division which is based only on the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. Nonetheless an opportunist attack on the three world theory tries to make a hard and fast formula of Lenin and Stalin's division of the world into two camps, the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism. The article in PEKING REVIEW points out that Stalin also divided the world into the camp of the oppressed and the camp of the oppressor nations. Which is it then? Two camps or four camps? Undoubtedly, the article explains, both these differentiations are correct and the difference between them lies only in what is emphasized -- the one and the other refer to the existence of different fundamental contradictions.

From this we need to draw an extremely important conclusion:

Whenever we have to make a comprehensive and concrete differentiation of world political forces in a given period, it is essential to start with an overall investigation of the many fundamental contradictions existing in the world and of their interconnections. No one of the four fundamental contradictions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution can be applied as a hard and fast formula to explain the alignment of political forces in any historical period.

After World War II, for example, the opposition between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp was a focus of struggle reflecting the influence of many fundamental contradictions. Today, however, we would have to shut our eyes to the influence of other contradictions and to events taking place if we were to regard the opposition between socialist countries and imperialism as the principal contradiction of world politics. This, the PEKING REVIEW article says, "would only make it impossible for the people of the world to see the facts and therefore the correct way forward."

In other words, neither Marxist theory nor Marxist strategy would be possible.

### THE METHOD OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN

The transition from capitalism to socialism world wide is an extremely long and complicated pro-

cess full of twists and turns. It necessarily involves different alignments of the world's political forces in different periods. Strategy and tactics change as objective changes in world events force a new differentiation of political forces. From the experience of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in guiding international struggle in different historical instances we can draw certain lessons that teach us the method we need to apply to adapt to these changes.

Today, the data of theory show that US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors and the biggest forces of world reaction. They are therefore the arch enemies of the people of the world and resolute opposition to them is the criterion for differentiating political forces.

Marx and Engels also showed the link between the cause of the proletariat and the democratic struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. They regarded this revolutionary movement as a precondition and a sure guarantee for the triumph of the international proletariat.

Based on the conclusions of Marx and Engels, Lenin was the first to show that in a new historical era, the cause of the oppressed nations was a component part of the struggle for world proletarian socialist revolution.

He also showed how the population of the world after World War I could be divided into three categories.

This concrete differentiation of the population of the world by Lenin is important. In IMPERIALISM THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM Lenin makes clear that analysis of political forces under imperialism must take into account the differences between great imperialist powers, oppressed nations and intermediate countries (see particularly chapter 6). These general guidelines, of course, do not in themselves constitute a concrete and comprehensive differentiation of political forces in any specific period. But when after World War I Lenin applied this method to divide the world population into three broad categories he does make a concrete and comprehensive classification. In a first category he included colonies and also countries vanquished in the war which had been effectively reduced to the status of colonies. In addition he included Soviet Russia in this category. Not only had Soviet Russia suffered overwhelming devastation and ruin because of the war, but as a socialist country it necessarily stood shoulder to shoulder with the colonies in the fight against imperialism. In a second category Lenin put the great imperialist powers, such as the US, Britain and Japan, who had benefited from the new division of the world brought about by the war. And in a third intermediate category he placed countries which had retained their old positions, but which fell, as a result of the war, into economic dependence on the US.

The PEKING REVIEW article em-

phasizes that Lenin did not abandon class principles or ignore the role of the socialist countries in international struggle when he placed Soviet Russia in the category of colonies and vanquished countries -- even though it obviously differed from these nations in social and political system. By doing this he did not forget that Soviet Russia was a socialist country either.

The article also points out that Lenin's categories reflect the operation of all the fundamental contradictions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and do not depend only on this or that contradiction taken in isolation.

We can draw the same lessons from Stalin. When he wrote during World War II that "a radical demarcation of forces and the formation of two opposite camps have taken place: the camp of the Italo-German coalition, and the camp of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition," this did not in the least affect the status of the Soviet Union as a socialist country or impede the development of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat. The article asks: "Can we blame Stalin for not strictly following the formula capitalist world vs. socialist world in this instance?"

In other words, under the circumstances of the anti-fascist war, an investigation of the operation of the fundamental contradictions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution led to a comprehensive and concrete differentiation of the world political forces which must be viewed as different from historical conditions before or since. For the same reason we obviously could not pretend that a new Italo-German coalition or Anglo-Soviet-American coalition would be a good way of summing up political forces today.

This is the significance of Stalin's statement quoted in the article that "the logic of facts is stronger than any other logic." The fundamental contradictions of the era are theoretical weapons which can be used to differentiate world political forces. But to make a comprehensive and concrete analysis of any particular historical situation these weapons cannot be treated in isolation but must be seen in their interconnection. Even the contradiction between socialism and imperialism alone could not give rise to a classification of world political forces into a socialist camp and an imperialist camp as we knew it after World War II. Such a conclusion also takes into account other contradictions. Certainly during World War II Stalin could not strictly apply the formula capitalist world vs. socialist world to make a concrete classification that would correspond to the needs of international

**'To accomplish its historic mission of burying the capitalist system... the international proletariat must do its utmost to build, consolidate and expand an international united front against the Soviet and US hegemonists and play to the full its role as the core of the united front.'**

struggle. Similarly, the same formula would be inadequate today where world political facts require a more comprehensive analysis.

While for the era as a whole the contradiction between capitalism and socialism is undoubtedly the most important contradiction from the point of view of theory, it may not operate as the decisive contradiction in any particular historical situation. The Second World War, for example, had its source primarily in inter-imperialist contradictions, and developed broadly as an antagonism between all patriotic and democratic people of the world against the fascist aggressors. Clearly, the logic of facts here was stronger than any other logic.

### THREE KINDS OF FORCES AND A SOCIALIST CAMP

Mao Tse Tung's differentiation of the three worlds completely accords with the criteria used by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin

and is a consistent development of his own thought. For example, in analyzing the Suez incident of 1956, Mao pointed out:

"In the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions are first, those between different imperialist powers, that is, between the United States and Britain and between the United States and France, and, second, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. The three kinds of forces are one, the US, the biggest imperialist power, two, Britain and France, second rate imperialist powers, and three, the oppressed nations."

Plainly, this analysis is a forerunner of the theory of three worlds. The PEKING REVIEW article states, "The difference between the two is chiefly due to the existence, however precarious, of a socialist camp at the time." As long as the socialist camp continued to exist, the three worlds analysis did not constitute a comprehensive analysis of total world political forces. But with the disintegration of the socialist camp, those countries which remained socialist must stand shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed nations. This is based on common experiences, common tasks in struggle, and common interests. It is the role of the socialist countries to stand in the van of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

### WHY A NEW CLASSIFICATION?

Today the differentiation of world political categories into three in some ways resembles Lenin's three categories after World War I, although after World War I the oppressed nations, making up over 70% of the world's population did not constitute a worldwide, anti-imperialist force in the main-stream of world revolutionary struggle. At that time the resistance of oppressed nations remained sporadic and isolated.

The differentiation between the two hegemonic powers, the US and the USSR, and the united front of the people against hegemonism, also resembles in some respects the demarcation which took place during World War II between the fascist camp and the anti-fascist camp. Here too, the differences are in the far wider basis and greater strength of the international anti-hegemonist united front as compared with the united front against fascism in the thirties.

The international united front against superpower hegemonism of the present period reflects the historic changes that have taken place in recent years. As Chairman Mao said in a telegram to the Albanian leaders in 1968, "a new historical period of struggle against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism has begun."

This new historical period, the article in PEKING REVIEW points out, is based on the disintegration of the socialist camp, the disintegration of the imperialist camp, and the rise of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Because of these historic changes, which constitute an historic turn, the article concludes:

"a new classification of the world's political forces is demanded so that a new global strategy can be formulated for the international proletariat and oppressed people. . . ."

Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds meets precisely this demand. In other words, the new classification of world political forces by Chairman Mao, the differentiation into three worlds, sums up and organizes the basic features of the present historical period. It is the firm basis upon which to establish a global strategy for international class struggle today.