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El Salvador

## A New Dose of Democracy for the "Fourth Border"



As soon as the U.S. bloc's No. 1 priest, the Pope, ended his "no violence/no alien ideologies" benedictions in Central America, the U.S.'s No. 1 hangman took center stage. Ronald Reagan called for \$298 million in new counterinsurgency "aid" (including both the military and economic varieties) for Central America, with the main focus of the ammunition and attention being El Salvador, slated to receive \$110 million in new military and \$67 million in new economic "aid." And he and his assistants carried out the accompanying propaganda barrage of lies, hypocrisy and straight-up claims of global ownership in the manner that perfectly matches everything the USA stands for.

Standing before the National Association of Manufacturers on March 10, Reagan pointed at a map of Central America and declared the region the U.S.'s "fourth border." Unfortunately, the map didn't include Lebanon, so that Reagan could point out the U.S.'s fifth border, and there certainly wasn't room at the lectern to adequately demonstrate all the borders all over the world that the U.S. is staking its claims to.

But the U.S. Commander-in-Chief made the point anyway: "It is not nutmeg that is at stake in the Caribbean and Central America. It is the United States' national security. Soviet military theorists want to destroy our capacity to resupply Western Europe in case of an emergency.

They want to tie down our forces on our southern border and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places, such as Europe, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Sea of Japan."

Thank you very much, Mr. President, for laying out the sphere of operation of U.S. national security (the sphere being the entire planet). Of course, you failed to mention U.S. geopolitical jockeying against the Soviets for similar purposes, but this is to be expected. And you use the word "emergency," not world war, but this too is easily deciphered. Still it is fine that you have found it necessary and proper to openly declare that the U.S. is not going after "nutmeg" in Central America or anywhere else but after blood and that the real terms of things are the preparations for going head-to-head with the Soviet bloc in a contest for world domination. Naturally, the freedom-loving Americans will do whatever is necessary to hold on tightly to the possessions (countries) that the U.S. has already stolen fair and square — such as the U.S. hemisphere — and move on to grab up as much more as possible. This is what national security is all about. But after you have so baldly laid this out, do you expect to be taken seriously when you decry "foreign intervention" in Central America even as it is announced that a new dose of U.S. military hardware and "trainers" will be added to keep El Salvador and the region free and on the path to democracy?

Once again, a string of U.S. government spokesmen are railing about the "Soviet-Cuban" threat in Central America and their plans for "world domination" and "imperial expansion." Remember *they're* the aggressors, *they're* the real threat to freedom and democracy. Why, they even have the nerve to do exactly what the U.S. and the other imperialists in its bloc are trying to do in other parts of the world — take advantage of intense and sharpening political contradictions and instability to advance their overall interests. Anyone who opposes the U.S. efforts to keep its clutches on El Salvador is just wittingly or unwittingly aiding the "focus of evil in the modern world."

For some strange reason a large part of the population of the world doesn't seem to be able to grasp that the U.S. only has the best interests of the Salvadoran and Central American people at heart when its henchmen murder 40,000 in El Salvador and a slightly smaller number in Guatemala while driving millions into refugee camps. They fail to see the benefits of "agricultural development" like the infamous death-to-the-tiller land reform in El Salvador. They refuse to recognize the bringing of the fruits of democracy like the death squad-enforced elections of the latest U.S. puppet regime. But why bring up unpleasant memories — let's look at the latest bold "new" plan of U.S.-style democracy planned for El Salvador.

In what has come to be standard parlance for U.S. schemes in El Salvador, the plan is described as a "two track"

campaign — this time for "rural pacification." The first track is a good, old-fashioned search-and-destroy mission through the key agricultural provinces of San Vicente and Usulután; of course, bombing and strafing missions using the latest in U.S. helicopter and small fighter-bomber technology will be a crucial part of the "destroy" phase of the operation. Then, if they can scare up the forces, comes the second track where a large body of soldiers will remain in each locality while a contingent of U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) personnel and their Salvadoran underlings come in to mobilize "civic action" details in conjunction with the army, rebuilding some of what they have just destroyed. As to the population of the area, they will be democratically told, "You are either with us or against us," in the words of one U.S. official who was involved in drawing up the plan, and dealt with accordingly.

Current activity in the town of Berlin provides a small-scale picture of how the plan will work. Last month, U.S.-directed indiscriminate bombing of the town that was briefly held by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas resulted in the mass murder of over 200 people and turned the town's central zone into a pile of rubble. But last week, U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton strolled benevolently down the street in his Panama hat, accompanied by reporters, talking up the \$2 million that the U.S. was contributing to rebuild five city blocks. One of the key projects is a

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## The St. Patrick's Day Incident

It was with deep regrets and shocked gasps that the U.S. government, the government of the Irish Republic, New York state and city politicians, Archbishop Terence Cardinal Cooke and an array of prominent Irish-American spokesmen who "deplore the violence" of the people of Northern Ireland against British-Loyalist rule withdrew their support for the traditional St. Patrick's Day parade in New York City. The problem, you see, was that the parade committee had committed a grievous error by choosing an open supporter of the Provisional Irish

Republican Army, Michael Flannery, to be the parade's Grand Marshall. My God! cried a chorus of advocates of "peace and reconciliation": this is support for violence and an attempt to turn a delightful and time-honored tradition into a political event. The *New York Times* editorialized, "It's hard this year to hail the parade for St. Patrick as a sign of spring and to join with the Irish in their time-honored celebration. The choice of Michael Flannery ... symbolizes the view of the parade sponsors that there is nothing smiling or gentle in their

thoughts of home." The Dublin government stated, "We deplore the use ... of Ireland's national patron (saint) for such bitterly divisive and destructive ends."

Right off the bat, many may ask, "Why all the shock and outrage?" Indeed, when has there been a St. Patrick's Day parade in New York or any other city that *didn't* have at least some degree of support for the IRA and the struggle in Northern Ireland, including from its sponsors? In fact, last year the Grand Marshall in New York was Patrick Mullen, who is also a supporter of the

IRA, and hunger striker Bobby Sands was named an honorary Grand Marshall. Clearly, widespread opposition to British-Loyalist rule in Northern Ireland among Irish people in the U.S. is no secret to anyone. But this is precisely the reason for the "sudden" and systematically orchestrated horror emanating from all these spokesmen for non-violence and non-politics. The struggle in Northern Ireland is not simply a problem for Britain but a thorn in the side of the entire Western bloc which the U.S. heads up.

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## Ohio State University

# All-American Rape

As the quarter was winding to an end, news broke out of a gang rape in one of the Ohio State University dorms. This case is bringing to the surface something which is very rarely talked about, but is a common occurrence in the lives of students on campus, and even more so in the dorms — the "all-American" rape. OSU is a typical middle American university. One of the largest in the country, it prominently numbers in the "big 10" with a heavy sports scene. In many ways a typical philistine "party" life exists and life in the dorms concentrates it.

Details are still sketchy of what actually happened, but what is clear is that the woman, an OSU student, was raped repeatedly between 10:30 p.m. February 22nd and 2:30 a.m. February 23rd by at least 7 men, some apparently "friends" of hers, including several players on the OSU football and basketball teams. The rapes reportedly took place in two different rooms in Steeb Hall dormitory, a co-ed dorm where many school athletes live. The rape was brutal; according to one source, the victim had been battered throughout the incident and was "black and blue from head to toe." The case has assumed some prominence because of the involvement in the attack of several starting football and basketball players, and because of exposure of this by OSU students and feminists, including interrupting the introductory proceedings at a recent OSU basketball game to demand "Stop the coverup, we want names. Stop rape now, rape is not a game," accompanied by a picket line outside the arena.

This type of rape — "acquaintance rape" — is the most prevalent form, where women are raped by men they know. One student said she had at least three friends who have been "date-raped." Another student spoke of prevalent attitudes on campus: "There's a lot of misunderstanding about the whole thing, especially in the dorms. The whole stigma in the dorms is that a good time is drinking and the getting picked up thing; especially when men get together a lot the whole macho image comes out...so in the dorm situation it's very easy to occur because it's so, so convenient." Another woman told that when she lived in the dorms last year, a group of men hid in the women's bathroom and then assaulted some women but ran off when the women screamed and made a commotion.

The atmosphere on campus is to act like rape doesn't exist. As one Steeb Hall resident said, "There's been a lot of stuff going on around here; it's just nobody's called it *rape* before." Resident advisors in the dorms were advised not to talk about this rape and in general "these kinds of things" have been dealt with as in-house matters. This is quite consistent

with accepted societal norms. "When the survivor of the rape internalizes all the pain and anger and guilt, it makes women perfect victims for rape because they take all the responsibility upon themselves," a member of Women Against Rape (WAR) put it. A dorm student spoke of the stigma that accompanies rape: "As long as a woman still thinks it's her fault, men are still gonna do it because they are not blamed, they think it's okay... There's a whole social constrict in the dorms themselves, you're not gonna go around saying, 'You're not gonna believe what happened to me last night,' you're gonna hide in your room and cry."

In its actions the university has promoted and reinforced the view (and spread the rumor mill) that either no crime was committed, or if one was, then the woman brought it on herself. It wasn't until after protests exposing the rape and the university's lack of action that the university even issued a public statement to "clarify the status of this matter." It concluded, "The cooperation of the University community as a whole is asked in both refraining from contributing to any inaccurate reports surrounding the incident and the growth of unsubstantiated rumors." To this date no one has been indicted or suspended from school or the athletic teams; after all OSU is going to the NCAA playoffs and a "little rape" can hardly be allowed to interfere with *this* all-American sports event. While the woman has identified her attackers, authorities attribute their slow action to the extensive investigation and "collection of evidence" required. It has just been announced now that the quarter is over that 9 jocks have been called to testify before a grand jury.

Yet the rumor mills, denying any crime was committed, have been running fast and furious on campus. Some say there was no rape. Others say she was drunk and wanted to party, so whatever happened to her is her own fault. Quite a commentary, reflecting the popular view that as long as a woman's "partner" may consent, she's a play-thing to all and any other men looking for a good time.

Gang rapes have long been viewed as non-existent in this society. Actually a study done in Philadelphia of 646 rape cases from 1958 to 1960 found that a full 43% of all rapes were multiple rapes (16% pair rapes, 27% group rapes). Recently, a woman was gang-raped in a dormitory at Michigan State University by 7 men. At the trial, the attackers got off and it was the rape victim herself who was put on trial. During the trial the woman was called a "party girl" by the defense attorney, and he asked her if she knew what the term "you asked for it" meant.

The Ohio State University statement

says, "The Department of Public Safety has overseen the University Police Department's involvement in the investigation and has determined that, based on information available to date, there is no imminent danger to the safety of other students residing in Steeb Hall." So, as of this statement, there was not enough information to suspend, indict or arrest the rapists, but at the same time there is "no imminent danger" based on the same lack of information! Logically

this must mean that *whatever* happened is fine!

This sounds strangely similar to a 1974 incident at the University of Notre Dame where a 17-year-old high school student was gang-raped by 6 football players. The victim's story was deemed irrelevant by his Catholic eminence President Theodore Hesburgh, who simply stated, "I didn't need to talk to the girl, I talked to the boys." The real "imminent danger" the university is concerned with is an increase in awareness and opposition to the long tolerated crime of rape that's breaking out on their all-American campus and shedding a bit of light on the brutal and exploitative essence of their stinking American dream. □

## Reader Exposes U.S. Military Moves in Haiti

To the RW,

According to a Haitian radio program and reports circulating in the Haitian community, in the middle of January, 150 American Marines landed on the Mole St. Nicholas in two helicopters and some jeeps marked "U.S. Navy Guantanamo." These Marines made a land survey of the Mole leaving markers on the land and reflector buoys and guiding lights just off the coast.

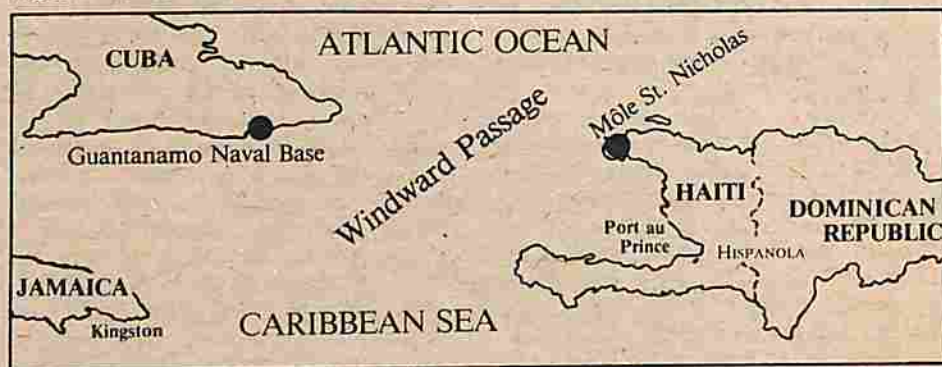
Preceding this landing, we have witnessed a flurry of visits of top U.S. and Haitian officials of both countries. For example, in November, 1982, Vernon Walters went to Haiti and had a secret meeting with top Haitian officials and in the beginning of February, 1983, Undersecretary Thomas Enders also visited Haiti and had a secret meeting with Haitian officials. Then a Haitian Colonel, Prosper Avril, also visited Washington and it was after these official visits that these Marines landed on the Mole — with them was a Colonel Prosper Avril himself.

The U.S. and its Haitian lackeys have obviously been trying hard to keep a lid on this and as the story leaked out, pro-U.S. forces in the broad anti-Duvalier movement jumped in to try to defuse the story but in the process only exposed more. For example, Gregoire Eugene, a leading Christian Democrat, writing in *Haiti Observateur*, said basically that the whole issue of Mole St. Nicholas is nothing but an issue that communists use for their own purposes. He assured his readers that he contacted a good friend of his, a U.S. Senator, who assured him that nothing like this is going on. And he finished with a flourish,

declaring that the U.S. is a democratic country so nothing as important as setting up a new military base in Haiti directly across from the strategic Windward Passage from Cuba could happen without the Congress and the public knowing about it and debating it. Mr. Eugene really doth protest too much and he must hope that his readers know nothing about the infamous Tonkin Gulf Resolution or the thousands of everyday lies called U.S. diplomacy.

Other forces who have heard about this move are coming into political motion against it, saying it's a violation of Haiti's national sovereignty which it certainly is, as is the entire history of the lackey Duvalier's rule. But there are much greater stakes involved than Haiti's sovereignty. With Central America and the Caribbean emerging as both a central focus of rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet imperialist blocs, and as an arena of revolutionary struggle of the masses, the U.S. is very concerned to control the waterways of the area and deprive the Soviets of the same. Nicaragua has just announced that Bulgaria is building a port on its coastline which the Soviets will be eager to use now or later. Guantanamo itself, on Cuban soil, is not exactly secure, so the U.S. is pushing ahead with its long held plans to build the new base either at the Mole in Haiti or in the Dominican Republic. And the fact that they are trying so hard to proceed secretly reveals both the seriousness of all this and the potentially explosive possibilities ahead.

A Haitian reader



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More Reflections and Sketches

# So Many Lies in So Little Space

A Look at a Single Paragraph  
of a Reagan Speech



by Bob Avakian

During the latter part of last year, the Revolutionary Worker ran a series of articles, Reflections and Sketches, edited from a tape by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. We are currently printing a new series of articles, More Reflections and Sketches, by Bob Avakian.

For anyone reading this paragraph (see box) all by itself, it might come as a surprise that it is the conclusion of Reagan's speech announcing that he had chosen the "dense pack" approach to the deployment of the MX missile whose construction he is urging. But, on the other hand, for all those by now familiar with the reverse-speak (otherwise known as double-talk) of not only Reagan but imperialist spokesmen in general, there is little surprise. After all, it was in this same speech that Reagan actually said "We still seek peace above all else," after reviewing "America's contributions to peace following World War II" (!), and trumpeted his plans for MX production and deployment as well as for greatly increased military spending in general as great peace-keepers.

The main substance of this speech has been analyzed elsewhere (see, for example, the front page article in the *RW*, No. 182, Nov. 26, 1982). For that reason and because it is very important to understand the ideological-packaging with which Reagan is selling his political program — especially to Main Street America — I want to deal specifically with the paragraph from that speech reprinted here.

This paragraph itself is truly a "dense pack" of lies woven together with reactionary mythology. Leaving aside the opening Sunday school lesson — "we have so much to be grateful for" — which must seem like a hollow and bitter mockery even to many who voted for Reagan in 1980, let's go on to where Reagan gets to the ideological heart of things: "I've always believed that this land was set aside in an uncommon way, that a divine plan placed this great continent between the oceans to be found by a people from every corner of the earth who have a special love of faith, freedom and peace." Here Reagan's statement is a patchwork of deliberate distortion, obfuscation and unabashed chauvinism, on every level.

It is hard to believe that Reagan has "always believed" this drivel, but it is possible — and if it is true it is the only true statement in this sentence so rich in reactionary gems. "This land" was not "set aside in an uncommon way." In fact, "this land" along with the larger land mass it is part of was once connected to what are now other continents and they were separated by the "common" — that is, natural — process of the movement of the earth's surface, in relation to changes within the earth's "inner core." No "divine plan" is necessary to explain this, nor in fact was there any "divine plan" involved. Reagan's invention of one is simply a continuation of the chauvinist notion of the special "destiny" of America, with "god on its side" — a particular version of the more general notion of "white man's burden" to "civilize" the non-white "savages" who inhabit most of the earth.

In fact, those whom the imperialists, and their forefathers, have treated as "savages" (but now call "American Indians" — *American* Indians) inhabited "this land" and "this great continent" well before those "people from every corner of the earth who had a special love of faith, freedom and peace" arrived to slaughter the native peoples and steal the land from them. This is without doubt a good part of what Reagan means when he speaks of "America's destiny of goodness and good will."

But what does he mean when he refers to "this great continent?" Obviously

"My fellow Americans, on this Thanksgiving, when we have so much to be grateful for, let us give special thanks for our peace, our freedom and our good people. I've always believed that this land was set aside in an uncommon way, that a divine plan placed this great continent between the oceans to be found by a people from every corner of the earth who have a special love of faith, freedom and peace. Let us reaffirm America's destiny of goodness and good will. Let us work for peace, and, as we do, let us remember the lines of the famous hymn, 'O God of love, O King of peace, make wars throughout the world to cease.'"

he does not include Central and South America, whose peoples have received the same "destiny" at the hands of those "special people" whom Reagan sets aside for praise and for "favored nation status" in the eyes of god. How, for example, would Reagan's scheme fit for Mexico, a major part of whose land was stolen by part of that same "America's destiny of goodness and good will?" This "great continent," then, is only North America — which it should be pointed out is not physically separated from Central and South America today — and for Reagan North America means only the U.S. and Canada (the Canadians, or the overwhelming majority of them who are Europeans and particularly Anglo-Saxon, are "special people" too, even if a little less "special" than "Americans").

And what of the Black people in "this land" and other parts of North America and Latin America? Are they part of those "special people" who "found" this "great continent?" No, in truth it must be said that "this great continent" actually "found" them — that is, brought them to "this great continent" in chains by the millions (to say nothing of the millions who died during the passage). This, too, is a central part of "America's destiny of goodness and good will."

No, clearly, these "special people" are Europeans — and above all the more "special" among them who have risen to positions of wealth and power in this "great land." For even the history of the masses of immigrants to "this land" from Europe — to say nothing of those from Asia and generally from what is now called the "third world" — is a history of brutal exploitation and oppression, even if there has been, especially for the Europeans, some upward mobility and opportunity to get some droppings from the spoils of "America's destiny of goodness and good will."

All this, then — together with the whole history as well as present day reality of the international exploitation and plunder carried out by U.S. imperialism — is the reality behind all the pious, if puny, efforts to lend some grandeur and divine design to it all. In the immediate context, the purpose is very clearly to whip up and lend some sense of loftiness, no matter how low, to the program of "America number one" — no matter what it takes to keep it there.

It would be a serious error, then, if after examining the flagrant lies in such ideological statements, to dismiss them as merely ridiculous and laughable. There is a serious — a deadly serious — purpose in all this, and whether or not it is actually true that Reagan has "always believed" these chauvinist catechisms, it is a fact that many, many people have believed them and many still do. In some cases this is because they have a stake in doing so, in others because life, specifically upheaval in society, has not yet forced them to question these assumptions, and in some cases it is a combination of both. While developments in the material sphere (the economic and social conditions) and the political sphere — in particular the further development and strengthening of a proletarian revolutionary movement — are the main things which will provide the basis for shaking masses of people loose from the hold of such reactionary beliefs, the importance of ideology should not be underestimated.

This was spoken to in a negative sense by one Robert J. Samuelson in an article, "Phantom Philosophy, Reaganomics, Is Dead," in the *Washington Post* (Dec. 14, 1982). Noting that it is not Reagan's policies but something deeper that is responsible for the state of the economy and society generally in the U.S. today, Samuelson points out that the old "New Deal" assumptions, associated

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## So Many Lies

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with Franklin D. Roosevelt, through Kennedy and up to the recent past, no longer hold. Reagan, he argues, has come up with no real alternative and "The result is a political system without bearings. Americans dislike ideology, but every political system needs a modest amount of it." When he comments that "Americans dislike ideology" Samuelson is really reflecting the fact that the ideology — the specific form of bourgeois ideology — that has long been dominant in the U.S. is pragmatism, which says, in essence, that if something works, don't seek the reasons why, it is true, it is good — do it. Of course, smuggled into this philosophy are values about what is good, what constitutes "working" in the first place — and it turns out to be the success that has been enjoyed by U.S. capital in expanding through exploitation and parasitic plunder and assuming a dominant position in the world. Now, however, all that is being fundamentally called into question and this is creating a real and profound "crisis of ideology." The U.S. imperialists are in serious — one could even say desperate — need of some new lies to buttress the old, reactionary values and the system they serve.

This problem was addressed in a deeper and more thorough way in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (Fall 1982) by William H. McNeil. Entitled, significantly, "The Care and Repair of Public Myth," this article, while denying in effect that there is objective truth and treating revolutionary or reactionary ideas as all myth of one kind or another, nevertheless makes the following very telling

remarks:

"Political institutions are therefore not working well on either side of the Iron Curtain. Inherited political faiths are in danger of losing their credibility. The incipient stage of such a change is difficult to recognize or measure accurately; yet withdrawal of belief may suddenly come to matter more than anything else in foreign or domestic affairs. Revolutionary situations, like that which recently boiled up in Iran, register the collapse of old belief; but a successful revolution, like every other collective action, must invent or revive its own myths. Stability, predictability, control are otherwise impossible. The body politic cannot endure without agreement on truths that can be used to guide and justify public action.

"To be sure, the United States is not in a revolutionary situation. Nonetheless, discrepancies between old myths and current realities are great enough to be troubling. They seem to widen every day; yet serious effort to revise inherited public myths remains largely the province of revivalist sectarians." (page 5)

Is it any wonder that Reagan and all other serious spokesmen for the imperialists are furiously telling as many lies as they can package for mass consumption? And certainly not the least of these lies is the insistence that there is no alternative to the present system, with its whole history and ongoing commission of the most truly monstrous and hideous crimes — and the lie that there is no possibility of the revolutionary overthrow of this system, including right within the U.S., this great citadel of imperialism, itself.

Next week: Down on the Word "Lady" (To Say Nothing of "Bitch")

# The Youth Against: The Queen, Reagan, The Revisionists, The Cops ...

The flaunting of imperialist empires and alliances which surrounded the recent visit of the Queen of England to the U.S. reached its apex at a banquet thrown by the Reagan administration for the Queen in San Francisco on March 3. To insure that the Queen, the Reagans, and the 250 "notables" in attendance could pick at their double consommé of pheasant with quenelles of goose liver in peace, 500 city cops — joined by an unknown number of feds — ringed the M.H. deYoung Memorial Museum in Golden Gate Park, the site of the feast. The pigs were positioned every 20 feet behind a yellow police line ribbon that marked the whole perimeter. Every few hundred yards there were also giant floodlights that turned night into day.

A demonstration had been planned for some months, called by a number of opportunist groups which typically focused the thing against "Reaganism." Leading up to the demonstration a concerned

local press wondered: "Will the demonstrators insult the Queen?" The event was also seen as a big test of how "the city will handle" the 1984 Democratic Party convention, should it occur in San Francisco. The demonstration showed that a deal had clearly been worked out between march organizers and the authorities to keep things under control. A small army of security monitors — made up of revisionists, supplied by the CPUSA, and labor aristocrats, supplied by some local Irish politicians — was set up to guarantee this.

The march drew around 6,000 people. This included a good number of youth and others anxious to precisely "insult the Queen." This spelled trouble for the opportunists. At a rally before the march (which was to end at a site inside the park, but a safe distance from the deYoung Museum), a group of punks, anarchists, RCYB members and other youth had gathered. Security monitors linked arms,

encircled this spirited contingent, and sang "We Shall Overcome"! Meanwhile, the youth used a bullhorn to curse the Queen, Reagan, and the monitors who were acting like "a bunch of fascists."

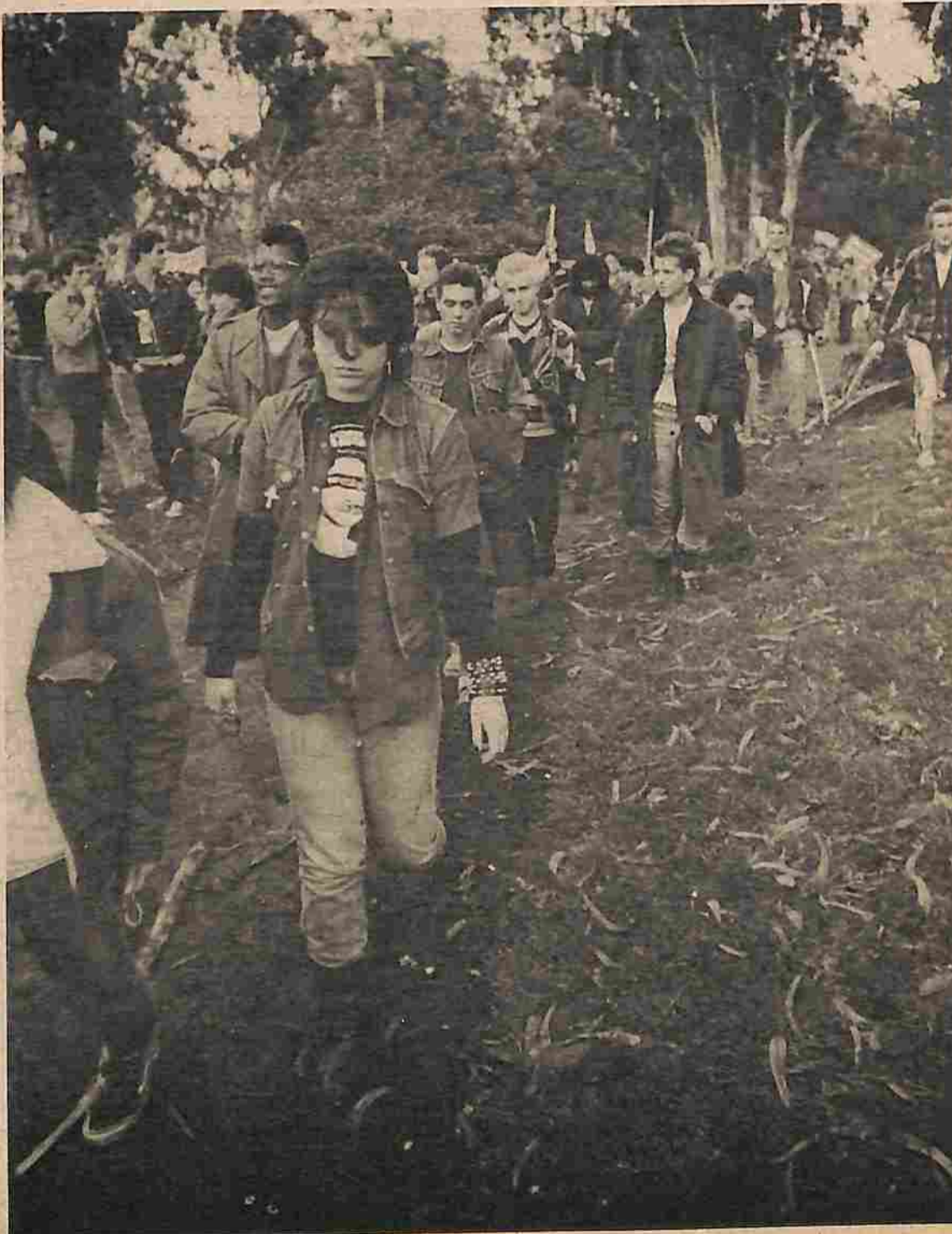
At one point, the punks linked arms, formed their own flank facing the monitors, and slam danced their way through the security line. The punks formed up outside the massed marchers and took off, trying to move toward the Queen and Reagan. They chanted, "deYoung! deYoung!" To the horror of security monitors, the mass of demonstrators began to follow the youth. Security was frantically dispatched to rope the demonstration back in.

Once in the park, the youth tried repeatedly to break through police lines to get to the museum, but they were continually outflanked and some were clubbed. At times, the San Francisco Tac Squad, mounted on trail bikes, tried to ride herd on the youth as spotlight equip-

ped helicopters hovered overhead. All during the march, youth were chanting things like "Crowns Will Roll," "deYoung, deYoung," and "Anarchy."

Unable to get past the police, the youth ended up at the final rally site. They now tried to break through security monitor lines in order to get to the stage. They wanted to make an announcement that people should go to deYoung "and leave this boring rally." Fist fights broke out as security protected the stage.

Midway through the rally, a number of older radicals set fire to effigies of Reagan and the Queen. This electrified the crowd and cheers went up. Security monitors quickly surrounded the fire, attempting to put it out. They said it was the work of "police provocateurs." Infuriated with this and the monitors' behavior in general, the crowd began taunting the monitors with shouts of "Where's your badges? You're the ones acting like cops!"





Lenin on

# KARL MARX

(A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism)

March 14, 1983, was the centennial of the death of Karl Marx. Last week, the RW reprinted part of an essay by V.I. Lenin on the life and work of Marx. The essay is continued below.

## The Class Struggle

That in any given society the strivings of some of its members run counter to the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, that history discloses a struggle between nations and societies, and also within nations and societies, and, in addition, an alternation of periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline — are facts that are generally known. Marxism has provided the guiding thread which enables us to discover the laws governing this seeming labyrinth and chaos, namely, the theory of the class struggle. Only a study of the sum total of the strivings of all the members of a given society or group of societies can lead to a scientific definition of the result of these strivings. And the source of the conflicting striving lies in the difference in the position and mode of life of the *classes* into which each society is divided. "The history of all hitherto existing society," wrote Marx in *The Communist Manifesto* (except the history of the primitive community — Engels added subsequently), "is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . . The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonism. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in

place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." Ever since the Great French Revolution, European history has most clearly revealed in a number of countries this real undersurface of events, the struggle of classes. And the Restoration period in France already produced a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers) who, generalizing from events, were forced to admit that the class struggle was the key to all French history. And the modern era — the era of the complete victory of the bourgeoisie, representative institutions, wide (if not universal) suffrage, a cheap daily press with a mass circulation, etc., the era of powerful and ever-expanding unions of workers and unions of employers, etc., has revealed even more manifestly (though sometimes in a very one-sided, "peaceful," "constitutional" form) that the class struggle is the mainspring of events. The following passage from Marx's *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx required of social science in respect to an objective analysis of the position of each class in modern society in connection with an analysis of the conditions of development of each class: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of

history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat." In a number of historical works, Marx has given us brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, of an analysis of the position of *each* individual class, and sometimes of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how "every class struggle is a political struggle."<sup>2</sup> The above-quoted passage illustrates what a complex network of social relations and *transitional* stages from one class to another, from the past to the future, Marx has analysed in order to calculate the entire resultants of historical development.

The most profound, comprehensive and detailed confirmation and application of Marx's theory is his economic doctrine.

## Marx's Economic Doctrine

"It is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society" (that is to say, capitalist, bourgeois society), says Marx in the preface to *Capital*.<sup>3</sup> An investigation of the relations of production in a given, historically defined society, in their genesis, development, and decline — such is the content of Marx's economic doctrine. In capitalist society it is the production of *commodities* that dominates, and Marx's analysis therefore begins with an analysis of the commodity.

## Value

A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing. The utility of a thing makes it a *use-value*. Exchange-value (or simply, value) presents itself first of all as the ratio, the proportion, in

which a certain number of use-values of one sort are exchanged for a certain number of use-values of another sort. Daily experience shows us that millions upon millions of such exchanges are constantly equating with one another every kind of use-value, even the most diverse and incomparable. Now, what is there in common between these various things, things constantly equated one with another in a definite system of social relations? What is common to them is that they are *products of labour*. In exchanging products people equate to one another the most diverse kinds of labour. The production of commodities is a system of social relations in which the individual producers create diverse products (the social division of labour), and in which all these products are equated to one another in exchange. Consequently, what is common to all commodities is not the concrete labour of a definite branch of production, not labour of one particular kind, but *abstract* human labour — human labour in general. All the labour power of a given society, as represented in the sum total of values of all commodities, is one and the same human labour power: millions and millions of acts of exchange prove this. Consequently, each particular commodity represents only a certain share of the *socially necessary* labour time. The magnitude of value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour, or by the labour time that is socially necessary for the production of the given commodity, of the given use-value. "... whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different kinds of labour expended upon them. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it." As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relation between two persons; only he ought to have added: a relation disguised as a relation between things. We can

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## Correspondence on IWD

## “Dark Is The Force of Habit, But Bright Is Hope”

We want to share an experience involving a group of proletarian women in a housing complex in a small Black community where the day-to-day abuses are increasingly being heaped on the Black masses. It kind of reminds me of the South, a rural area where there aren't any sidewalks, shanty cafes, a place where conditions are very stark. Unemployment is very high. There's only two groups of people — the oppressed and the oppressors. Only a few yards away there are crisp green lawns, white sprawling mansions that look like the White House. In this town there aren't any places to go socialize. You either party in someone's house or go to a town north of here.

The local pigs are white. The few Blacks that have joined the force in the last 4, 5 years have been transferred to other areas. In a recent abuse, a Black youth was shot in the back by a woman pig. Not only was she left on the force, she rubbed everyone's nose in it. Rebellious men have been run out of town. As one woman told us, “The pigs have a wall in the station with pictures of all the men they said they'd get. They're either in jail, run out of town or dead.” There's a lot of anger seething beneath the surface, fighting to break through.

After reading some of the articles in the *Revolutionary Worker* on the oppression of women: “To be sure you have to scratch the sensitive spots — such is their mentality regarding women. Could there be any more palpable proof than the common sight of a man calmly watching a woman wear herself out with trivial, monotonous, strength- and time-consuming work such as her housework, and watching her spirit shrinking, her mind growing dull, her heartbeat growing faint, and her will growing slack?” I began to think about whether it was possible to begin to break these chains today and how that would come about. I go through a lot of turmoil about how to change the world, what my role should be and what socie-

ty says my role is. When you're not involved you feel like you should be doing something. When you are involved, you ask yourself, am I doing right by my kids? If you are sitting back, letting this shit go on, all you're doing is prolonging the chains. I began to realize that this is not a question for me, but for thousands of others who want to step more into political life but are held back by being responsible for the kids, the house, bringing in the money. In this community many women are single or are working while the husband is unemployed.

We took the *RW* out there, the issue around Women's Day. In the beginning a young woman we talked to was pretty defensive about her husband, she felt she wasn't as oppressed as other women because her husband helped out. “I had to clean this whole apartment when we moved in. David took care of our son while I scrubbed, then he cooked dinner for us.” We talked it over and got into where the source of this oppression comes from, that it's not from the men, it's from class society itself which influences all of us — the way men and women think and act. She began to perk up. Did things always have to be this way? And what the source of this oppression is, where it comes from.

If you want to be happy for the rest of your life  
Then make an ugly woman your wife

From a personal point of view  
Get an ugly woman to marry you!

This really pissed her off! If you're pretty you don't have to put up with this shit, but if you're ugly you are somebody's slave. But if you're pretty you're just an ornament to dress up somebody's arm. This is sick! She began to toss around what could be done today to bring about the future where this stinking ideology doesn't exist.

How could any of this change? What could be done today? I gave her a copy of an article in the May 1, 1982 *RW* that explained what the role of women was in the Russian revolution. We talked about why fighting for reforms was promoting illusions about prolonging this setup. Later, she read the whole article and was excited by it, but at the same time thought it was kind of scary — that it would require such violent clashes to change things.

She keeps a collection of photographs and graphic illustrations. One is a cartoon of squat little men dressed in business suits with huge eyeballs instead of heads. She said, “These guys are the CIA.” There are also pictures of Puerto Ricans confronting the cops. She has a book on the Young Lords Party. She said it's not 1975 anymore. They are serious about building more and more destructive weapons. Is there any way out of this? We talked about how this reflects the crisis of a whole worldwide system which inflicts misery on people all of the time but is being driven to go to war, as the rivalry between the superpower blocs intensifies, it leaves the imperialists weakened in many sections of the world. In times such as these, the government needs the loyalty of its slaves to win. We are being confronted by a very crucial point in history but we have the choice of whether to unite with people all around the world in fighting this system or to join them.

On IWD we came back and talked about making a banner to give visible expression to much of the sentiments there. It took one and a half hours to decide what to put on the banner, but it ended up being what actually spoke to the way she felt. The banner:

March 8  
International Women's Day  
1983 Year of Construction  
Destruction Comes in But a Moment  
Construction Only After a Desperate Struggle

*Dark is the Force of Habit  
But Bright is Hope  
Retreat is Death  
Advance is Life*

She went with us to her mother-in-law's house to take the banner. I think more to see how it would be received. The mother signed the banner, said it was great, but it would take more than a banner to change things. We talked about taking it to another city where people face similar conditions. She agreed this would have some kind of impact. The woman who made the banner signed it back in her apartment and struggled with her husband to sign it. He bought a “Break the Chains” t-shirt but wouldn't sign the banner.

Two days later the banner was taken back to these apartments where two people had bought the “Break the Chains” t-shirts. A man and woman had worn them to work the night before. Asked if anything had developed around this, she said, “only stares. They know not to fuck with me.” She was very pissed off about the murder of the 5-year-old boy. She said if this had happened to her she would be doing time right now because nothing would have stopped her from going after the pig who killed the child. She also mentioned parts of the funeral shown on tv news. Richard Pryor was there and the NAACP was getting involved. “Sometimes Blacks try to forget where they come from but these days they don't have a chance because they're always being reminded.”

They wanted more of the “Break the Chains” t-shirts. There are also plans to take the banner to a local store where the *RW* is sold, hang it on the wall and talk to people about it. This shows when people get a taste of the future they want more of it!

from a Black woman warrior and supporter of the RCP in California

## A Call For A Teach-In

## The “Case” of the Atlanta Black Youth Murders: Nothing Is Closed!

The following is a call for a teach-in on the Black youth murders in Atlanta which is being circulated by the RCP in Atlanta and by various progressive and revolutionary groups and individuals. The call appeared in last week's issue, but a paragraph was mistakenly omitted. Also, new endorsing signatories have been added. We are therefore reprinting the corrected call. The teach-in is currently scheduled for March 30 at 7:00 p.m. at the Morris Brown College Student Center, Atlanta Georgia.

February 27, 1982: With the swift pounding of a gavel, the two-year reign of terror against Black youth in Atlanta is declared over and done with. The authorities finally got their man — a “sick, black individual” — and removed him from society. All is in order. Once again, so the story went, the vicious murder and oppression of Blacks was shown to be the work of a deranged individual, while the system, with its courts, cops, politicians and FBI, had once again done its job of “protecting the people.” Like the strutting sheriff in a grade-B western, those who rule this country shouted from the rooftops, “You can go home, folks. We have everything under control.”

Today, one year later, *nothing* is closed. What was true before the authorities so self-righteously declared “case closed” is still true today — and *doubly* so with their efforts to cover it up. The murder of 28-plus Black youth in Atlanta, carried out with cold, calculated precision, was no more the work of a sick individual than are the daily murders of Blacks in every major city of this country by “official” police. They were no more a deviation from the “great traditions of American democracy” than the thousands of lynchings that would fill the pages of any American history book that told the truth. The Black youth murders were, as is widely known, testimony to the whole experience of Black people in the U.S. since its origins, and a sharp indication of the times we are living in.

But of course now all of that is supposed to be “out of order.” The case has been solved —

and the verdict passed was not so much that Wayne Williams is guilty, but that the system is innocent! That is the verdict every arm of the authorities and the press have so desperately been shoving down our throats, while thousands throw it right back up. But two years of attacking and suppressing the people (under the lofty heading of “keeping things under control”) while literally protecting the murderers cannot be so easily washed clean — especially when it has *continued* and intensified over the past year.

— When it was revealed only a few months after the Williams' trial that as many as 40 Black women have been brutally stabbed to death during the youth murders and continuing after Williams was arrested, Andy Young bluntly stated what has guided the authorities all along: “If there are similarities, my feeling is the less said the better.” And the brutal murders vanished from the newspapers.

— Twice this past year Black men have been found in a field near downtown Atlanta brutally murdered — one lynched, the other chopped to pieces. Again, “no similarities,” declared those in power.

— The city, state and federal governments have fought hard to enforce their “verdict” with suppression and outright attacks on anyone who would dare oppose it. Webster Brooks, a Black member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, has to this date been sentenced to 16 months in prison by the Atlanta courts for distributing the proclamation “Only the People Can Close the Case of the Atlanta Black Youth Murders!” downtown and at Atlanta Jr. College, and leading youth in opposing the government's vicious closing of the case. As former UN Ambassador Andrew Young, now the mayor of Atlanta, said once, there are still political prisoners in the U.S. — he should know! (And Greg Johnson, a white member of the RCP, has been sentenced to 8 months in jail and 10 months probation for similar “crimes.”)

— This is the real pattern that linked the Atlanta Black youth murders. From day one, whoever it really was that was sweeping up and systematically murdering Black youth was not alone. Every step the murderers took, every body thrown in the Chattahoochee brought with it more and more intense “official” attacks and outrages — from the occupation of Techwood Homes to crush the bat patrols to the hounding of the STOP Committee and the mothers generally — hounding that *still* continues today as many continue to demand their children's murderers be caught. To those in power, including the wide array of Black officials, the “problem” in Atlanta was not that Black youth were being systematically murdered, but that millions saw it for what it was — a vivid concentration of the oppression of Blacks and other nationalities in this country and a rallying cry in the struggle of millions against that oppression.

We cannot let that stand! There is far too much at stake here to leave the field open to those whose *only* concern is to “keep the peace and order.” The criminals are loudly proclaiming that they have solved their own crime. This historic teach-in is being held to further penetrate the truth, to expose the hand of the government this past year and to probe deeply into the real causes and implications of this outrage. A teach-in held last year during the Williams trial struck a powerful blow against the authorities' plans — that blow must be deepened.

The crime of the Atlanta Black youth murders has put a major challenge before anyone who burns with hatred for the oppression we see around us day-in and day-out — a challenge especially to cut through the fog that has been thrown over these murders by the powers that be since they began over 3 years ago. We call on you to be part of an event that will be an important step in making it clear that *NOTHING IS CLOSED.*

The following is a partial list of endorsers:

Camille Bell, mother of youth murder victim Josef Bell and a former leader of the STOP Committee  
Webster Brooks, Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade  
Douglass DeLoach, writer  
Miller Francis, DJ, writer  
Michael Gandy, reggae DJ  
Rob Gibson, station manager of WRFQ\*  
Ernest Gregory, jazz historian  
Vince Hoffman, youth of 19  
Mr. and Mrs. Jackson, parents of youth murder victim Aaron Jackson  
Greg Johnson, Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade  
Brenda Joiner, Feminist Women's Health Center, Tallahassee, Fla.\*  
Arthur Langford, a former Atlanta City Councilman\*  
Paul LaRaque, Haitian poet  
Janice Lidel, from the Political Science Dept. of Clark College\*  
Alice Lovelace, poet  
Abdul Rasheed Mannan, radio producer  
Brother Onaje, citizen of the Republic of New Afrika  
Dr. Sondra O'Neal, professor of Literature, Emory University\*  
Earl Picard, the Political Science Dept. of Atlanta University\*  
Mike Piani, member of PAC\*  
Revolutionary Communist Party  
Annie Rogers, mother of youth murder victim Patrick Rogers  
Sonia Sanchez, poet and playwright  
Students Publications, from Morris Brown College  
Randy Tatel, from Line of Sight (a participatory political-cultural magazine, University of Georgia in Athens)\*  
Venus Taylor, mother of youth murder victim Angel Lanier  
Askia Toure, poet

\*For identification only

# A Whole Lot of Squealing Going On

Check out the following fictional scenario from a *New York Times* editorial: "Distressing tardiness statistics: principals of Theodore Roosevelt, Carrie Chapman Catt and George Washington Cable High School all report a soaring percentage of 12 o'clock scholars in their student body. Surveys in the Roosevelt, Catt and Cable school districts have noted hundreds of teenage students idling on the front steps of their homes as late as 11:30 in the morning. Investigation indicates that most are waiting for the mailman. After examining the day's delivery, they generally leave it in the mail slot and rush off to school, though occasionally a student is seen igniting a single envelope with a cigarette lighter."

Or as another major newspaper put it: "No system is foolproof and resourceful teenagers will figure out how they can give a false address and telephone number to get prescription devices."

What the above "news" items reveal are some rather knotty problems the U.S. ruling class is currently thrashing out amongst themselves over the rule proposed in February 1982 by Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker, which would make it mandatory for all federally funded family planning clinics to snitch to parents of women under 18 who get birth control devices or prescriptions.

As news of this proposal filtered through the bureaucracy and down to the streets and schools, "resourceful" youth were already figuring out how they would get around the law should it be implemented. The official statistics came in quickly from polls across the country, showing that at least 25% of women under 18 who presently utilize these clinics would stop going, but 98% said that the Schweiker rule would hardly encourage them toward a fuller appreciation of American family morals (as it is intended to do), or as one young woman put it, the idea that notifying parents would decrease sex among youth "is the silliest thing I ever heard."

This rebellious and nose-thumbing response of the youth to the Schweiker rule is yet another indication of what is consi-

dered by the U.S. ruling class to be a very serious problem, and one which prompted Schweiker to come up with his proposal in the first place. As we pointed out a year ago when the rule was first proposed (see *RW* No. 143, "The State vs. The Dangerous Daughters"), young women in large numbers have been quite reluctant to base their outlook and whole life on the approved goal of "service to family," with the bottom line being husbands and fathers. Statistics such as the fact that 1.5 million unmarried teenaged women are currently using the birth control services of family planning centers only hint at the problem. According to America's foremost experts on "adolescent socialization," the thinking behind such widespread use of contraceptives is revealed in the results of "attitude surveys" of youth — where such traditional American values as religious dogma and the importance of preserving one's virginity for one's future husband are being rejected outright. Furthermore, 58% of the country's two million youthful runaways are female — and everyone knows that they are not running away to get married and bring up children in the proper setting.

Even those young women who do get pregnant and bear children (1.1 million teenagers last year) are not being properly socialized. Bourgeois academic journals have made a big point about the fact that the rate of teenage births *outside of marriage* has been steadily increasing over the past 15 years. This is a reflection of a number of factors, including various bourgeois efforts to limit the availability of birth control in local areas and the ideology inculcated into young women that having a baby is the only way to make their lives worthwhile, and it usually portends a life of great hardship starting at a very early age. But what the *bour-*

*geoisie* is upset about is the fact that, unlike the good old days of shotgun weddings, not enough women are "legitimizing" the occasion. In fact, the very term "illegitimate children" is proof enough of what the rulers consider "legitimate" — a family headed by a man.

One of the problems that the U.S. imperialists are facing is a situation where young women are not about to be so easily put back under the whip of family discipline and morality. As we pointed out when the Schweiker rule was first proposed in 1982: This traditional role of family morality vis à vis its daughters was severely ripped up by the upheavals of the '60s and the involvement of tens of thousands of young women in them, including but not limited to the specific focus of fighting against the oppression of women. This not only forced many parents to re-evaluate their own role toward their children, but it also forced some concessions from the bourgeoisie in this arena — in a period when their international position gave them more freedom to give them. In the early '70s, family planning centers began to be set up around the country — and while birth control for unmarried teenagers was by no means available to all who wanted it, most of the major cities that had been wracked by the rebellion of youth had some center that provided it without parental notification or consent. In a certain sense, this meant only "giving" legally what was already being taken by many, in the hopes of preventing further questioning of the roots of this oppression — and all oppression — and much more serious rebellion as a result. But it also had the effect of further loosening the family discipline clamp on young women.

Today the times demand otherwise;

and the entire ruling class, both the moral majority types and the "liberals" among them, have rallied to shore up the controls of family discipline on young women and to ensure that the family and the state act in concert to see to it that girls learn the "proper place for a woman." In fact, the Schweiker rule was based on an interpretation of a bill which passed both houses of Congress unanimously in 1981. Co-sponsored by Teddy Kennedy in close consultation with his equally liberal sister Eunice Schriver, the bill says in part that "prevention of adolescent sexual activity and adolescent pregnancies depends primarily on developing strong family values and strong family ties." (It is of course well known, from the events of Chappaquiddick, what lengths Teddy Kennedy will go to in order to defend the "family" morality.) But while there was agreement that an ideological offensive was in order and there was also agreement as to the ideological content of that offensive, differences between those favoring a "moderate" form of attack and those favoring an "extreme" approach quickly surfaced on the Schweiker rule. (This debate has in part been reflected in a court fight, where various contradictory rulings on Schweiker's rule are going to come up to the Supreme Court. Most recently, on March 2, one federal judge in Washington, D.C. even contradicted himself, reversing his own ruling of February 18 upholding the rule, and issuing a permanent injunction against it. But those who put faith in this would do well to note the 1981 Supreme Court ruling which upheld a Utah state law requiring approval from *both* parents — or the court — before a teenager can have an abortion; in his legal argument, Chief Justice Burger, with a clear eye to the tenor of the times, identified the protection of "family integrity.")

Right after the Schweiker rule was proposed, Planned Parenthood took out a full-page ad and announced that it was just going to refuse federal funding if the rule was put into effect. The liberal *New York Times*, which has been in the forefront of opposition to the rule, im-

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## But Jerry Falwell Isn't Laughing...

Above left, a chorus of the faithful entertain the troops at a Jerry Falwell/Moral Majority banquet held on March 7th in Seattle, Washington. Outside, among more than 100 demonstrators protesting the reactionary (though unfortunately not the last...) supper, satire was on the agenda. The protest, called by a broad coalition of feminist and left groups, attracted quite a few youth, some attending a demonstration for the first time ever. One picket sign read, "Apes Evolved from Creationists." Off to the side was a group of seemingly well-dressed and dedicated housewives calling themselves, "Ladies Against Women," with signs declaring, "Sperm are people too" and "We are not amused." A group of revolutionary youth, mainly young men, who had been discussing two pamphlets by the RCP, "Charting the Uncharted Course" and "Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women As A Mighty Force For Revolution," decided that on the eve of International Women's Day, they would do something creative, to expose the Moral Majority types and to point out that what is shaping up in this imperialist citadel is the prospect of revolution and civil war between two sections of the people. To this end, they did a biting take-off on the so-called Army of God, addressing the crowd from the open mike at the end of the rally with "non-negotiable demands," including the following: "We are a militant branch of the Moral Majority devoted heart and soul to starting here and now the Holy Crusade to change the will of the world to the will of God by whatever means necessary. This must be done to protect our women and children from the lustful savages, atheists, communists and other people who do not speak English, who would have the world for themselves if they could to propagate satanic ideas about evolution, equality, abortion and other obscene heresies... We speak out consciously against International Women's Day on this, the eve of that horrible pagan ritual that scares us so much. It is terrible for us to see uppity women fleeing from the security of their god-given roles. I see people saying, 'Break the Chains!' We say, 'Forge the chains! Keep women in their place!'... Disarm women! A woman with a gun is an abomination before the Lord... Give Rios Montt the bomb!... We demand that the sun *resume* its rotation around the earth!... We demand an end to evolution!"



## Squealing

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mediately called it the "squeal rule." It has been reported that more than 70,000 letters were received by the government two months after the ruling was proposed, and 80% of them were opposed to it. On March 8, in a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, Ronald Reagan himself sallied forth with a blistering attack against the liberal critics of the "squeal rule," defending the "rule of law under God" and the "traditional values that have been the bedrock of America's goodness and greatness." The terms of all this infighting in high places over this rule on birth control for teenagers are revealing both of the seriousness of the stakes here and what is the common denominator for all these dissenting bourgeois voices — keeping these uppity girls in line now and especially in the future.

From the very beginning various imperialist spokesmen, including proponents of the original Congressional bill on "family values," have opposed the "squeal rule," saying that it will only cause more problems than those it is intended to solve. As another *Times* editorial put it, "the problem with the squeal rule is that it will raise rather than reduce pregnancy and abortions among teenage women" and therefore is an "example of financial planning at its worst." Or as other articles have pointed out, the squeal rule would throw millions of women into the category of needing abortions or seeing this as the only birth control alternative. Certain figures in the government are concerned that this would not be the best situation at a time when they are trying to drastically restrict and control, if not outlaw, abortion, as another angle to keeping women in their proper place.

Yet another aspect of bourgeois opposition to the squeal law is a recognition that birth control does play a needed role for the state. Especially important to them is "control" of populations of the most oppressed (federally-funded family planning clinics have 77% low income clients). Birth control, including the use of forced sterilization, is one way of dealing with this explosive situation. "Unwanted" pregnancies, that is, those unwanted by the ruling class, are not going to be tolerated, and would certainly be proof that the revival of "family discipline for the female" is not successfully reversing the current trend among young women.

But beyond this, there is a more basic concern that the squeal rule could backfire on the ideological and political front. The fear here, as hinted at in the little piece of fiction at the beginning of this article, is that the squeal rule would only push more young women into open opposition to the state itself. Daughters who reject family morality and their "proper place" as mother and wife are bad enough — and something must be done — but pushing them to do this "outside the law" could have even more dangerous ramifications. Legitimizing family planning was to begin with necessary partly in order to assert control over something that was being done already, but outside the government's control. And while the situation among young women today is viewed as dangerous by the entire ruling class, most of these teenage girls don't consider themselves enemies of the state when they go to get birth control prescriptions. Thus the liberal argument seems to be that this particular "squeal law" would only stir up a hornet's nest, leading to the clandestine "burning of envelopes," and god knows what else.

Those imperialist spokesmen who are for the squeal rule have taken a more straight-up bludgeoning approach to the problem. Mr. Schweiker himself set the tone when he stated that, "We've built a Berlin Wall between the kids and the parents" — a very unsubtle reference to the global context in which the problem of these unruly females is viewed, as well as a call for knocking the wall down — on the kids, that is. Schweiker was quickly backed up by Jeremiah Denton, a former POW and proponent of a bill called the "teenage chastity law" on which Kennedy's "family values" bill was based. Denton said that the "squeal rule" was "a long overdue step toward re-establishing what are long overdue parental rights." Senator Denton, it must be noted, has

well demonstrated his public concerns for the "parental rights" of the Vietnamese, having made many bombing and strafing runs until he was righteously brought down — and he is now equally strident about bringing such familial concerns to the Salvadoran people. But the prize in the current debate must really go to Ronald Reagan, who pulled it all together in his recent talk to the Evangelicals. Lashing out at the liberal critics of the "squeal rule," Reagan assailed those "who have turned to modern-day secularism, discarding the tried and time-tested values upon which our very civilization is based," although he was careful to note several times that he considered their efforts "well-intentioned," underscoring the fundamental unity of class interests in this inter-bourgeois squabble. Reagan attacked young women who do not properly consult their parents as being "promiscuous," and cried, "Is all of Judeo-Christian tradition wrong?" (This sort of talk, in part aimed at unleashing his reactionary moral majority social base, might also be found in youthful quarters to be "the silliest thing they ever heard," but its purpose was quite serious indeed.) The speech, which began with throwing down the gauntlet on the proposed squeal law and ended with a call to "ultimately triumph" over their Soviet imperialist rivals, could provide far more material for an exposure than the parameters of this article allow; but where it began and ended is a telling indication of how much importance the U.S. imperialists attach to the question of enforcing parental authority as the "first line of defense" of bourgeois morality in regard to women, how inextricably linked are the defense of family morals, God and country, and how on every front extreme measures are going to be required in their fight to "keep America No. 1." And while the liberals counterattacked, calling Reagan's rhetoric "old-fashioned" "fire and brimstone," on these essential points they all agree. The debate over and the resolution of this particular "squeal rule" will surely furnish further insights into the difficulties and necessities of the U.S. rulers in the near future, as they thrash out how to best work out the division of labor between the American fathers and the big daddy of them all — the bourgeois state. But it also reveals and brings to the fore that there are millions of young rebellious women who are potentially a great source of trouble for them and a great source of strength for the proletariat. □

## St. Patrick's

Continued from page 1

Increasingly, the government has taken steps to attack support in this country in a variety of ways, including cracking down on the activities of the Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAID) and painting support for the Irish struggle as support for "Soviet-inspired international terrorism."

It was totally in keeping with this overall thrust that such non-political elements as Senator Patrick Moynihan, former New York governor Carey, Edward Kennedy, Tip O'Neill, Cardinal Cooke, the U.S. Defense Department, etc., etc. all joined together against the parade, condemning it for being "sympathetic to an organization that stands for terrorism." Moynihan and Carey announced that they would boycott the parade. The Catholic Archdiocese withdrew nine parochial school bands. Cooke, who is infamous for his blessing of U.S. troops and weapons during the Vietnam War and is a vocal supporter of U.S. nuclear deployments, announced to his flock of 1.8 million Catholics that "a new danger has been presented to the St. Patrick's Day parade... a claim that the march up Fifth Avenue will be a 'pro-IRA parade.' This is being interpreted as a sign of support for the Provisional IRA and its campaign to achieve political and social effects through indiscriminate violence... violence that has led to suffering and death among innocent civilians. Indiscriminate violence, no matter what motivates it or to what end it is directed, is both futile and immoral." He did show up on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral to review the parade as is the tradition, but stayed only briefly after he was greeted by a chorus of boos. And to top it all off the Defense Department, long noted for its abhorrence of violence around the world, withdrew all military units from the affair, including the West Point band,

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the 26th Army band, and the traditional leader of the parade, the First Battalion of "the fighting 69th" infantry of the 42nd Infantry Division of the New York Army National Guard. Needless to say, the traditional demonstrations of precision, close order and laying down of arms by these units were sorely missed this year. But have no fear: the peacemaking efforts of the U.S. armed forces will not go unnoticed — they can be viewed on parade and in action in many parts of the world today, including in Lebanon and throughout Central America and in war games all over the globe.

Clearly, all of these voices just can't stand the sight of guns and bloodshed, and that's why they have felt compelled to take a stand against "the slaughter in Northern Ireland" which everyone knows is caused by the "indiscriminate killings" of the IRA and others who keep prattling about "Brits out of Ireland." According to the *New York Times*, this "Brits out!" stuff is just an ancient remnant of dusty history utilized by sinister forces like the IRA whose goal is "the forcible incorporation of Northern Ireland into the Irish republic." Along with this come the time-worn descriptions of an Ireland gripped by a strange and inexplicable sectarian madness causing Catholic and Protestant to kill each other. The only solution to this in this scenario is a "federating compromise" engineered by the British and their lackeys in the Dublin government — a "compromise" which coincidentally will make official the imperialist domination of Ireland and the suppression of the Catholic population in the North, including preserving much of the Protestant Loyalist structure.

Reading and hearing all of this clap-

trap, one would never know that there actually are 30,000 British and Loyalist troops in Northern Ireland right now who are daily murdering and terrorizing the Catholic population, arresting them and torturing them as well. Not a word that 15,000 of these are regular British troops and the rest are Loyalist thugs like the Royal Ulster Constabulary and various paramilitary bands of assassins. No explanation of why it is that these Protestant Irish salute and wrap themselves in the British flag and do not even give their children Irish names. Going by what has been said in the press, one would never know that the Republican areas in Belfast are ringed by British forts or patrolled by soldiers and the RUC in armored cars or on foot, carrying automatic weapons and shooting plastic bullets at young children, aiming to kill and often succeeding. No violence, no force here! All this is just attempts to keep the peace and squelch all those "international terrorists," those "divisive and inflammatory elements," those insane Northern Irish Catholics who refuse to peaceably submit to the order that must be.

Certainly St. Patrick's Day parades in this country are not militant expressions of anti-imperialist sentiments. But it definitely says something about imperialism and what is going on in the world today that even having a Grand Marshall who supports the struggle in Northern Ireland is more than the government can stand. The fact that the U.S. government has chosen this occasion to launch an offensive against the Irish struggle and support for it in this country reveals once again that the "peacemakers" have something more on their minds than welcoming spring with smiles and gentleness. □



From the New Programme of the RCP

# Uprooting National Oppression

Since the history of the development of capitalism in the U.S. is a history of the most savage oppression of the Black, Native American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Asian and other oppressed peoples, taking up this question for solution is crucial for the U.S. proletarian revolution.

Discrimination, the denial of democratic rights, violent police repression, suppression and mutilation of their cultures and languages, exploitation and oppression as members of the working class, with the lowest positions, constantly high unemployment, the lowest paid jobs, the worst housing, the worst of bad health care and other social services — all this and more is daily life for the masses of these nationalities in the U.S. today. And it is these conditions that the proletariat in power must and will eliminate.

All this, of course, cannot be done in a minute. But much of it can and will be. This is not only because of greater moral determination on the part of the proletariat. The capitalists today have thousands of laws on paper outlawing discrimination, but still discrimination thrives and even worsens. This is because they have a greater law in command — the law of maximizing profit — and under this law all of society is maintained in a twisted state. Such deformities fully conform to their interests. The proletariat, on the other hand, has no such interest and every interest, in fact, in eliminating all these inequalities which are both leftovers of the old society and festering grounds for overall capitalist restoration. Discrimination, for example, will be immediately and forcefully banned in employment, housing and all other spheres. As part of this general process in society, the army of police which enforces all this through systematic terror in the ghettos and barrios and other areas where oppressed nationalities are concentrated will have been destroyed, just punishment handed out to its hired thugs, and in its place will be armed and organized militia made up of the masses in these neighborhoods and areas.

Segregation in neighborhoods, schools and the like will be banned and integration promoted. Segregationist groups will be broken up, and the demagogues who have initiated attacks on oppressed nationalities will be immediately crushed. And if, for example, somebody in a factory jumps up and starts some racist mouthing off, although he will probably not be jailed unless he is really organizing a reactionary movement, the masses of workers will be mobilized right then and there to wage a sharp struggle against all this and to isolate and defeat such reactionary poison. This method generally will be spread throughout society as the basic means for dealing with all aspects of reactionary ideology among the people.

The new proletarian state will take immediate and special measures to change the situation of all-around social inequality. This will require struggle to win the masses of all nationalities to see the absolute necessity for these measures in order to develop — and even to keep — the victories of the new society. For example, the question will be posed about what to do to rebuild the neighborhoods after the seizure of power. There will be a lot of destruction generally after the civil war and most likely in the wake of a world war. But it will still be the case that the ghettos and slums, where mostly the oppressed peoples were forced to live,

will be the most run down and broken down. Everybody is going to have an urgent feeling that their own conditions must be improved from this ugly devastation of capitalism. But Party members and other class-conscious people are going to have to go out and struggle with the rest and set an example in practice, in self-sacrifice and voluntary labor, to see that the neighborhoods at the very bottom are rebuilt — and improved — first, while people in other areas will have to be given second priority, and in some cases even to largely live with what they've got for a time until the resources can be devoted to that problem too. If the proletarian state does not apply this policy, then the basis for proletarian power will be seriously undermined, because the oppressed people would rightly say, "How is this different from before? We're still on the bottom." And the basis for new or old capitalists to "divide and conquer" and establish power over society would be greatly strengthened. Over the long-term, the state will give preference in resources and assistance to the less developed and backward areas, of course in coordination with and on the basis of the overall development of society; and in the immediate situation after the seizure of power, the policy of "raising up the bottom" will be applied across the board.

There are many different oppressed nationalities in the U.S. and each has its own particular features and problems that must be solved: the Native American peoples have a long history of lands being stolen and their cultures suppressed; the oppression of the Puerto Rican people within the U.S. is closely linked with the colonial status of their homeland, which must be freed; the Black people have the history of slavery and of the historical process of their formation as an oppressed nation in the Black Belt areas of the South; the Chicanos have the particular history of U.S. oppression of Mexico, the theft of its land and the maintaining of large parts of the Southwest as a backward area, and the continued persecution of "illegals." Such particularities exist in the case of each of the oppressed nationalities. But, at the same time, there are certain broad features common to many or all of the oppressed peoples that must be grasped and dealt with by the proletariat in power by mobilizing the masses of people of these nationalities and at the same time mobilizing the whole proletariat to take up these questions.

The proletarian revolution in the U.S. will not be a simple affair. It will involve many complex phenomena and varied social movements, many led — even at the time of revolution — by different class forces and mobilized under different programs. This will be true particularly, though not exclusively, of the oppressed nationalities. There will likely be a number of actual armies in the field and while there is only one overall and fundamental revolutionary solution to the contradictions of society, this solution has many varied aspects, each or many of which will propel different social forces into motion. Upon victory, and in fact in order to achieve victory, the Party will have to lead the class-conscious workers in assessing these different forces, establishing principled unity with them wherever possible, struggling with them for the revolutionary program of the proletariat, while seeking ways to resolve differences non-antagonistically.

The question of land is an important one in the history of a number of the oppressed peoples of this country. While this question is not today the central question for most of them, it is one that has continued to give rise to struggle and will certainly do so in the future, particularly in the context of civil war. The borders of the U.S. are not sacred to the class-conscious proletariat in this country — forged as they were in the blood of oppressed peoples and through outright robbery by the ruling class. The question of borders and land will not be approached by the proletariat on the basis of U.S. history — that is, on the basis of chauvinism. Instead it will be approached on the basis of winning as much as possible for the international proletarian revolution and on the basis of equality and liberation for the oppressed peoples within the present U.S. borders. The aim of the proletariat is not for secession and small separate states. Instead it will be important to strive for a country united under a single proletarian state. But for this unity to be real, not forced, and for the legitimate rights of various oppressed peoples to be honored, the proletarian state will also seek to establish various forms of autonomy in areas of sizeable historic concentrations of these peoples.

For the Black people, who were historically oppressed as a nation in the Black Belt South, there continues to be the right of self-determination there, up to and including secession, but again the proletariat does not favor this under now foreseeable circumstances. Upon achieving power, or in the armed struggle to win it, if there are indeed significant forces based among Black people raising this demand, the proletariat will have to take this into account, in the light of the overall situation and the principle of weakening the enemy and strengthening the proletarian revolutionary forces. Whether to support a particular move for a separate state among Black people or to oppose it will depend on all this, but the proletarian state — and the proletarian forces nearing power — cannot rely on force against the people to resolve this question, but must rely on the masses, especially in this case the masses of Black people, and work to resolve the question non-antagonistically.

Native Americans, too, have special conditions and history in regard to the land question. They have been repeatedly forced off their land into concentration camps which are euphemistically called "reservations." In undoing this longstanding atrocity the proletariat will, through consultation with the masses of the Indian peoples, establish large areas of land where they can live and work and will provide special assistance to the Indian peoples in developing these areas. Here autonomy will be the policy of the proletarian state — the various Indian peoples will have the right to self-government within the larger socialist state, under certain overall guiding principles. The overall guiding principles referred to are that practices and customs must tend to promote equality, not inequality, unity not division between different peoples, and eliminate, not foster, exploitation. The Indian peoples themselves will be mobilized and relied on to struggle through and enforce these principles. This will mean that policies related to local affairs as well as customs, culture and language will be under autonomous control, while at the same

time the Indian peoples will be encouraged as well to take a full part in the overall affairs of society as a whole. Local customs and practices — such as medicine — usually dismissed (or occasionally "glorified" in all cynicism) by the capitalists today as "pure mysticism" will be studied for those aspects that have an underlying scientific content and these aspects will be promoted and applied generally by the proletariat. These kinds of principles, with different particulars in different cases, will apply in all cases of autonomy within the proletarian state.

Many will apply to the Mexican-American (Chicano) people, particularly in the Southwest, the area of their largest historic concentration. As a part of this, the proletarian state will uphold the right of the masses of the Chicano people to land denied them through violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which, as it sealed the U.S. rip-off of land from Mexico in 1848, supposedly "in return" guaranteed Chicanos certain basic — and soon trampled — rights.

While Hawaii, too, is part of the U.S. and the proletariat will fight to win control of it as part of its new state, this state will establish some forms of autonomy of the peoples there — particularly the native Hawaiian people, but also the other oppressed nationalities.

These land and autonomy policies of the proletarian state will not mean that the oppressed peoples will have to live in these areas — which would amount to a new form of segregation. In particular, this will most definitely not be a new chapter in the history of oppression of the Indian peoples — forcing them onto reservations and treating them like special "wards of the state." Instead the new proletarian state, while favoring and encouraging unity and integration, will ensure these formerly oppressed peoples' right to autonomy as part of the policy of promoting real equality between nations and peoples.

In opposition to the blatantly chauvinist policies of the bourgeoisie on the question of the languages and cultures of the oppressed nationalities, the proletarian state will uphold genuine equality. In areas, for example, where many people have Spanish as their first language, both English and Spanish will be taught in the schools, including to white and Black students, and this will be promoted among the workers as well. Both languages will be spoken, so that neither — in particular the language of the minority nationality — is in fact treated as inferior.

A flowering of the cultures of the minority nationalities will be promoted. Only far in the future, when communism has been achieved, including through the struggle for national equality, will nations be superseded and will the national differences, including in the area of cultures, be transcended.

In the U.S. today the influence of the cultural forms and creations of different nationalities do get spread among many others, and this is favorable for and will be built on by the proletariat when it wins political power. But still, the proletariat will encourage and support the development of separate national forms of culture, all serving the proletarian revolution in their content. Culture whose content is counter-revolutionary, no matter of what national form, will be opposed and suppressed. The state will pay special

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# MARX

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understand what value is only when we consider it from the standpoint of the system of social relations of production of one particular historical formation of society, relations, moreover, which manifest themselves in the mass phenomenon of exchange, a phenomenon which repeats itself millions upon millions of times. "As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labour-time." Having made a detailed analysis of the twofold character of the labour embodied in commodities, Marx goes on to analyze the forms of value and money. Marx's main task here is to study the genesis of the money form of value, to study the historical process of development of exchange, from separate and casual acts of exchange ("simple, separate or accidental form of value," in which a given quantity of one commodity is exchanged for a given quantity of another) to the universal form of value, in which a number of different commodities are exchanged for one and the same particular commodity, and to the money form of values, when gold becomes this particular commodity, the universal equivalent. Being the highest product of the development of exchange and commodity production, money masks and conceals the social character of individual labour, the social tie between the individual producers who are united by the market. Marx analyses in very great detail the various functions of money; and it is essential to note here in particular (as generally in the opening chapters of *Capital*) that the abstract and seemingly at times purely deductive mode of exposition in reality reproduces a gigantic collection of factual material on the history of the development of exchange and commodity production. "...if we consider money, its existence implies a definite stage in the exchange of commodities. The particular functions of money which it performs, either as the mere equivalent of commodities, or as means of circulation, or means of payment, as hoard or as universal money, point, according to the extent and relative preponderance of the one function or the other, to very different stages in the process of social production." (*Capital*, Vol. I.)<sup>4</sup>

## Surplus Value

At a certain stage in the development of commodity production money becomes transformed into capital. The formula of commodity circulation was  $C - M - C$  (commodity — money — commodity), i.e., the sale of one commodity for the purpose of buying another. The general formula of capital, on the contrary, is  $M - C - M$ , i.e., purchase for the purpose of selling (at a profit). The increase over the original value of the money put into circulation Marx calls surplus value. The fact of this "growth" of money in capitalist circulation is well known. Indeed, it is this "growth" which transforms money into capital, as a special, historically defined, social relation of production. Surplus value cannot arise out of commodity circulation, for the latter knows only the exchange of equivalents; neither can it arise out of an addition to price, for the mutual losses and gains of buyers and sellers would equalize one another, whereas what we have here is not an individual phenomenon but a mass, average, social phenomenon. In order to derive surplus value, the owner of money must "find...in the market, a commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value"<sup>5</sup> — a commodity whose process of consumption is at the same time a process of the creation of value. And such a commodity exists. It is human labour power. Its consumption is labour, and labour creates value. The owner of money buys labour power at its value, which, like the value of every other commodity, is determined by the socially necessary labour time requisite for its production (i.e., the cost of maintaining the worker and his family). Having bought labour power, the owner of money is entitled to use it, that is, to set it to work for the whole day — twelve hours, let us suppose. Yet, in the course of six hours ("necessary" labour time),

the labourer creates product sufficient to cover the cost of his own maintenance; and in the course of the next six hours ("surplus" labour time), he creates "surplus" product, or surplus value, for which the capitalist does not pay. In capital, therefore, from the standpoint of the process of production, two parts must be distinguished: constant capital, expended on means of production (machinery, tools, raw materials, etc.), the value of which, without any change, is transferred (all at once or part by part) to the finished product; and variable capital, expended on labour power. The value of this latter capital is not invariable, but grows in the labour process, creating surplus value. Therefore, to express the degree of exploitation of labour power by capital, surplus value must be compared not with the whole capital, but only with the variable capital. Thus in the example given, the rate of surplus value, as Marx calls this ratio, will be 6:6, i.e., 100 per cent.

The historical prerequisites for the genesis of capital were, firstly, the accumulation of a certain sum of money in the hands of individuals under conditions of a relatively high level of development of commodity production in general, and, secondly, the existence of a worker who is "free" in a double sense: free from all constraint or restriction on the sale of his labour power, and free from the land and all means of production in general, a worker not bound to a master, a "proletarian," who cannot subsist except by the sale of his labour power.

There are two principal methods by which surplus value can be increased: by lengthening the working day ("absolute surplus value"), and by shortening the necessary working day ("relative surplus value"). Analysing the first method, Marx gives a most impressive picture of the struggle of the working class to shorten the working day and of interference by the state power to lengthen the working day (from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century) and to shorten the working day (factory legislation of the nineteenth century). Since the appearance of *Capital*, the history of the working-class movement in all civilized countries of the world has provided a wealth of new facts amplifying this picture.

Analysing the production of relative surplus value, Marx investigates the three main historical stages by which capitalism has increased the productivity of labour: 1) simple cooperation; 2) division of labour and manufacture; 3) machinery and large-scale industry. How profoundly Marx has here revealed the basic and typical features of capitalist development is incidentally shown by the fact that investigations into the handicraft industries of Russia furnish abundant material illustrating the first two of the mentioned stages. And the revolutionizing effect of large-scale machine industry, described by Marx in 1867, has been revealed in a number of "new" countries (Russia, Japan, etc.) in the course of the half century that has since elapsed.

To continue. New and important in the highest degree is Marx's analysis of the accumulation of capital, i.e., the transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, its use, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalist, but for new production. Marx revealed the mistake made in all earlier classical political economy (from Adam Smith on), which assumed that the entire surplus value which is transformed into capital goes to form variable capital. In actual fact, it is divided into means of production and variable capital. Of tremendous importance to the process of development of capitalism and its transformation into socialism is the more rapid growth of the constant capital share (of the total capital) as compared with the variable capital share.

The accumulation of capital, accelerating the supplanting of workers by machinery and creating wealth at one pole and poverty at the other, also gives rise to what is called the "reserve army of labour," to the "relative surplus" of workers, or "capitalist over-population," which assumes the most diverse forms and makes it possible for capital to expand production at an extremely fast rate. This possibility, in conjunction with credit facilities and the accumulation of capital in the means of production, in-

cidental furnishes the key to an understanding of the crises of over-production that occur periodically in capitalist countries — at first at an average of every ten years, and later at more lengthy and less definite intervals. From the accumulation of capital under capitalism must be distinguished what is known as primitive accumulation: the forcible divorcement of the worker from the means of production, the driving of the peasants from the land, the stealing of communal land, the system of colonies and national debts, protective tariffs, and the like. "Primitive accumulation" creates the "free" proletariat at one pole, and the owner of money, the capitalist, at the other.

The "historical tendency of capitalist accumulation" is described by Marx in the following famous words: "The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property [of the peasant and handicraftsman], that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring individual with the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others.... That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." (*Capital*, Vol. I.)<sup>6</sup>

Also new and important in the highest degree is the analysis Marx gives in the second volume of *Capital* of the reproduction of the aggregate social capital. Here, too, Marx deals not with an individual phenomenon but with a mass phenomenon; not with a fractional part of the economy of society but with this economy as a whole. Correcting the mistake of the classical economists mentioned above, Marx divides the entire social production into two major departments: I) production of means of production, and II) production of articles of consumption, and examines in detail, with numerical examples, the circulation of the aggregate social capital — both in the case of reproduction in its former dimensions and in the case of accumulation. The third volume of *Capital* solves the problem of the formation of the average rate of profit on the basis of the law of value. The immense advance in economic science made by Marx consists in the fact that he conducts his analysis from the standpoint of mass economic phenomena, of the social economy as a whole, and not from the standpoint of individual cases or of the external, superficial aspects of competition, to which vulgar political economy and the modern "theory of marginal utility" are frequently limited. Marx first analyses the

origin of surplus value, and then goes on to consider its division into profit, interest, and ground rent. Profit is the ratio between the surplus value and the total capital invested in an undertaking. Capital with a "high organic composition" (i.e., with a preponderance of constant capital over variable capital in excess of the social average) yields a lower than average rate of profit; capital with a "low organic composition" yields a higher than average rate of profit. The competition of capitals, and the freedom with which they transfer from one branch to another equate the rate of profit to the average in both cases. The sum total of the values of all the commodities in a given society coincides with the sum total of prices of the commodities; but, owing to competition, in individual undertakings and branches of production commodities are sold not at their values but at the prices of production (or production prices), which are equal to the expended capital plus the average profit.

In this way the well-known and indisputable fact of the divergence between prices and values and of the equalization of profits is fully explained by Marx on the basis of the law of value; for the sum total of values of all commodities coincides with the sum total of prices. However, the equating of (social) value to (individual) prices does not take place simply and directly but in a very complex way. It is quite natural that in a society of separate producers of commodities, who are united only by the market, the conformity to law can reveal itself only as an average, social, mass conformity to law, with individual deviations to one side or the other mutually compensating one another.

An increase in the productivity of labour implies a more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. And since surplus value is a function of variable capital alone, it is obvious that the rate of profit (the ratio of surplus value to the whole capital, and not to its variable part alone) tends to fall. Marx makes a detailed analysis of this tendency and of a number of circumstances that conceal or counteract it. Without pausing to give an account of the extremely interesting sections of the third volume of *Capital* devoted to usurer's capital, commercial capital and money capital, we pass on to the most important section, the theory of ground rent. Since the land area is limited and, in capitalist countries, is all occupied by individual private owners, the price of production of agricultural products is determined by the cost of production not on soil of average quality, but on the worst soil, not under average conditions of delivery of produce to the market, but under the worst conditions. The difference between this price and the price of production on better soil (or under better conditions) constitutes differential rent. Analysing this in detail, and showing how it arises out of the difference in fertility of different plots of land and the difference in the amount of capital invested in land, Marx fully exposed (see also *Theories of Surplus Value*, in which the criticism of Rodbertus deserves particular attention) the error of Ricardo, who considered that differential rent is derived only when there is a successive transition from better land to worse. On the contrary, there may be inverse transitions, land may pass from one category into others (owing to advances in agricultural technique, the growth of towns, and so on), and the notorious "law of diminishing returns" is a profound error which charges nature with the defects, limitations and contradictions of capitalism. Further, the equalization of profit in all branches of industry and national economy in general presupposes complete freedom of competition and the free flow of capital from one branch to another. But the private ownership of land creates monopoly, which hinders this free flow. Owing to this monopoly, the products of agriculture, which is distinguished by a lower organic composition of capital, and, consequently, by an individually higher rate of profit, do not enter into the entirely free process of equalization of the rate of profit; the landowner, being a monopolist, can keep the price above the average, and this monopoly price engenders absolute rent. Differential rent cannot be done away with under capitalism, but absolute rent can — for instance, by the nationaliza-

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# MARX

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tion of the land, by making it the property of the state. Making the land the property of the state would undermine the monopoly of private landowners, and would mean a more systematic and complete operation of freedom of competition in the domain of agriculture. And, therefore, Marx points out, in the course of history bourgeois radicals have again and again advanced this progressive bourgeois demand for the nationalization of the land, which, however, frightens away the majority of the bourgeoisie, because it too closely "touches" another monopoly, which is particularly important and "sensitive" in our day — the monopoly of the means of production in general. (Marx gives a remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of his theory of the average rate of profit on capital and of absolute ground rent in a letter to Engels, dated August 2, 1862. See *Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, pp. 77-81; also the letter of August 9, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 86-87.) For the history of ground rent it is also important to note Marx's analysis showing how labour rent (when the peasant creates surplus product by labouring on the lord's land) is transformed into rent in produce or in kind (when the peasant creates surplus product on his own land and cedes it to the lord under stress of "non-economic coercion"), then into money rent (which is rent in kind transformed into money, the *quitrent* of old Russia, as a result of the development of commodity production), and finally into capitalist rent, when the peasant is replaced by the agricultural entrepreneur, who cultivates the soil with the help of wage labour. In connection with this analysis of the "genesis of capitalist ground rent," note should be made of a number of profound ideas (especially important for backward countries like Russia) expressed by Marx on the *evolution of capitalism in agriculture*. "The transformation of rent in kind into money-rent is . . . not only inevitably ac-

companied, but even anticipated, by the formation of a class of propertyless day-labourers, who hire themselves out for money. During their genesis, when this new class appears but sporadically, there necessarily develops among the more prosperous rent-paying peasants the custom of exploiting agricultural wage-labourers for their own account, much as in feudal times, when the more well-to-do peasant serfs themselves also held serfs. In this way, they gradually acquire the possibility of accumulating a certain amount of wealth and themselves becoming transformed into future capitalists. The old self-employed possessors of land themselves thus give rise to a nursery school for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned by the general development of capitalist production beyond the bounds of the countryside." (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 332.) "The expropriation and eviction of a part of the agricultural population not only set free for industrial capital, the labourers, their means of subsistence, and material for labour; it also created the home market." (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 778) In their turn, the impoverishment and ruin of the rural population play a part in the formation of a reserve army of labour for capital. In every capitalist country, "part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing proletariat. . . . (Manufacture is used here in the sense of all non-agricultural industries.) This source of relative surplus population is thus constantly flowing. . . . The agricultural labourer is therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot already in the swamp of pauperism." (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 668.) The private ownership of the peasant in the land he tills constitutes the basis of small-scale production and the condition for its prospering and attaining a classical form. But such small-scale production is compatible only with a narrow and primitive framework of production and society. Under capitalism the exploitation of the peasants "differs only in form from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat.

The exploiter is the same: *capital*. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through *mortgages* and *usury*; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the *state taxes*." (*The Class Struggles in France*.)<sup>10</sup> "The small holding of the peasant is now only the pretext that allows the capitalist to draw profits, interest and rent from the soil, while leaving it to the tiller of the soil himself to see how he can extract his wages." (*The Eighteenth Brumaire*.)<sup>11</sup> As a rule the peasant cedes to capitalist society, i.e., to the capitalist class, even a part of the wages, sinking "to the level of the *Irish tenant farmer* — all under the pretence of being a *private proprietor*." (*The Class Struggles in France*.)<sup>12</sup> What is "one of the reasons why grain prices are lower in countries with predominant small peasant land proprietorship than in countries with a capitalist mode of production"? (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 340.) It is that the peasant cedes to society (i.e., to the capitalist class) part of his surplus product for nothing. "This lower price (of cereals and other agricultural produce) is consequently a result of the producers' poverty and by no means of their labour productivity." (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 340.) The small-holding system, which is the normal form of small-scale production, deteriorates, collapses and perishes under capitalism. "Proprietorship of land parcels by its very nature excludes the development of social productive forces of labour, social forms of labour, social concentration of capital, large-scale cattle-raising, and the progressive application of science. Usury and a taxation system must impoverish it everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite fragmentation of means of production, and isolation of the producers themselves. (Co-operative societies, i.e., associations of small peasants, while playing an extremely progressive bourgeois role, only weaken this tendency without eliminating it; nor must it be forgotten that these co-operative societies do much for the well-to-do peasants, and very little, almost nothing,

for the mass of poor peasants; and then the associations themselves become exploiters of wage labour.) Monstrous waste of human energy. Progressive deterioration of conditions of production and increased prices of means of production — an inevitable law of proprietorship of parcels."<sup>13</sup> In agriculture, as in industry, capitalism transforms the process of production only at the price of the "martyrdom of the producer." "The dispersion of the rural labourers over larger areas breaks their power of resistance while concentration increases that of the town operatives. In modern agriculture, as in the urban industries, the increased productivity and quantity of the labour set in motion are bought at the cost of laying waste and consuming by disease labour power itself. Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil. . . . Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the labourers." (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chap. 13.)<sup>14</sup>

## Footnotes

1. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, FLP, Peking, 1975, pp. 32-33 and 46.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 44
3. Marx, *Capital*, FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. I, p. 10.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 40, 48 and 170.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 762 and 763.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 779, translation revised.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 747.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 642.
10. Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 198.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
13. Marx, *Capital*, FLPH, Moscow, 1959, Vol. III, pp. 786 and 787.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 506-07.

# 'Fourth Border'

Continued from page 1

new "Clarence D. Long School" — named for the congressman who chairs one of the subcommittees that doles out such "aid."

The "two-track" campaign, as yet unnamed, is modeled after the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) program that managed "rural pacification" in Vietnam from 1967 on. It also built roads (the better to move tanks and troops on) and schools (the better to account for the many dangerous youth) and not incidentally also coordinated the Phoenix program, headed by future CIA chief William Colby. The Phoenix "track" killed 41,000 Vietnamese civilians for being suspected enemies of the U.S. and routinely terrorized many thousands more. "I don't know much about Vietnam," said Ambassador Hinton. "But it seems to me that the doctrine or philosophy of how you deal with these insurgencies is applicable with some variations elsewhere."

Of course, none of this is in contradiction to the "We will never Americanize this conflict" statements from Ronald Reagan. By that he apparently means that American "boys" will not do the actual soldiering but merely supervise the bloodletting under the *nom de guerre* of "trainer" or "aid official" or perhaps "CIA agent." But this may be easier said than done. The U.S. press has been filled lately with all manner of bitching about the Salvadoran army; its poor leadership, the soldiers' lack of motivation and so forth. The U.S.'s main complaint is that the Salvadoran brass is refusing to develop the smaller, more aggressive patrols of "hunter" battalions that the U.S. "advisors" now want — now that their highly-publicized large battalions, including those trained in the U.S., have proved to be such dismal failures. But the basic problem is that the regular "harvests," whereby army units rampage through the towns and villages press-ganging whichever young men (from 13 years old on up) they can kidnap, have not been producing a very dedicated crop

of troops — at least, not dedicated to the U.S. and its puppets. As one of El Salvador's leading officers, Lt. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, nervously comments, "To put a small patrol in a guerrilla zone is to commit suicide."

Of course, it should come as no surprise that the "harvests" are not producing willing comprador cannonfodder, since the Salvadoran regime is extremely isolated, with a deteriorating economic and political situation that shows no signs of improvement. This sends shudders through a U.S. ruling class that knows that El Salvador is only a somewhat more concentrated example of the situation facing every country in the region. With the masses picking up arms, broad class forces (including former dependable clients of the U.S.) moving into opposition, and pro-Soviet revisionists increasing their influence broadly, including in pursuit of the historic compromise alliance with more pro-Western bourgeois forces, what happens in El Salvador will have deep ramifications throughout Central America and beyond, including in Mexico. The U.S. can't afford to have El Salvador become an example of success in resistance to U.S. demands, and especially not of successful maneuvering by the revisionists into a portion of power. Reagan's resurrection of the domino theory and the like is merely a duplicitous method of trying to cover the fact that the U.S. is in deep trouble in the region, and at the present time, pro-Soviet forces have growing political dominance over the opposition movements; they stand to gain the most from the U.S.'s every difficulty.

On the other hand, the U.S. is also deathly afraid of getting bogged down in a Central American quagmire. Fears of "another Vietnam" are bouncing off the walls of every office building in Washington, D.C. — and this has everything to do with the big deal being made about "no U.S. troops" (officially) being sent to El Salvador. When Reagan spoke of getting tied down "on our own southern border" he was describing a real problem for the U.S. A large-scale involvement of U.S. troops in Central America at this time would not be favorable to U.S. world-

wide strategies. But it is clear that as things stand, the Salvadoran army cannot win by itself. Thus it seems that what the latest U.S. escalation is designed to do is actually to force some of the pro-Western forces in the FDR opposition to accept U.S. terms for a "political solution" in order to split the opposition and at least buy some time while leaving the pro-Soviet forces in a weakened position. And once again, the perpetual "two tracks" are being brought into play. On the one hand, a concentrated campaign against the guerrilla strongholds and a reign of terror against the masses designed to erode the political and military base of the FDR/FMLN and create a more desperate situation for the opposition forces. And along with this offers to bring the more pro-Western types, like Rubén Zamora, a former Christian Democrat, and Guillermo Ungo, a Social Democrat, into the U.S.-controlled "democratic process." At the present time, this means negotiations over their participation — without revisionist allies — in U.S.-sponsored elections that are now scheduled for this December. Reagan also assured the FDR leaders that he "would be equally pleased to contribute again to any international effort, perhaps in conjunction with the OAS, to help the government insure the broadest possible participation in the upcoming elections. . . ." Last March, the Salvadoran regime was able to convince a goodly number of people to vote at gunpoint, and then managed to double the count through agreement by all the parties involved; if some international force is helping "get out the vote," this year's total count might exceed the population of Central America. Another "victory for democracy" may very well be at hand here.

The problem is, however, that this very well might fail dismally. The FDR leaders, encouraged by the U.S.'s deteriorating situation in El Salvador, continue to refuse to budge and accede to negotiations on U.S. terms, and the historic compromise alliance has remained firm, confident that an increasingly desperate U.S. will be forced to move further in their direction sooner or later and have to agree to terms more favorable to their

aspirations for power in the country. A sizable and vocal section of the U.S. ruling class is quick to point this out.

The U.S. liberals are especially afraid that the administration's current plan won't work and a situation will ensue where, in the words of Congressman Stephen J. Solarz, "The administration is likely to conclude that the only way to save El Salvador is to send United States combat forces into that country." Solarz and other liberals have their own "two track" plan and would rather try to split the opposition from a slightly different angle. They'll go along with military aid to El Salvador as long as the government agrees "to enter an unconditional dialogue with the opposition." Then, after some kind of deal is struck that would be acceptable to the U.S., "the people of El Salvador (will) have an opportunity to determine their own future (!—RW) through an electoral process, presumably under regional or international supervision, in which all sides could have confidence."

Given the stakes involved, there is sure to be a great deal of acrimonious debate within the U.S. bourgeoisie over the precise mixture of blood and guile that should be applied here. However, at the moment it looks like the "hardliners" are still in command, since the U.S. is deathly afraid of anything that even remotely appears concessionary toward the opposition leadership. For the opposite reason, the revisionists and social-democrats have both been backing the liberals' proposals, and pushing their "pressure the Congress" approach even more aggressively. So far, they haven't commented on the increasing calls for "regional" or "international" involvement in El Salvador — but this too might be viewed as a bargaining chip in their maneuvering.

All of this provides a graphic lesson in the democratic process on a number of levels. And one thing that there is complete unity on among the U.S. rulers is the fundamental question of defending national security and all that implies on the "fourth border" and everywhere else. Clearly, no one is chasing after nutmeg — they all have their eyes on the whole ball of wax. □

## 2 Weeks To Go!

# MAJOR PARTY FUND DRIVE!

On March 31st, the Major Party Fund Drive will end. The significant and enthusiastic response to the call to raise funds for the party has been evident in the many diverse letters printed in the *RW* over the last two months. But to bring this drive to a victorious conclusion, we're calling on people to fully carry through and conclude their concentrated fundraising efforts, to make their individual contributions, and fulfill all pledges (to the greatest degree possible) by March 31st. As the original call for this fund drive stated, "Many deeds cry out to be done. Large sums of money are needed to help strengthen the revolutionary communist trend internationally, to help build the party and deepen and spread the influence of its line into all the diverse streams of rebellion and protest; to further address the burning questions of our time, including in our party press; to counter the constant attacks by the state — in short to hasten the process of revolution worldwide." One important goal of this drive is to fund in their entirety major projects such as the *Introduction to SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION* book (\$10,000), the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund (\$10,000) as well as underwrite special aspects of the publication and distribution (including internationally) of the *Revolutionary Worker*. For all those who recognize the importance of the party, its influence and work, your efforts in the next four weeks are crucial.



*The following is from a person who contributed \$1,000 to the party's fund drive.*

My name is X and I'd describe myself as a fairly well-off industrial worker, that is, I don't drive a Caddy but I live better than the average industrial worker. In fact, I live out in the Great Lily White Suburbs where people love guys like Reagan and for their excitement the people who are my co-workers, e.g., drink themselves blind or just sit around watching the tube. Politics are never a subject for discussion in the all-male plant where I work. I know that most people here hate working for a living, but they don't want to question or confront authority or the ruling class that's behind it. So if they haven't gotten high or killed time watching TV, they delude themselves by purchasing lottery tickets and hoping they will luck their way out. I think they are coerced into conformity by a few things, not the least of which is the idea that "this is where I get my bread and butter for me and my kids and none of your revolution bullshit

is going to do that for me." So they don't have the will to fight their providers and masters. Not surprisingly, if they hear about something like war or revolution that might affect their little slice of the pie (like Iran and the gas shortage thereafter) they start hollering along with the most negative elements that "the Marines should go in there and clean house!" Just as long, that is, as somebody else is going to do it for them.

Well, not everyone is like that, and here and there in the better-off sections you'll find those who see things a little or even a lot clearer and feel like they're being buried under a mountain of shit. I count myself among those and emphatically state my support for the Party Fund Drive and the *RW* as well.

The other day a discouraged co-worker said to me "things will never change around here." I told him that the world "never" is too strong, and that as tough a situation we may find ourselves in, time is a resource that we have plenty of, and all that remains is that we do

the practical work necessary to create change. Even if we died, that wouldn't mean things would *never* change, because others would eventually come along in our place. For us, said I, things will never change only if everyone including ourselves decided to do nothing about it. My contribution to the Fund Drive, then, is a part in that change which is occurring right now.

*The following letter was written and sent to international friends of the writer.*

A fund drive, why? Well as a long time supporter of the American Indian Movement, funds are required all the time: for literature, books, etc. To see that prisoners and those of the proletariat who can not afford to buy, but aspire to know why they are in that condition and what can be done to change it. As an AIM supporter we have our differences with the RCP over a number of con-

traditions, but in these years it seems only one party gives an even or correct line not only on Indian cases like Leonard Peltier, but internationally, without the beating around the bush and other revisionist tactics that seem so popular with other so-called support groups. Some may not be able to give much, others should be able to give more, that's the traditional way. Others with little can talk to friends, coworkers perhaps, to give not because they follow the RCP line, but to expose the imperialists here, there and under every leaf they may try to hide. All life on this planet is in danger from their moves, every lie needs to be contradicted, every foul deed they do, this needs to be examined, exposed and correct political analysis done.

From the four sacred directions to the four sacred colors, for all life may the great spirit help you to help all the oppressed, help the fund drive go way over the top, so life can breathe free of oppression. Only a party like the RCP can do this, so let's act now!

## Uprooting National Oppression

Continued from page 9

attention to supporting models within all the various national forms of cultures, models which will combine the best in artistic techniques in these forms with proletarian revolutionary political content.

As for all the ideological poison on the national question — the national chauvinism, racist thinking (as well as the overall secondary problem of narrow nationalism), all these things which the bourgeoisie insists are "everlasting human nature" — the proletariat will deal with these too. Obviously this is a protracted process, but the first and the major qualitative step will have been taken when the capitalist system that is the source of this sewer, and in turn thrives off it, is swept away. A major part

of the material base for this among the masses, which includes the fact that capitalism throws them into a dog-eat-dog existence, including competition for a mere livelihood, will be demolished and the struggle will continue to be waged to finally, thoroughly uproot it altogether both in the material and ideological spheres.

Those who use the chauvinist banner to organize any kind of reactionary, racist movement and attacks on minority nationalities will be ruthlessly crushed. The KKK, Nazis and the like will be wiped out and their members forcefully dealt with, beginning with the leaders, who will be given the ultimate punishment.

More broadly in society, the proletariat will deal with this problem by pro-

moting education and struggle among the people. Education about the lives, cultures, history of oppression and resistance of all the formerly oppressed nationalities will be widely and deeply carried out. The capitalist source of the problems of all different sections of the oppressed will be constantly unveiled and hit again and again. The common myths among the people will be discussed and debunked, in large part by relying on organized exchange between the masses themselves, and the lies of the bourgeoisie will be ruthlessly and thoroughly exposed. All this will be greatly aided by the constantly closer contact between people of different nationalities as the policies of integrating the workplaces, neighborhoods and schools are carried out, thus breaking down the ignorance-breeding separation in which bourgeois ideology generally feeds.

As indicated earlier, while all these measures are necessary to deal with the

special forms of national oppression and its whole historical basis, it certainly does not mean that the masses of minority nationalities will be only or mainly concerned with ending their own oppression. In fact, they are overwhelmingly workers, part of the single multinational working class in this country, and many will be in the front ranks of the overall struggle to revolutionize society and change the world.

And in all this, as with all the measures outlined above, the overriding thing will be that the proletariat and the broad masses of people, even while there are many backward ideas left and much ideological struggle to be waged, will be at last living and struggling in a social system which allows and requires them to consciously unite for the common goal, for a bright and classless future where the oppression of one people by another or one part of society by another will be buried in the prehistoric past. □

## SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

"...in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

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# Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA held an important meeting in the latter part of 1982. In RW No. 194 we reprinted as a special supplement all of the documents of the meeting. They consisted of background material which was circulated before the meeting and the Report from the CC, all of which was written by a leading member of the Central Committee on the basis of points raised by its Chairman, Bob Avakian. Because of the importance of the questions dealt with in these documents, and also because some of our readers might not have seen RW No. 194, we are reprinting these documents in sections. Two weeks ago we reprinted the background material. Last week we reprinted Part I and Part II of the Report from the Central Committee. This week we are reprinting Part III and Part IV. Next week we will conclude with Part V and Part VI of the Report.

The supplement from RW No. 194 containing all the documents from the meeting may be obtained from the RCP in your area, or may be ordered by sending 75¢ to: RCP Publications, PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654. The price includes postage.

## Report from the Central Committee

### III. Further Thoughts on the Advanced in Society and the Social Base for Our Line

We need to more deeply understand the advanced forces in society today, in particular in light of our understanding of this decade and its differences, as well as similarities, with the '60s.

As referred to earlier, and as developed more at length in the article "'60s People," we need to look principally to the newborn forces, even as we tap the best from the advanced forces from the previous period. Even they will have to come forward to a new world, new and greater tasks. Overall, as a methodological point, we should keep our eyes open with the aid of Lenin's statement that communism springs from every pore of society. The world has changed, and the forces arising even within U.S. society have changed in important ways, too. They have a different stance, different style. As one example, it's not the hippies anymore, it's the punks. The hippies (a '60s development which was not without its positive aspects) were more characterized by idealism. The punks are more severe. It's not "Love is the Answer," it's "Hate and war, it's the currency, you've got to deal with it." Even when nihilism gets mixed in, the latter is more in tune with the times. The point is not that any forces, including newborn ones, should be tailed and left to spontaneity, but there is a point in recognizing that which is new and arising and its positive elements.

Here we should look again at the concept of "roads to the proletariat" in relation to all this. When this concept was raised in "Coming From Behind . . ." it was said, "a lot of what the advanced section of the proletariat is now are people who for reasons other than simply being members of the proletariat are somewhat more politically advanced." This basic idea is quite correct, an important weapon against economism. It is a reflection of the general truth that the economic struggle is not "most widely applicable" in developing class consciousness and also of the fact that the proletariat, for real material reasons, is not usually the first force to move into real political action. This is even true of the "real proletariat," as well as the more bourgeoisified workers. But, while this basic point is true and should be upheld and applied, a few other things need to be taken note of. First off, since the time the "roads" point was raised, we have deepened our class analysis of the U.S.; at that time we were mainly speaking of more bourgeoisified sections of the workers and the potential revolutionary influences on them. This is true, and important among these strata, but still the main revolutionary social base we have now identified is somewhat different. Secondly, the "roads" point tended to be associated with veterans of the '60s, identifying these as the most advanced and the key lever to the proletariat. The article "'60s People" treats this somewhat differently and more correctly: while upholding the important and potentially vital and advanced role of such forces, it says that mainly these will be a powerful revolutionary "reserve" force for the newborn forces. (This should not be taken mechanically; what is being spoken of here are general, social phenomena; individuals from "'60s backgrounds" may play very advanced roles at present.)

That article puts forward that our party should identify itself with newborn forces and look mainly there and to new forms in which the struggles of this decade will arise. Part of the question involved here is the youth question. There should be no underestimating the potential revolutionary qualities of youth (and the point that they will come "in their own way" to Marxism). This requires the development of a full-blown and vibrant Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. It also requires recruiting the really advanced youth into the party itself, in accordance with the criteria in the *New Constitution*. It should be remembered that the Panthers, for example, were largely an organization of youth. It is striking to look at a list of Panther martyrs and see that overwhelmingly they were in their teens and early twenties.

In general, it would not be a bad idea to resurrect Lenin's statement flung proudly back into the accusing economists' faces that the Bolsheviks were not a party of tired old men of 30, but a party of youth. (See "The Crisis of Menshevism," V. 11, p. 354) Of course, some of us men and women of 30 and more have gotten "younger" in the past few years — a product of the struggles against economism and the fact that, in terms of line, our party now much more thoroughly represents the new and arising forces in the world. But people who are young in *all* senses must also be brought forward in increasing numbers.

In looking at social forces generally, it is important to sharpen our weapons of analysis. Here we want to focus on the Black masses and on the need to further apply our tools of class analysis and of distinguishing different political trends and lines. All this is absolutely necessary in order to be able both to forge a firm base for the party and also to carry out our strategy of united front under proletarian leadership. First off, there is the question of what forces represent our social base among the Black masses? This is important to consider in light of a number of the points raised in the article on "Class Polarization Among Black People" (RW No. 154) that spoke to certain changes that occurred during and after the '60s. Linked with this is the question of political trends.

Do nationalists, even revolutionary nationalists, represent this most solid base? No, they do not. Neither is it necessarily the case that all, or most of, the advanced people will "come through nationalism" to come to us. This does not mean that the advanced are not influenced by these trends at all; they generally are, or at a minimum they do weigh our line in relation to nationalism in various ways. But it is important to see that there is a section (not the majority, but this is not the point here) who have much stronger internationalist inclinations, and who are in varying degrees tired of nationalism, even in its more revolutionary expressions. This, too, is the product of both political experience from the '60s and also of material developments where, coming off the '60s, many nationalist forces gained positions — even positions of some authority over more proletarian Black masses. While we should weigh how we are doing in relation to those Black masses whose outlook is basically nationalist, we should weigh even more how we are doing with, and how we are viewed by, Black masses with internationalist inclinations.

As the above-mentioned article pointed out, Black nationalism, including revolutionary nationalism, represents definite class interests. This is very clear when one examines the main base of someone like Farrakan. A large section of this base is Black people whose class position is petty bourgeois. The line he articulates also represents their (and Black bourgeois) class interests, and is even important to study to learn some things about the mood of a section of the Black petty bourgeoisie who gained some position in society and now see it threatened. This line sometimes assumes a more militant expression, but most often is quite openly rightist in its form.

To repeat, this is not to say none of these forces are significant. They do have influence that extends in various ways into our social base, and the influence of these lines is certain to grow. And no advanced forces are going to develop as party members without comparing and contrasting different lines. Besides, our strategy is not "class against class," but the united front against imperialism, with the key alliance being that between the struggles of the oppressed nationalities with that of the proletariat as a whole. People can, in some circumstances, be revolutionary without being *proletarian* revolutionary. But if we confuse our main social base with that of the nationalists (and even more if we confuse Marxism with nationalism) we will be unable not only to develop our own party and its influence, but we will be unable to unite very well either. Often we go from sugar to shit in our approach to nationalist forces, from tailing them to attacking them for not being proletarian revolutionaries. The old polemics with the BWC are useful teachers in that regard.

Looked at in a broader context, this raises the general question of the urgent necessity to develop the base and forces of our party among its class

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## Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown

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base. As crisis matures, many political forces will mobilize their social base and also have influence within the basic proletarian masses. Under these circumstances the party must have the forces to win the day (or at least seriously contend at a given stage) in the struggles that will rage with these other forces; there must be forces that can be mobilized to begin to put the stamp of the proletariat on events. This will ultimately be decisive. Looking at the Iranian revolution, you can see that Khomeini had (and still has) a class base. It included sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and recently land-dispossessed urban poor. One of the major problems there has been that (for a variety of reasons) a powerful social base for a proletarian revolutionary line did not get mobilized.

We say in "Charting the Uncharted Course" that the key political point about the real proletariat in this country is a section that "because of its daily condition, responds more readily to a revolutionary line and will help swing others into motion as well." And further, that document makes the point that neutralizing or winning over other sections "depends on this." But this is not automatic and depends on the extent to which our party is a force among these proletarian masses and that there exist trained party members among them and others who on one level or another consciously support the party and its line. Freedom is the recognition of necessity — and its transformation; we have some work to do in order for that revolutionary process described in "Charting . . ." to come to fruition.

We should pay attention to some of the obstacles that the advanced who do come forward run into and their views on (including criticisms of) the party. This is an ongoing question, but a few aspects will be delved into here.

First off, there is the question of revisionism. Among most sections of the masses who are in some degree of political ferment this is a major question. In particular it is so among many of the immigrants with the most revolutionary experience: often the struggles they have experience in are led by revisionist forces. (As a side point we should also more deeply understand the consequences, which are both positive and negative, of the fact that many of these immigrant masses have also only very recently become proletarians, having been separated from the land.) Even in the case of some forces who are struggling against Soviet-backed regimes, there is the pull of revisionism. Some of them will shoot bullets at Soviet forces but will not shoot polemics at the Soviet Union. This may be frustrating to us, but we should also understand the strong pull that the material strength of the Soviet Union exerts, and in particular on bourgeois class forces. There are many advanced forces who are genuinely repulsed by revisionism and want to fight it as part of the revolutionary struggle. Often these people are initially very excited by our line and then become frustrated when they take it out and our ideas don't just carry the day or make steady progress against revisionist influence. (Sometimes, of course, the revisionists also put up more direct, physical barriers in the face of these people.) These people need to be armed with the kind of materialist understanding spoken of earlier, in Section II, the understanding of revisionism as a material force in the world today but at the same time, dialectically, as a colossus with feet of clay. Only with this can they appreciate and assess the real significance of their action in opposing it and continue to heighten their revolutionary activities.

We also need to sum up and make further progress against the tactics of the U.S. imperialists and their state in regard to all the advanced forces who step forward, particularly among the oppressed nationalities. While this is a general question, it will be treated a bit later in this report in the section on base areas and factories as fortresses.

Finally, in this brief sketch, we should sum up an attitude that exists quite broadly among the masses, including among the advanced. That is the attitude of hating the system, yes, but often saying to us, "I'll be there when the time comes." What people mean by this needs to be examined and gone into politically with the advanced. Sometimes (and this is a very broad sentiment among oppressed people) this reflects a hatred of the system, but despair at seeing the possibility of overthrowing it. We should not underestimate the genuine difficulties that face advanced people in a period like this; these are heavy times, which divides into two — their very heaviness often acts as a barrier holding people back. This is especially true for people with some political experience, including a lot of Black people, who have seen some real struggle waged, but still find the system intact. Here our analysis of conjuncture needs to be brought forward — how in one sense they are right, that it is not always possible to overthrow this system, but it is just possible that such a time may be emerging soon and what their role is. This analysis is also important to those who say this and feel the weight of the fact that the great bulk of people today "ain't doing nothing." We have to explain that, frankly, the inert mass doesn't matter now — and what is important now is preparation. Sometimes, too, when people say this they also have specific political lines in mind, including lines on the question of the necessary form of armed struggle in the U.S. (like urban guerrilla warfare as the main form). These lines need to be discussed, including from the point of view of a Marxist-Leninist line on military affairs (*Red Papers 4* still has important and basically correct things to say on this question, and there is a basic line on it in our *New Programme*). Finally, people are often expressing quite sincere revolutionary intentions when they say this, but fail to see its political content. While many such people will actually come forward and "be there when the time comes" and may possibly contribute to a proletarian revolution, we should also point out to really advanced people that such a stand may wind up making you nothing more than cannonfodder for a revisionist (or other imperialist) coup attempt. With a strategy which combines gradualism with putschism (from the top), the revisionists certainly have a role for basic masses — and it is precisely that of unconscious cannonfodder.

In contrast to all this we have to struggle with advanced people to grasp that when a chance comes for proletarian revolution we can't afford to miss it: we have to get politically prepared. The advanced have to get politically conscious on a whole other level, get organized, get into the party and most basically in this period of the '80s get ready for revolution.

### IV. Mass Movements

The development of various mass movements inside the U.S. has been an important political change — and an arena in which our efforts could make a

leap, and a difference. In our *New Programme* we write that, in relation to the mass movements, "The point is to make clear that the whole political system is worthless." This is a crucial point. However it should not be taken to mean that our work in relation to every political movement that arises is simply to go out and say, "The whole political system is worthless." Involved here is a philosophical point on the particularity of contradiction. These movements do have their own dialectic of development, a dialectic which we should be within as an important part of carrying out our overall line (or within those that have a basically progressive character). This dialectic is not isolated from the more basic contradictions of society (if we forget this we will land in economism); its resolution is dependent on the motion and/or resolution of these larger contradictions. But there is this particular dialectic nonetheless. Everyone knows from their own political experience the force of the events and movements of the day, whether around Vietnam or Black liberation or whatever; these movements brought the questions of imperialism and revolution to the forefront, not automatically, not simply on the basis of the internal dynamics of any one of these movements, but on the other hand, not unrelated to that either. We need to be within that process, in the conditions of today and today's movements, which certainly do not pose any less profound questions because deeper questions are up. People who are veterans of the '60s remember the political atmosphere, the coffee house discussion on all the questions from tactical to philosophical posed by the movements, and how people struggled and advanced through all this. We have to be able to be a part of this, part of the freshness of discovery — without, of course, pretending that we don't know what we do know about the whole system. Nuclear war will never be stopped under imperialism (that is, by reforms under the imperialist system), but we want to be part of the process through which people figure this out. In all such movements, there are debates, literature, writers, etc. In a well-chosen way we need to be part of this in various ways — certainly and most importantly through our own press, but in other ways as well. We cannot have "one-shot" approaches to these things. This need not go against, but should in fact help contribute to our basic task of diverting all these streams and trends toward a revolutionary goal.

Of course we need to distinguish between different movements and make analysis, not simple across-the-board characterizations. We don't even support some of these movements; obviously the way we work in them (if we do) has to be different than in some others. In the '60s we supported the basic demand for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam, but we do not support the demand for a nuclear freeze. This requires thinking, plans, tactics, etc. But this is not beyond us.

As we have been calling attention to for some time now, there are some movements, some struggles in which we should assign a few people to go in, to help provide tactical leadership under some circumstances, to carry out political struggle in that context, to become known as party people in that movement, etc. In some circumstances most of what such people will do will be "reconnaissance work on the enemy" (as the movie "Breaking With Old Ideas" put it) — that is, studying the lines, programmes, etc., of reactionary or opportunist forces in order to educate the proletariat about all this through the press. In many other circumstances, much more will be possible. None of this should mean our main slogan of the day should become "to the mass movements" as a gimmick or cure-all, any more than it should be "to the masses." And even when we do assign people and resources in a major way, the main context of our work even within the movements should be carrying out all-around exposure with the paper as the main weapon. But there are other aspects of the work, as well, as gone into just above. And to carry them out will require raising our level — on all levels from national to local. Theoretical work will have to be done on many questions relevant to these movements. The questions in these arenas are often complex and tricky. For example, during this summer's major anti-nuclear demonstration in New York there was struggle over slogans, including over whether or not to target both superpowers, or just the U.S. This was not so simple as one might imagine, as the struggle involved different forces, including both revisionists and basically straight-up U.S. imperialist representatives. Kennedy-type forces, for instance, are very careful to "target" both — since that provides an easy out for the U.S. imperialists ("See, the Ruskies wouldn't, so we can't either"). So you have to figure out under these circumstances how to relate to various forces, how to advance slogans, including tactical slogans, etc., and it is tricky. But if we can't figure out questions like these, then we can't make a revolution, for there will never be a revolution that does not involve complex tactical questions, compromises, allies, etc.

So there are bigger questions here than simply "going into" the mass movements (though, in general, we should). With just this approach when we "go" we won't have much to say (or much good, anyway). This primitive approach may be OK in a few cases and for a little while, but after a while the masses — and we — will not appreciate it. Neither is the question just "finding out more particular facts." Soon enough we would be like Alice lost in Wonderland, unable to distinguish major from minor matters, unable to connect up particular questions with our general line. A more strategic view is required, and from this plane, to make an analysis of the particular movement. It is necessary to understand its basic significance, the key questions posed by it, and to link that up with our overall understanding of broader world developments. In short, it is necessary to develop a tactical line for many of these movements. Other forces have such lines when they support something we initiate (e.g., many gave their specific reasons for supporting the Mao Defendants); why shouldn't we? Without this, for one thing, we will fall into many a trap. Often opportunists will attempt to provoke struggles over minor matters in an attempt to isolate us. We need not always feel compelled to join a struggle over every question at all times. We need to develop some sophistication. Our comrades on the West Coast who related to the Diablo nuke struggle summed up at a certain point that they would have to sign the group's agreement not to use "violent" tactics there. This was quite correct, as it enabled us to concentrate on the really main questions of imperialist war posed there (and, no, they did not pledge to become pacifists). Without this approach, one will careen from sectarianism to capitulation.

Lenin once made the point that the proletariat had to develop its own class politicians, in no way inferior to those of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary communists who function in these arenas have to be skilled, not infantile. They should not be afraid to be temporarily isolated, even thrown out of a coalition, for matters of principle, but also not stupid enough to fall for every

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revisionist trap that is set for them. They should know how to do all this in order to raise, not lower, the level of the overall movement. Lenin, in an essay "The Election Campaign and the Election Platform," made the point that without a programme and, in particular, "without a tactical line based on an evaluation of the current political movement and giving exact answers to the 'accursed problems' of the present, it is possible to have a small group of theoreticians, but not an operative political unit." He also wrote that anyone who "promises that the policy of the revolutionary proletariat will never come up against difficult or complex situations is simply a charlatan" (from "Left-Wing" Communism...).

It is important to emphasize here that the foundation for all this — and what must continue to be our main weapon now — is the newspaper and our overall line on central task. Without continuing to carry out work centered on the paper (and not just as "educational activity" but, as we put it in the *New Programme*, as "the most concrete and practical plan for accumulating revolutionary strength") it would be impossible to even think of becoming a revolutionary influence within mass movements. In fact entering these arenas in a bigger way should give more scope and richness to our press. Exposure remains the key link. As pointed out earlier, when we do go into these movements in a major way, still our main overall work within them should not be narrowed to only the questions that arise spontaneously within them, but should continue to be our all-around work of exposure — even while we deal with the particularities of the movement. Further, our work within these movements should be an important source of exposure and other articles for our press, all crucial for the broader work of the party beyond any particular movement. These points are gone into in the section on central task in our *New Programme*, in the pamphlet "Support Every Outbreak..." and in the Chairman's pamphlet on the party, and need to be studied in this context.

Today, of course, there are many problems with the mass movements. The revisionists have come on the stage in a way that they were not a couple years back, around Iran. There are real "left upsurges" even now in some arenas, but this does not characterize the situation overall. We shouldn't think that it's been mainly our mistakes that have kept our influence low in these situations, or that we are going to change that situation rapidly. This has mainly to do with the present, objective world circumstances. In the sixties, the revolutionary forces were able to gain quite a bit of initiative in these movements (although overall you would have to say they did not lead them, particularly the anti-Vietnam struggle). Much impetus was given to this by the international situation, which was dominated by the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese and by the Cultural Revolution (although with the former there was always the contending of revisionist influence, though it was not then triumphant). The revolutionary thrust and initiatives of the '60s in this country came from the world situation as a whole. But also (and relatedly) it was the upsurge of revolutionary action, sentiments and organization among the Black people within the U.S. that pushed that movement as far as it went. It propelled many people forward from a progressive anti-war position to a revolutionary one. Our Chairman, for example, has often told how it was Eldridge Cleaver of the Panthers who turned him on to Mao Tsetung, pointing to a poster of "the baddest motherfucker on the planet earth." This was the experience of many people. It was a tremendous boost for and specific advantage of the revolutionary forces in the U.S. In other imperialist countries, even where there was also a sharp revolutionary upsurge in this period, a revolutionary section of the basic proletariat did not play a comparable role. In France, 1968, for example, the CP ultimately came to represent the workers to that movement — both sabotaging the unity of workers and students, but also turning out workers for demonstrations and engineering some reforms. This confused, demoralized and even entrapped many honest people in that movement. In the U.S. in that period insofar as sections of the proletariat masses were in motion it was much more the Panthers than the CP who came to represent them. This is part of the reason today why revolutionary forces do not have more initiative in these movements. That component of a revolutionary section of the proletariat is basically lacking. And elements of it who have more mounted the political stage, for example some of the Central American immigrants, are heavily influenced by revisionism. But we can learn from all this in order to further accelerate that back-and-forth process: working in the proletariat (including taking advantage of the political

effect of these movements there) to bring forward advanced proletarians into revolutionary political life, including into the party, and, especially through the efforts of the party, working in these movements to bring to bear the influence of the revolutionary line and the revolutionary proletarian social base as it develops.

These movements, despite all their limitations, do overall provide favorable circumstances for revolutionary work. If we work effectively in these movements, it will also mean that our overall work, including the work we do more directly among the basic masses, is going to be better. Advanced people do not develop in a vacuum. It is also true that the potential for them to act (even on very important occasions) cannot only be determined by the existence of advanced people alone, or just them combined with a revolutionary line. Advanced people need a context — a political atmosphere that not only educates them but also allows them to breathe and feel their potential strength. While a few years back very little was stirring inside the U.S., now that has changed. While there is still plenty of surrounding and suppressing of the advanced among the proletariat that goes on, times like these are also marked by growing feelings of not being quite so far out on a limb. All the reformist and revisionist hegemony in the mass movements cannot change these facts — very favorable ones to us.

These movements are a crucial training ground for advanced people, both from within these movements and from outside of them. While we are not out (at present, at least) to take over the social base of the reformists, we cannot bring forward our social base without entering into this arena in various ways and contrasting our line and programme with others. A major theme in *What Is To Be Done?* was Lenin's insistence that class consciousness can only result from learning to observe in practice, in the swirl and struggle of the political arena, all the various social classes and their representatives. In "Left-Wing" Communism... Lenin describes "The years of preparation for revolution (1903-05). The approach of a great storm was sensed everywhere. All classes were in a state of ferment and preparation. Abroad, the press of the political exiles discussed the theoretical aspects of all the fundamental problems of the revolution. Representatives of the three great classes... anticipated and prepared for the impending open class struggle by waging a most bitter struggle on issues of programme and tactics. All the issues on which the masses waged an armed struggle in 1905-07 and 1917-20 can (and should) be studied, in their embryonic form, in the press of the period... the classes were forging the requisite political and ideological weapons for the impending battles." If any summation ever gave a concise picture of the importance of parties, their press and of the arenas of social turmoil in periods of preparation — that one does.

Unfortunately, the tendency to stay aside from all this has a history in the international communist movement. Even the Maoist trends of the '60s and '70s were heavily affected by this, due to certain concepts inherited from the Third International. Changing this is part of being "What Is To Be Done?-ists." A number of recent articles, including the one by our party on "Imperialist Economism" in the second *A World to Win*<sup>16</sup> as well as the piece on the "Crisis of Marxism..." (RW No. 171) by the Chairman have touched on this point, including the errors of our trend. Often revolutionaries have incorrectly avoided the political arena due to a strategic concept of winning the leadership of the masses through leading their daily economic struggles. Supposedly in this process, the revisionists would also be exposed. While marked by economism, this is related to other errors as well, including the incorrect tendency to see revisionists (especially the pro-Soviet revisionists today) as mere reformists, defenders of the present order and fuddy-duddy sell-outs — incorrectly assessing their strategy for power... or even believing they didn't have one.

It is true that revolutionaries should not be infected with parliamentarianism, and more broadly, must break with the whole traditional, social-democratic identity of being part of the "left." But while we must have another identity — programme, strategy, and revolutionary bearing — we must not become irrelevant to the mass movements that the traditional "left" relates to — at least the most important movements. The forces that can be won over through this process, the weapons sharpened by struggle in that arena, will be crucial preparation for the seizure of power.

<sup>16</sup>An International Marxist-Leninist Journal, No. 2, May, 1982.

## Reader writes

# "He Told the Queen What To Do With Herself"

RW,

I live in San Francisco, so for a week I had to endure an inundation more mad-dening than the recent rains — the publicity that accompanied the visit of "Her Majesty" the Queen of England.

Every detail of the "royal visit" was reported on, the "royal attire," the "royal diet," the "royal quips," and of course the colors of the royal bathrooms used by the Queen and entourage. A small scandal brewed up around the fact that \$30,000 was spent on redoing a bathroom at the de Young Museum where the Queen, Reagan and other royalty ate one night — but then I heard the comment from quite a few people that it was only right, after all the Queen should have a proper throne.

With all the nauseating news about the visit oozing out of the TV, radio and newspapers day and night, you'd think that everything about what happened had been revealed. Not true. I drive a cab in this town and I found out a few things that never got reported on by the "responsible media" and undoubtedly never will.

One passenger I had, who works for a local TV/radio station told me of a

phone call he received the day of the big reception for the Queen at Davies Hall. In a shaken voice, the caller described how he'd been on the roof in his own apartment taking pictures of the arriving "dignitaries" at Davies Hall nearby. The police broke down his door, beat him up and arrested him for "illegally taking pictures of the Queen" — perhaps some new law they drummed up for the occasion to honor "Her Majesty"? When this passenger took the item to the newsroom of the station he was told that they were too busy to deal with it.

The second incident was told to me by another cab driver. The night that the Queen arrived in San Francisco she went "unexpectedly" to a local mucky muck hangout, Trader Vics, for dinner. She was descending from her limo to the surprise of at least one passerby who got excited finding himself not more than 10 feet from the Queen. Seizing the opportunity he yelled out, "Fuck the Queen!" and was pounced on by several secret service agents who dragged him out of sight and beat him up.

When this cabbie friend of mine saw this guy several minutes later, his face

was bloody and he was pretty shaken, but he was actually smiling. He told what had happened and explained proudly that he had told the Queen what to do with herself and she had heard him.

We heard a lot about how people were clambering to see the Queen. Well

it's true that a lot of the local "royalty" were in to it. But from what I heard from people that week, I'd say that what that guy did when he saw the Queen was closer to a lot of peoples' dream come true.

a reader

Revolution

## CONQUER THE WORLD?

The International Proletariat Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

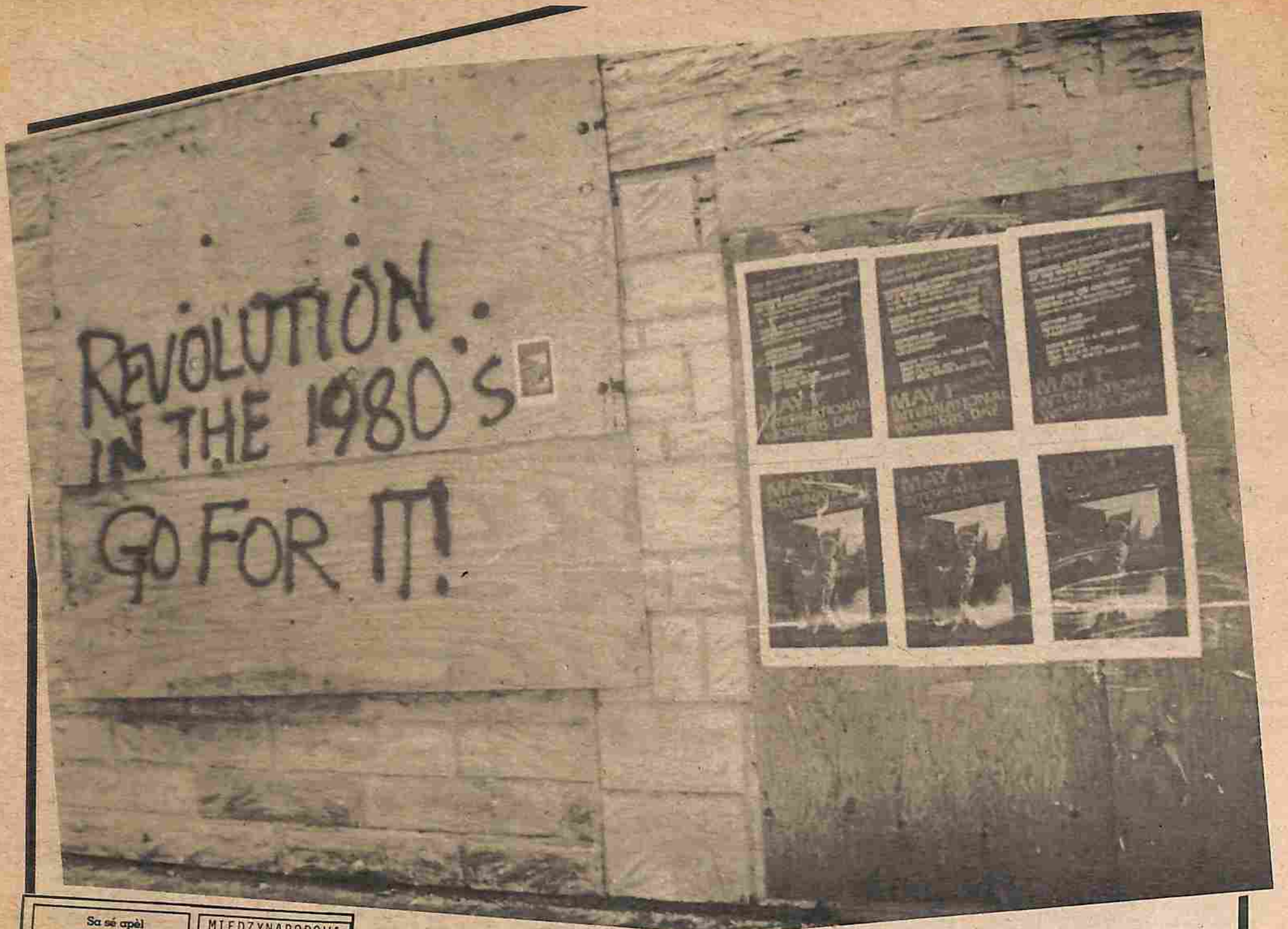
This special issue of Revolution contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the Revolutionary Worker newspaper.

Its sections are:

- \* Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road.
- \* More on the proletarian revolution as a world process.
- \* Leninism as the bridge.
- \* Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up.
- \* Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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