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U.S. and U.S.S.R. Toe-To-Toe over Lebanon

The Israel-Lebanon "agreement" ratified last week — apart from elevating the joke of "Lebanese sovereignty" from the ludicrous to the sublime — is principally significant at present as a machination by the U.S.-Israeli axis aimed at applying pressure against Syria and the Soviet Union.

The most highly publicized feature of the agreement — apart from the fact that it is a complete nullity unless the Syrians and the PLO agree to get out of Lebanon — is the dubbing of most of southern Lebanon south of the line stretching from Sidon on the west coast, through the mountainous central zone, to Lebanon's border with Syria in the east, as a special "security region." Within this region, Lebanon's "sovereign" forces operate only under severe restrictions. One of two Lebanese brigades, according to an informal "side memorandum" not published within the official text of the agreement, is to be commanded by Major Saad Haddad, the renegade former Lebanese army major who has been collaborating with Israel since the 1975-76 civil war. The Lebanese government will make Haddad (who was tried in absentia by a Beirut court in 1978 and sentenced to death for desertion) a "deputy commander" and head of the brigade patrolling the border with Israel. This, the *New York Times* observes, "will open the door to extensive informal involvement by Israeli personnel."

The official agreement also provides for joint Lebanese-Israeli "supervisory teams" and "direct radio and telephone communications between the respective military commanders and their staffs in the immediate border region." A representative of the United States may be called in at any time to mediate disputes on the joint Liaison Committee "at the request of either party."

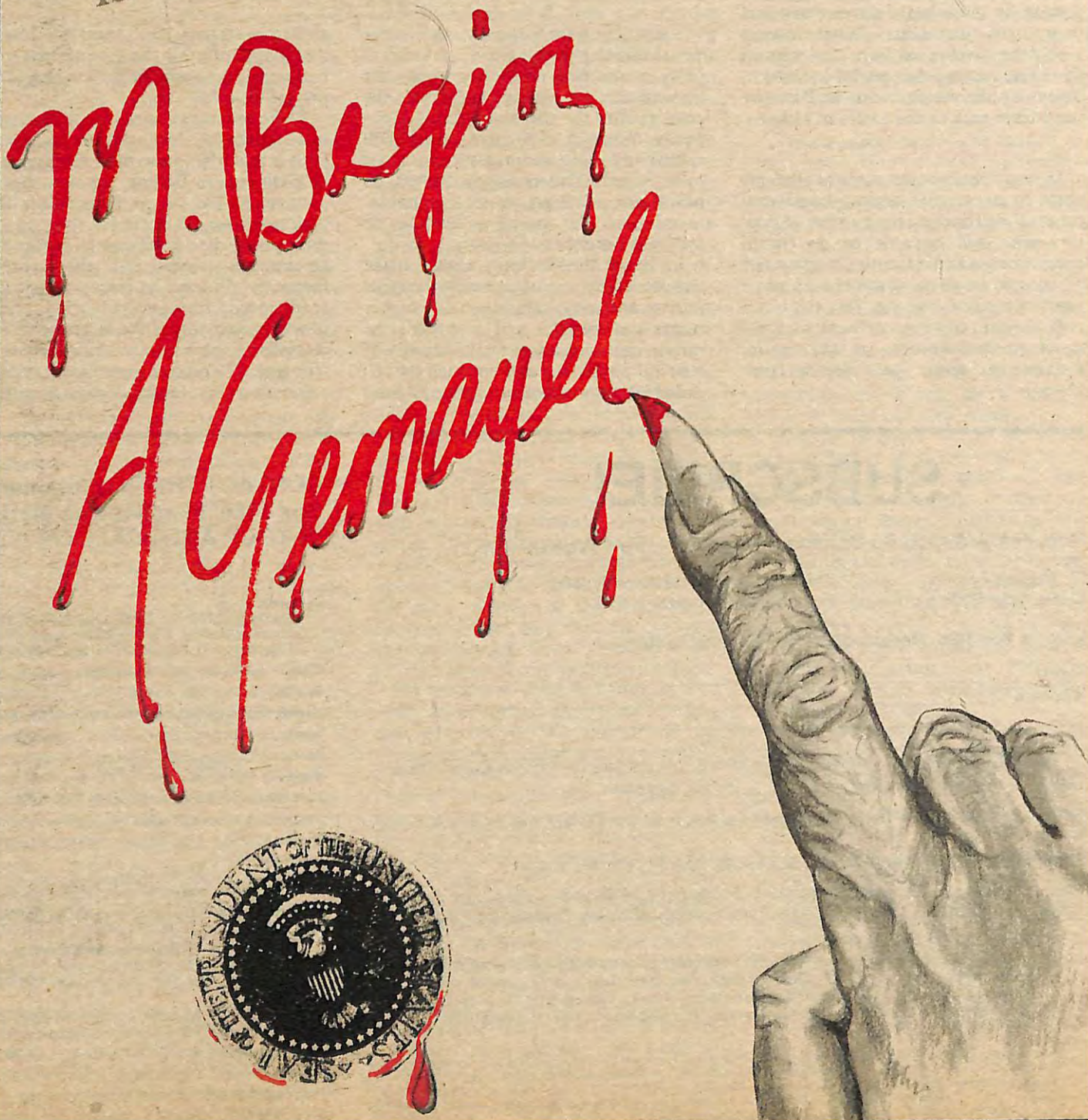
The agreement was "approved" unanimously by the Lebanese puppet parliament. The government of Lebanon is, in fact, so weak as to be nearly devoid of even the sort of crafty deal-making brand of "independence" one sometimes can observe in other U.S. puppet regimes. The United States does just about all the thinking for the Gemayel regime, including gauging how the regime might best balance the tasks of all-round cooperation with Israel and full relations with the Arab world. One reason for this is that it is really stretching it a bit to call the Gemayel coterie a "regime," since the multinational force of the United States, France and Italy holds sway in Beirut, and the Israeli and Syrian armies, plus numerous independent militias of varying strength, have overrun the rest of the country.

The U.S. imperialists have tried halfheartedly to make a little propaganda about how wonderful it is that "Lebanon has recovered its independence." For example, in a *New York Times* account of an interview with Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, Gemayel is portrayed as "relaxed and soft-spoken ... clearly buoyed by the unanimous support he received today from parliament for the agreement with Israel. Both he and his foreign policy advisors radiated a sense of satisfaction that for the first time Lebanon was taking its destiny into its own hands and the rest of the Arab world was reacting to Lebanon, instead of vice-versa. His advisors expressed fear, however, that Syria might retaliate for this independent approach by closing its border with Lebanon on Tuesday when the withdrawal accord with Israel is signed, thus

Continued on page 14

Puppets OK Pact

The Lebanese armed forces and the Israel defense forces will maintain continuous liaison during the withdrawal and will exchange all necessary information through the Security Arrangements Committee. The Israel defense forces and the Lebanese armed forces will cooperate during the withdrawal in order to facilitate the reassertion of the authority of the Government of Lebanon as the Israeli armed forces withdraw.





Paris, April 29th — Students and police clash.

Is Paris Really Smoking?



Farmers in the south of France blockade highways and burn cargoes of foreign produce.



Medical students demonstrating at the Cannes Film Festival.

There has been a lot of noise in France recently about a May '68 in reverse and sabotage of a "left" government à la Chile. Most of the mumbo-jumbo is being whipped up by those in the government and their loyal journalists. What interest would the government have in stirring up these fears among the people? In order to demystify the recent events in Paris we must trace each of the forces in action.

* * * * *

In late February the medical students voted to go on strike against the government reform limiting the number of doctors who will be able to go on to specialization and instituting a new series of tests to be given at the end of seven years of medical training. This test is not only a means of selecting those who will go on to specialization but will also re-evaluate the seven years already completed.

The problem for the government is that the national health system, already in debt, cannot find positions and pay the high salaries for doctors and insure the great profits for the pharmaceutical industry. While in 1970 there were 60,000 doctors in France, the predictions are that by the year 1990 there will be 150,000. As profits and privileges are not to be put into question the logical solution is to reduce the number of doctors.

In March the medical students' strike was joined by one of university hospital interns and physicians to claim higher wages and benefits and to oppose the reform imposing a new single category of hospital physicians and breaking the all-powerful hospital bosses' right to appoint

and raise salaries. One must not forget that along with this the government forbade doctors to use public hospitals for private business.

There are two reasons why the government wants to reform the medical field. First is that after more than twenty years of right rule in France, the new "left" government has not got its people in the high positions. In order for them to get their people into positions of power the government must break the existing hierarchy. The second reason is that the traditional bourgeoisie with their dinosaur mentality of the father-son buddy system hampers the establishment of a true elite. The present government understands that only through vicious competi-

tion can a true elite capable of matching those of the other imperialists be formed.

The doctors and interns are not opposed to a limited number of new doctors coming onto the professional job market of course, but the new reform also puts their sacred domain into jeopardy. This right fortress can fall to the up and coming left bourgeoisie. The medical students' strike against selection and the interns and physicians' strike to maintain the status quo took on an apparent unity of opposites. As the hospital strikes spread, only emergency cases were treated and half the hospital beds remained empty.

Many pro-government forces, in-
Continued on page 15

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More Reflections and Sketches*

And What Should We Call the Third Time?

or Still Fighting the Battles of the 19th Century at the Approach of the 21st

In *The Eighteenth Brumaire Of Louis Bonaparte* — a brilliant example of historical materialism applied to events in France in the mid-19th century — Marx makes his famous statement that “Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.” What Marx meant here, specifically in reference to the first time — tragedy, second time — farce, is that the second can only appear as a pale imitation, or a pitiful mimic, of the epic proportions of original “facts and personages of great importance in world history,” whether their role in the first instance be positive or negative from an historical standpoint.

Thus Marx contrasts the farce of Louis Bonaparte’s becoming Emperor of France in the period following the defeat of the 1848 Revolution with the original Napoleon Bonaparte’s epic, and in that sense tragic, role in the period ushered in by the bourgeois French Revolution at the end of the 18th century. But more, Marx also applies the analogy (and he means it only as analogy and not as a law of history), first time — tragedy, second time — farce, to the attempts of various social forces, including not only sections of the bourgeoisie, but also the radical-democratic petty bourgeoisie and even some representatives of the workers, to see and act out the drama of events in mid-19th century France in the terms of that previous, bourgeois revolution — the terms of a republic vs. the monarchy, instead of the proletariat vs. the bourgeoisie (whether republican or monarchist).

In the century and more since Marx wrote *The Eighteenth Brumaire* it has become possible to not only appreciate the farsightedness and insightfulness of his analysis but also to recognize, secondarily, certain limitations. It is also in this same work that another famous statement by Marx is found:

“The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin with itself before it has stripped off all superstition in regard to the past. Earlier revolutions required recollections of past world history in order to drug themselves concerning their own content. In order to arrive at its own content, the revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead.”

Two things must be pointed out here. First, when Marx refers to the social revolution of the 19th century he means the *proletarian* revolution. But it has proven to be the case that proletarian revolutions nowhere succeeded in that century, the most outstanding attempt, the Paris Commune, being drowned in blood by bourgeois reaction after only two months (this was also analyzed in depth and with great insight — and certain limitation — by Marx). It is the 20th

century that the proletarian revolution has succeeded in putting its stamp on, despite the reversal after several decades of the successful proletarian revolutions; as for successful revolutions in the 19th century, those still belonged to the bourgeoisie.

Second, even the successful proletarian revolutions of this century have not been able to avoid having to a significant degree the characteristics that Marx attributes above to “earlier revolutions.” Such proletarian revolutions — and here I am speaking of the genuine proletarian revolutions, advancing human society to previously unscaled heights — have not been able to strip off all superstition in regard to the past or avoid altogether drugging themselves concerning their own content. Marx himself, only a few paragraphs later in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, did provide important insight into the complexity of the problem:

“On the other hand, proletarian revolutions, like those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible. . . .”

And, as noted, with the accumulation of further historical experience — most especially the Paris Commune — Marx forged further analysis, breaking through certain previous limitations (and of course it is impossible to ever completely transcend such historical limitation).

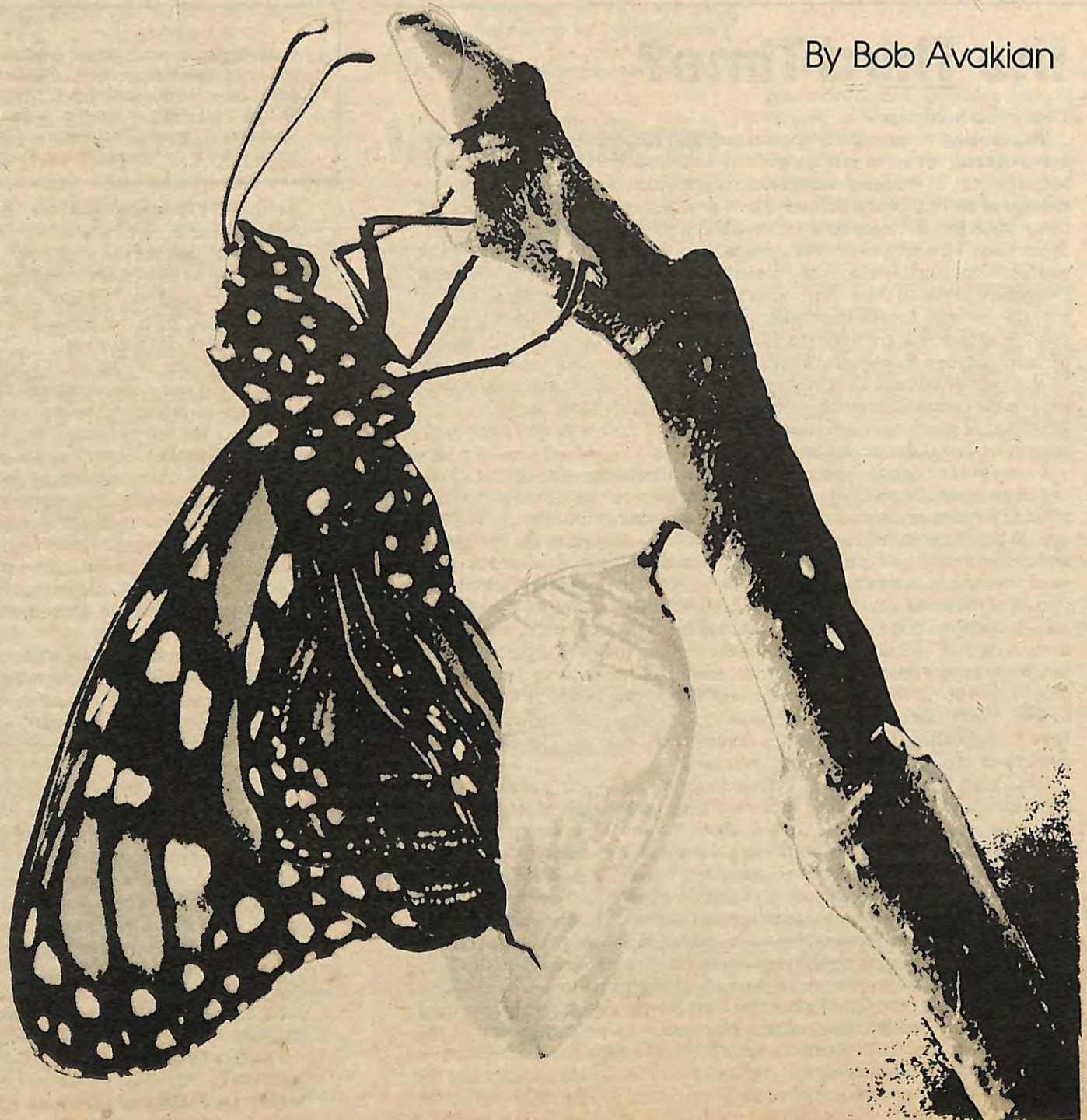
The problem, then, is not with Marx’s method, nor is it with his overwhelmingly correct and profound analysis of historical events, nor should we seek to find fault with him if the process of proletarian revolution has turned out to be even more complex and more protracted than he could foresee. * The problem is that in today’s world — at the end of the 20th century and at the approach of the 21st — there are still many who are committing the error, or crime, that Marx criticized over 100 years ago in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* — many, that is, who call themselves socialists, communists, Marxists and what have you.

Continued on page 4

* For a more thorough discussion of this and of related questions concerning the course of the proletarian revolution since Marx’s time, I refer the reader to “Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will,” *Revolution*, No. 50, Dec., 1981.

*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.

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the Third Time?

Continued from page 3

This problem is particularly acute in the imperialist countries, where there is a pronounced, almost irresistible tendency among such socialists, communists, Marxists, etc., to yet again present the struggles and contradictions of the present age in the old, bourgeois terms; only now, instead of the central question being identified as monarchy vs. republic it is formulated as fascism vs. democracy, especially with the approach of any serious crisis where the bourgeois dictatorship that is the content contained in the form of bourgeois democracy begins to show more of its blunt edge. This is generally associated with the tendency to raise the banner of "defense of the nation against aggression" in an historical era when the ruling bourgeoisies of these countries are imperialist and the nation itself is an oppressor nation and such a banner can only have a reactionary, not a progressive, content. This is more particularly so in the present concrete situation with the two imperialist blocs preparing for a world war in which each will undoubtedly brand the other as the "aggressor" and the defiler of democracy and progress.

Turning once again to France, it is actually still possible today to hear socialists, in particular the socialists of the governing party, present their own principles and positions as extensions of the republican principles of almost 200 years ago. When these socialists were swept into office — winning the Presidency and an absolute majority of the National Assembly — they promised that this would be the beginning of a real change in France itself and in its relations with the rest of the world, the "third world" in particular. That this has not been the case, and was never meant to be the case, has been well analyzed in previous articles in the *RW* — and no doubt future events will provide many more opportunities to enrich this analysis. For this reason, and because to "prove" this point would be redundant and unnecessary, and boring besides, I want instead to deal, briefly here, with why the socialists in coming into office *could not* have brought about any real, that is fundamental, change. This can be summarized in two, closely interrelated, points.

First, even if the promises of reform in the Socialist Party platform were taken at face value and assumed to be sincere, such a program of reforms could only have been carried out by bringing about the kind of sweeping changes in the superstructure, including particularly the police and armed forces and the bureaucracy, that could only be accomplished through a revolution. Short of this the dead weight and the active resistance of rival — rival bourgeois — forces would act to sabotage the implementation of such reforms, and has done so to the degree that the socialists have attempted to carry out even certain cosmetic reforms (for example, granting residency papers to *some* of the "illegal" immigrants, while using this as a means to tighten repressive control over the immigrants in general). The fact that there has been certain resistance from rival bourgeois interests and political machines — who had control of the bureaucracies, etc., for a number of years before the socialists took office — is in turn used by the socialists, and the bourgeoisie in general, to continue the game of portraying the essential political contest in France as between "the left" and "the right" on the political spectrum — the "legitimate" political

Correction

Apologies to panelists and readers for an error in the listing of panelists for the Friday evening panel on The Soviet Union In The Horn of Africa. Panelists are: Gayle Smith, co-author of *The Hidden Revolution*, recently returned from Eritrea and Tigray; Azinna Nwafor, writer on African affairs. Moderator: Kassahun Checole, Professor of African Studies, Rutgers University and Director of the Africa Research and Publications Project.

spectrum. Everything and everybody must then be defined and define themselves in terms of and within the confines of this spectrum and its "left" and "right" poles of the same bourgeois stupidity. But to return to the essential point: even to implement the program of reforms in the Socialist Party platform would require the kind of changes in the superstructure that could only be brought about by a real revolution — and that, of course, the Socialist Party does not even claim to want.

Secondly, and on the other hand, only if a revolutionary transformation were carried out in the economic realm — not only within France itself but moreover in its relations with the rest of the world — could any fundamental changes in the superstructure be consolidated and carried forward. Short of that, the operation and influence of the old economic relations would react back upon the superstructure, undermining any attempt to achieve and sustain any basic change there. It is impossible to leave untouched basic relations of exploitation and international plunder by capital, with finance capital on top skimming the cream off everything, and expect that such interests and their influence would allow a radical transformation of the ruling ideas and institutions. But, again, the Socialist Party program was in no way aimed at, let alone capable of, carrying out such revolutionary transformations in the economic realm.

In short: to even implement the *reform program* it claimed to stand for, the Socialist Party would have to bring about a revolutionary transformation in the superstructure that it could not bring about and did not want in any case; and to bring about and sustain such revolutionary transformations in the superstructure — which it didn't even aim for nor desire — it would have to bring about a real revolutionary transformation in the economic realm, which it also was incapable of achieving, and indeed incapable of wanting!

This is a dramatic illustration of the profound *unrealism* of reform as a means to any basic change, and as the Socialist Party in France also exemplifies, the profoundly *reactionary* character of reformism systematized as a program and posed in opposition to revolution. Perhaps this will be relevant to the experience in other countries, including possibly the U.S., in the period ahead, should the bourgeoisie decide it needs to bring forward its "left" representatives and reform programs.

As for the proletariat, and particularly its vanguard forces, in further sharpening and applying our own ideological and political content, it is now more urgent and long since time that we rupture completely with the terms and confines of past eras and historically obsolete classes and systems and truly let the dead bury their dead. □

Next week:

MORE QUESTIONS TO CARL SAGAN AND STEPHEN GOULD, AND ISAAC ASIMOV

Talking Peace, Counting Warheads



The geiger counters will be clicking madly in the next six months. The U.S. will soon approve the MX, and begin deployment of medium-range missiles in Germany later this year, both supposedly in response to Soviet moves. The Soviets have apparently been constructing new sites for their SS-20 missiles targeted on Asia, doubling their capability there, and also have threatened "measures of response" by the USSR and East Germany. So with all this "responding" going on — this fiercely stepped-up maneuvering — the imperialists have naturally turned up the volume in their talk of . . . peace.

"Is there really anyone who favors their use?" (of nuclear weapons), Reagan dead-panned at a press conference.

"Every day lost for the attainment of agreement increases the nuclear danger," intoned Andropov.

As the bitter and deadly competition shifts into higher gear, there has been increasing need by the imperialists to smooth the way by talk of "new concepts" and even hints of "break-throughs" in arms control. In the U.S. the atmosphere has been set by the passage of a nuclear freeze resolution in the

House, and the great publicity surrounding the Catholic bishops' statement on war and peace. Here, however, we want to point out the much-touted "new concepts" emerging in the course of the current Congressional bargaining around the MX. Approval of the giant missile is a foregone conclusion, but there is some hammering out and bargaining to be done about how to present this to the public (including a very volatile public in Europe right now), and how to link the go-ahead for the MX with future U.S. arms policies.

The new U.S. arms "control" formula is — amazingly — based on a whole new cycle in the arms race in which a new small missile (nicknamed Midgetman) would be deployed by the thousands. In the past, a premium has been placed on arming large missiles with MIRV's (multiple independently-targeted re-entry vehicles); together with the greatly increased accuracy of the new generation of missiles, the new weaponry constitutes a highly effective first strike capability against hardened missile silos of the opposing side. The MX, for example, carries ten warheads with a yield of 600 kilo-

tons apiece, with an accuracy of 400 square feet. The new missile would be much smaller and carry only one warhead, and therefore is promoted as more "survivable," since thousands would be dispersed and perhaps even mobile. These would be, according to the pitch, a less tempting target for first strike and in that way "more stabilizing."

This proposal is on its face mind-boggling. By first approving and deploying the MX, and next producing thousands more of a *new* missile, the U.S. imperialists assert they would create "stabilization" — something which is not only a bald-faced lie, but for the oppressed masses of the world, not even slightly desirable! Who needs to stabilize this madness!? But the U.S. has something else up its sleeve — a whole new formula for building up its own arms capability while trying to force Soviet concessions in their areas of greatest strength. The new scenario calls for counting, and limiting somewhat, individual nuclear warheads, instead of, as in the past, proposing a ceiling on launchers. Up to now, the big disagreement has been over the numbers of launchers to be allowed by any agree-

ment, while saying nothing about the numbers of individual warheads which could be mounted on each launcher. Now, in order to accommodate the thousands of new one-warhead Midgetman weapons, the U.S. wants to raise or lift any ceiling on launchers, and count only warheads. (A second and separate part of the "new" U.S. stance involves endorsement of a modified "build-down" concept, but this will not be examined in this article.)

There are big advantages for the U.S. in such a formula, as we shall see, but instead of rejecting the proposal out of hand as one might have expected, the Soviets countered with a proposal of their own to "count warheads." Could it be? Have the superpowers finally come to their senses? Not hardly. The current exchange represents a change of tactics but not of the overall strategy of either the U.S. or the Soviets in their ongoing peace wars.

For its part, the U.S. has been concentrating at the current START talks on policies which would chop away at the

Continued on page 6



U.S. Discovers "Bad Example" In Mexico

There has been no shortage of articles in the bourgeois press over the past few months about Mexico's "problems" — articles undoubtedly brought on by deep-seated fears about a potential explosion in America's bloated belly. The conditions of life for the masses in Mexico are atrocious and the situation is deteriorating, and this requires some attention on the part of the U.S. imperialists — and not only in the form of things like the new 10,000-man Mexican army quick reaction force, specifically designed to deal with outbreaks of mass rebellion. There is also the important matter of creating public opinion about the situation there. Consider, for example, an article entitled "Problems of Mexico City: Warning to the Third World," in the May 15 edition of the *New York Times*. Written by the *Times*' Mexico City Bureau Chief, Alan Riding, the article does contain some exposure of the hellhole that Mexico's capital city has become — although there seems to be some discrepancy between the things that Riding (who, after all, does have to live there... poor thing) is most incensed about and the concerns of the masses. But what is most significant here is the way that horrors of life in Mexico City get blamed on Mexico's chosen development models — as if *Mexicans* did the choosing.

The *Times* describes the scene in Mexico City, the world's most populated urban area, with a population of 16 million — doubled in the last decade — and where a figure of 30-35 million inhabitants is projected by the turn of the century. The vast majority of the people live in slums — either those of the decaying inner city or the newer shantytowns which stretch for miles around the Mexico City area. Poverty, disease, malnutrition, unemployment — there is much that could be written about the conditions there. Riding notes that "the main preoccupation of the poor seems to be housing," citing an estimated deficit of 800,000 homes and a recent study showing that 51% of families — average 6.5 people per family — sleep in a single room. But having a somewhat different perspective, the dedicated *Times* correspondent is most incensed by something that affects him more directly — the city's incredible air pollution. Even the fact that 30% of the city's 10,000 tons

a day of garbage is not collected and is the breeding ground for the millions of rats that frolic amid the millions of families is noted by Riding as merely a chief contributor to the main problem; after all, the slum-dwellers burn all that garbage and that further screws up the air that everyone rich and poor alike, must breathe. And another thing that really gets Riding's goat is the massive traffic mess. Middle and upper-class Mexicans have to spend 3 hours commuting every day, but if you don't have a car, it's "five hours of standing in line or being crushed in buses and subways." The main problem with this is that everybody buys a car at the first opportunity, thereby making the traffic jams even worse. And what's more, Riding notes, "97 percent of the vehicles on the road carry only 21 percent of the passengers, a reflection of the high percentage of cars carrying only the driver." Why, these people don't even use computerized carpools like in the office back home.

Of course, apart from the perceived intrusions into Alan Riding's "space," life in Mexico City is a very real abomination. And the 11,000 tons of waste material pumped into the atmosphere daily, the massive traffic jams and so forth are a very real — if hardly the most significant — manifestation of the incredibly warped and disarticulated economy of Mexico. But where did it all come from? It seems that Mexico City is the victim of a "destructive" development model that began during World War 2 and has "been maintained since then. A disproportionate share of government resources is poured into encouraging industrialization while deteriorating conditions in the agricultural sector expell more and more peasants to seek work in urban areas or, as undocumented aliens, in the United States." Why, if only those Mexicans would allocate their government resources better none of this mess would ever have occurred. Of course, the United States didn't have anything to do with "encouraging industrialization" in Mexico, even if it did pour investment in various forms, especially after its victory in World War 2, into an industry that is totally dependent for technology and inputs on the U.S. bloc — and the U.S. in particular. And the "deteriorating conditions in the agricultural sector" — why that didn't have anything to do with the

U.S.-sponsored Green Revolution, promoting the development of capitalist export-oriented agriculture in the north and leaving the food-producing peasantry and the rest of the country unable to survive on the land. And then, as the imperialist crisis intensified and all this development began to turn into its opposite in the 1970s, the fact that billions in loans were poured into Mexico from London, Paris, Frankfurt, Tokyo and especially New York — all the capitals of Western finance capital — specifically to be invested in Mexico's oil and other industries, thereby "encouraging" (*ordering* would be a more accurate term) the completely independent government of Mexico to allocate its resources in the required manner — why, all this is quite irrelevant to the mess that Mexico City has become. If only the *Mexicans* hadn't done it the wrong way, this never would have happened.

It is the U.S. that has developed Mexico, not only for the usual bloodsucking reasons but also to keep Mexico and Central America safe for bloodsucking. To that end, the oil industry was pumped up (the CIA spread the news that oil was discovered and greatly exaggerated the amount of proven oil reserves in Mexico to encourage capital from throughout the bloc to flow into Mexico), and efforts were also made to develop other areas of the economy, in hopes that Mexico would avoid the fatal results of the Shah's experience with oil booms. While millions were being pushed into abject poverty, strata were built up that were relatively better off, in some cases quite a bit better off, to serve as a buffer and "stabilize" Mexican society somewhat for the imperialists. These buffers included a jump in the ranks of the urban middle class (some of whom became real estate proprietors and regular tourists in the U.S.); a section of unionized workers in basic industries who receive higher incomes, better conditions, etc., than those on the bottom; and a growth in white-collar jobs, especially in the state bureaucracy and party apparatus of the official Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI). For example, a sociological study done in 1979 showed that 50% of the sons of the unionized workers were moving up to become white-collar workers. And the expansion of the government bureaucracy (and some social programs

as part of this), together with the overall economic buildup, helped to make possible the PRI's oft-cited ability to "co-opt dissent."

But the point of all this was not only, or even mainly, to keep Mexico "cool" *per se*, but to enable Mexico to play a crucial role for the U.S. in relation to other countries. As the *RW* pointed out in issue No. 178, October 29, 1982, "Imagine a Central America without Mexico — what would the U.S. do? Mexico overshadows Guatemala, heavily influences Honduras, serves as prime defender of U.S. interests in relation to Nicaragua and within the Salvadoran guerrilla movement (where Mexico's 'disinterested mediation' is a key arsenal) and so on. Even Mexico's longstanding relations with Cuba, sometimes referred to as a sign of Mexico's independence, serve both to keep the door open to Cuba for U.S.-bloc influence, and to facilitate Mexican (and thus at least somewhat pro-U.S.) influence within pro-Cuban movements in Latin America. Then, looking north more towards the future, there is the fact that a very large chunk of the population within the U.S.'s sacred borders are very directly influenced by what happens in Mexico... and this means not only people along the southern border, but in cities as well as rural areas all the way up to Canada."

All this makes the situation in Mexico City (and throughout Mexico as well) even more significant — and the potential consequences truly earthshaking. It is patently obvious that the "warning" the *New York Times* speaks of is not to the "third world," but to the imperialists themselves.

What the *Times* and its ilk find "most depressing" is the fact that *Mexico City* has "developed no strategies useful to other cities headed down the same road." Of course, apart from the obligatory attempt to blame it on those who followed their orders, the *Times* is really bemoaning the fact that *imperialism* has no way of avoiding the grotesque distortions its anarchic drive produces in those countries it dominates. And as for "useful strategies" for dealing with all this, the international proletariat might have a few suggestions. □

Talking Peace

Continued from page 5

Soviet capability in heavy land-based missiles such as the SS-18 and SS-19. Nearly three-quarters of Soviet intercontinental warheads are carried by land-based ICBM's, while the U.S. relies on land-based missiles for only about one quarter of its arsenal (the others are mounted on submarines and bombers). U.S. proposals have called for reductions in strategic ballistic missiles deep enough to force the Soviets to cut back on at least some of their land-based ICBM's. The catch here is that the U.S. plans in this decade to deploy thousands of air and sea-launched cruise missiles. Now, cruise missiles are really pilotless, guided aircraft, that is, they are not *ballistic* missiles and are not covered by the generous U.S. proposals for reductions. (The Soviets are said to be five to ten years behind the U.S. in the technology required for massive deployment of cruise weapons.) As for the proposed ballistic missile reductions on the side of the U.S., this would be part of the arms modernization whereby existing weapons are to be replaced anyway by the MX, Trident II, B-1 bomber, and numerous battlefield weapons — none of which are on the table in the START talks.

Not only does the new formula for counting warheads not change this strategy, it attempts to turn the knife even more. First of all, the proposal to go to a new smaller missile would happen *after* the deployment of at least the first one hundred MX missiles — if anything, the plan would give the U.S. first-strike capa-

city and a new, more survivable weapon. Second, in describing the new move, Reagan wrote of "our intent to cap the number of strategic ballistic warheads on both sides" (our emphasis — *RW*), thus again excluding warheads on the thousands of U.S. cruise missiles now in the works and still pressing for reductions in Soviet land-based ICBM's. Third, the proposal attempts to force a cycle in the arms race where the Soviets would have to de-emphasize their treasured heavy missiles and strain technologically and economically to create the new class of missiles.

The Soviets have responded with some equally deceptive proposals of their own. On May 3, at the height of the publicity in the U.S. about the "new disarmament stance," the Soviets announced their readiness to count warheads. Looking more closely, however, the Soviet pitch isn't that startling. It applies not to strategic arms, for one thing, but to the talks on European medium-range missiles, and even there includes in its calculations French and British nuclear forces and apparently U.S. bombers, all of which are terms the U.S. has many times rejected, as the Soviets well know. At bottom there is no change in the Soviet hard line on the Euromissiles — and why should there be, since the Soviets are reaping big political harvests from the political turmoil surrounding the issue?

The U.S. has countered by making noises about "cautiously welcoming" the Soviet plan to count warheads, implying some sort of imminent meeting of the imperialist minds, knowing full well that nothing has in fact changed. (Specifically, U.S. spokesmen are floating out that there is hope, not for the Euromissile

talks, but at START.) This itself says something about the utility of the peacetalk charade to *both* sides. In this period, it suits the U.S.'s needs — the needs of the war *build-up* — to allow for "hope" at the arms talks. The Soviets, who have profited much from painting themselves "defensively," have jumped on the chance to enhance this image, by also implying "hope" for agreement while not actually giving an inch.

Which raises another, most basic point: none of the peacetalk has halted the saber-rattling on either side. The Soviet posture may be "defensive," but in practice the social-imperialists have continued to deploy SS-20's and threaten the Asian and European countries at which they are targeted; most recently the Soviets have been constructing SS-20 sites in Asia which would double their capability for missiles targeted on Japan and China. Further, the stakes were raised in a significant way by Andropov right in the introduction to his oh-so-peaceful offer to count warheads in Europe, by threatening:

"If, contrary to all arguments of reason, matters will go in this direction (deployment of U.S. Euromissiles — *RW*), then a chain reaction is inevitable. The USSR, the GDR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries will be compelled to take reply measures."

To our knowledge, this raises for the first time Soviet threats to involve East Germany and other Soviet-bloc countries in further "measures," presumably Soviet missile deployments there. Of course, there is the standard Soviet plea that it is backed into a wall and simply "forced to respond," which, while di-

fering in emphasis, is quite similar to the U.S. bloc rationale.

The U.S. has coupled *its* peacetalk with front-page hints that it was shifting to the policy of "launch under attack" — a declaration that the U.S. would not wait until it absorbed a nuclear strike, but would launch its missiles during the minutes that the attack was in progress. This hair-trigger policy is meant as a very warlike threat aimed at the Soviets (who, on the other hand, are also thought to maintain a policy of "launch under attack" or even one of "launch on warning" of attack). Of course, in the actual event, both the U.S. and Soviets will launch their attack whenever and wherever it is most effective militarily and politically — and this will have nothing to do with what is "declared" beforehand. Whether a particular power strikes first, in retaliation, or almost simultaneously as the "launch under attack" would imply, does not change the character of the coming conflict as a war to divide up the world between exploiters. The new U.S. "declared" policy — or hints of one — is pure propaganda and one of a bellicose character indeed.

These maneuvers are no doubt just the beginning of the lies and doubletalk which will mark this next period of war preparation; this is the meaning of the U.S. official assessment of the coming round of arms talks as "very active and fluid." The sort of "agreement" that can emerge from this process is well illustrated by the current round of propaganda. This is not "agreement" with hope for peace, but one which will end inevitably in the two blocs "agreeing" to unleash their weaponry and fight to the death. □

MacArthur's Mexican Exploits

In light of the renaming of what is now *Damián García Park* in Los Angeles, it is worth noting that among the notorious exploits of the park's former namesake, General Douglas MacArthur — who commanded U.S. cannonfodder in two world wars and Korea — was a bit of "derring-do" in Mexico itself. In 1914, Mexico was boiling with turmoil and revolutionary upsurge. A few years earlier Porfirio Díaz had been overthrown and a nationalist reformer, Francisco Madero, had come to power. But Madero was quickly assassinated by one of his generals, Victoriano Huerta, a counter-revolutionary who attempted to restore the stability desired by the U.S. and the European great powers who were vying for the position of Mexico's main overlord.

Huerta was fine with France, Germany and especially Britain (whose Mexican oil interests he seemed particularly favorable toward). But as MacArthur put it in his memoirs, "...our relations with Mexico were deteriorating. Gen. Victoriano Huerta had shot his way to power below the border, and began arresting and molesting Americans..." Of course, it was with U.S. help that Huerta had "shot his way in" and he was still supported in powerful American financial and business circles. But considering the long and sordid history of U.S. robbery of Mexico, Huerta was necessarily given to a bit of cynical — yet embarrassing — "anti-U.S." posturing. And the overall attitude of the U.S. government to Huerta, due to his attachment to Britain, made him a target for replacement.

Things came to a head after a small party of American sailors were arrested in the port of Tampico on the orders of a minor Mexican official. Though the sailors were quickly released, Huerta refused to supply the apology required by the U.S. naval commander on the scene; the command was to "hoist the American flag on a prominent position on shore and salute it with 21 guns."

This incident was used by U.S. President Wilson as a convenient excuse to send the U.S. Navy and Marines to Veracruz in an attempt to bludgeon Huerta (the U.S. was bargaining with several other Mexican factions at the time). First a blockade of the port was mounted, preventing a German merchant ship from docking with a load of munitions destined for Huerta's army. Then on April 21, a substantial force of U.S. troops invaded and occupied the city. As

William Manchester described the situation in his biography of MacArthur, *American Caesar*: "The United States and Mexico were drifting toward war... On April 22 the secretary of war alerted (General) Wood 'to command a possible expeditionary force' if hostilities should break out between the two countries. That was a Wednesday. On Thursday, Wood, badly in need of intelligence, decided that he needed a spy and that Captain MacArthur was the very man for the job. MacArthur was ordered 'to obtain through reconnaissance and other means consistent with the existing situation all possible information which could be of value with possible operations.'"

Clearly, the "possible operations" being contemplated by the U.S. rulers were a full-scale invasion of Mexico, and MacArthur had been sent by Washington to scope out the situation without the knowledge of General Funston, the commander of the U.S. troops in Veracruz. But when MacArthur arrived in Veracruz — on May 1st — he found the situation none too promising. While the Marines had faced little resistance in landing, the masses from the city had soon begun to gather shouting "Death to the invaders! Down with the Yankees! Vengeance! Vengeance!" The U.S. troops were pelted with rocks from rooftops, and then began to come under rifle and pistol fire. Barricades were erected and the Marines had to bring in machineguns. It was soon apparent that to secure Veracruz would require fierce house-to-house combat or else the complete flattening of the town from shellfire. Reinforcements were called in, including four navy transports. The masses resisted tenaciously, suffering 400 casualties before falling back. The U.S. was finally able to raise the American flag over Veracruz, but as one historian noted, "No Mexicans stood to salute it." By the time MacArthur stepped off the boat, he found Funston's troops facing siege and facing eleven thousand of Huerta's men.

MacArthur quickly determined that the biggest problem for a large invasion force would be the means to transport troops into the countryside, and he set about on a mission to locate locomotives for this purpose. According to his memoirs, MacArthur bribed three Mexican railroad men to help in his project with the promise of \$150 in gold when they returned. However, not particularly confident of his travel companions, he



Top: U.S. troops march on Veracruz in 1914. Bottom: Thompson-toting U.S. sailors in front of the Hotel Diligencias in Veracruz stand amid the bodies of their victims.

first searched them to be sure they were not armed, and then had them search *him* to see that he was not carrying the gold in case they got any funny ideas. According to MacArthur's Bwana-like account of the foray, at one point they had to negotiate some rather rickety bridges and his companions protested violently at crossing them without investigating their condition: "Time was so short, however, that I dared not stop for such steps, and had to take them in our stride. I was obliged to threaten my men to the point of covering them with a revolver at the first bridge..." After forcing the Mexicans across, the American Caesar — now more confident of the bridge's safety — followed. When approaching a town, MacArthur would send two of his companions in to reconnoiter while lashing the third to himself with a rope to make sure he would not be abruptly abandoned in enemy territory.

After finally locating three serviceable locomotives, MacArthur headed back to Veracruz, in the process running three times into what he described as "guerillos undoubtedly bent on mischief." If we are to believe MacArthur's account, during these confrontations he expertly downed seven attackers with his derringer while their bullets repeatedly tore through his clothing, leaving not a scratch. After re-entering American lines, MacArthur promptly dashed off a report to General Wood and the Chiefs of Staff in Washington, enthusiastically plugging for an all-out invasion: "General Funston is handling things well and there is little room for criticism, but I miss the inspiration, my dear General, of your own clear-cut decisive methods. I hope sincerely that affairs will shape themselves so that you will shortly take the field for the campaign which, if death does not call you, can have but one ending — the White House." In turn, Wood recommended MacArthur for the Congressional Medal of Honor for his "enterprise and courage worthy of high commendation" on the spy mission.

But the awards board in Washington rejected this as impolitic. Those in power were not convinced that an attempt to conquer Mexico was at all feasible, politically or militarily. The occupation of Veracruz had backfired miserably,

sparking anti-American demonstrations throughout Latin America. While the U.S. rationale for the affair had been that it was "rescuing Mexican democracy from Huerta's dictatorship," the move actually bolstered Huerta's reputation when he stood up to the U.S.; but more, fueled the fires of the Mexican revolutionaries. The spectre arose of a united front between Huerta and the Mexican constitutionalist and revolutionary forces opposed to him that would mobilize the whole country against a U.S. invasion. While U.S. battle plans were actually drawn up to march on Mexico City and the occupation forces stayed in Veracruz for seven months, through mediation efforts of the ABC powers (Argentina, Brazil and Chile) the U.S. negotiated a withdrawal, forcing Huerta's abdication as part of the deal.

Two years later in 1916, after MacArthur had returned to Washington and assumed direction of the War Department's public information (war propaganda) and press censorship efforts, the U.S. rulers sent Gen. John Pershing (who has the main square in downtown LA named after *him*) to lead a "punitive expedition" into Northern Mexico against the revolutionary, Pancho Villa, whose forces even had the audacity to cross the border and attack the town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing 19 defenders. However, the Veracruz experience and how Villa skillfully eluded Pershing's army and drew him dangerously deep into Mexico, apparently convinced the U.S. rulers that biting off any more of Mexico at that particular time was a bit more than they could chew under the circumstances.

The circumstances included a growing focus on the war in Europe and U.S. preparations for a mop-up operation there. Pershing and his troops were called back from Mexico, and both he and MacArthur were sent off to Europe to direct U.S. troops in the "war to end all wars." Promoted from Captain to Major in 1915, from Major to Colonel in 1917, from Colonel to General in 1918, MacArthur was well rewarded early on, not only for his well known proclivity to suck up to superiors, but mainly for his service to the flight of the American eagle from Mexico to Marseille. □

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From the new book *The Science of Revolution: an introduction* by Lenny Wolff. The RW is reprinting an excerpt from the chapter on *Imperialism*:

In the stage of imperialism, war is the only means to break through the obstacles to continued capitalist accumulation and expansion, and to set a new framework for accumulation; in this, war is integral to the workings of the whole system in a way beyond its earlier (and important) role during the reign of industrial capital, and before that, merchant capital.

While there still exists the motion toward economic crisis characteristic of competitive capitalism, these crises no longer play the same purgative role as before. On the one hand, through the more centralized character of finance capital (including the heightened role of the state) and due to the export of capital especially to the oppressed nations, capital can to a certain extent ameliorate these crises for certain periods of time; on the other hand, this really only has the effect of transferring the contradictions to a higher level and making the eventual explosion all the more destructive. Further, when these economic crises do occur on a devastating scale, they do not serve as before to more or less thoroughly clear the decks for a new expansion; thus the stagnation of the Great Depression never really broke, and only World War 2 and its outcome made possible the necessary restructuring.

Thus far interimperialist war, and specifically the new relations established through this all-out violent confrontation between imperialists, has objectively

From The Science of Revolution: an introduction Imperialism and the Drive Towards War

functioned as the mechanism which has both ruptured the old framework of accumulation and set the terms for a new one. Again, this is *not* in some sort of Kautskyite sense that views war as one option, perhaps among several, that the imperialists choose in order to stimulate the economy (though it sometimes, especially in the early stages, has that effect), but in its objective role in forcibly

clearing the decks of inefficient capitals, restructuring value relations and centralizing capital to a higher degree, and giving the victorious power the temporary strength and flexibility to begin a new round of world accumulation. On the other hand, neither is war some sort of mechanically determined economic act. What has happened historically is that the different imperialist powers in-

creasingly confront a situation in which not only is their share of the world no longer sufficient to maintain and expand the reproduction of capital, but their rivals also face similar severe pressure, and *each* is driven both to expand and to defend what they already have. At a certain stage the needs of the imperialist power in conjunction with its position vis-à-vis its rival make war imperative, and the imperialists try to undertake such a war — which today will almost undoubtedly include large-scale exchange of nuclear weapons with all their attendant horror — on what they calculate as the most favorable possible terms for their victory. It's important here to note that the Kautskyite portrait that endows the imperialists with more or less absolute free will in deciding to go to war (often ascribing war to the war-like nature of this or that imperialist politician or power, or to their blunders, or, again, to some sort of scheme to "boost profits") implies a flip side picture of a reasonable bourgeois representative who can be appealed to to stop such a destructive thing in his own class interest. This covers over the fact that while the imperialists indeed have a will, they exercise it — *all* of them — within the very narrow parameters set by the workings of the system they sit atop, and in particular they must do whatever is required to enable the capital that they represent to continue — or renew — its cycle of expansion.

(One important current expression of the Kautskyite denial of the compulsion driving the imperialists is the widespread view that while all may not be right with the Soviet Union, and while it may pursue



policies that could only be called great-power chauvinist, it is after all *not* imperialist, and does not *have* to either weld together a bloc or go to war with its rival. This, too, denies the compulsory laws at the bottom of the drive to war.)

To grasp more clearly the dynamics driving imperialism into interimperialist war, let's look at World War 2. This was not a scheme to increase production... still less was it a battle on the part of the Allies to "defend democracy" (or of the Axis to "barbarize" the world); rather this war grew out of the inability of all the imperialist powers to carry out accumulation on a profitable scale within the confines of the world's division at the time. Each needed to go to war, and each embarked on it with its own clearly defined and imperialist objectives (even if those objectives changed in part under the force of circumstances and development); and the result was six years of war and the murder of fifty million people before a winner emerged and capital could decisively restructure itself — this time under the extraordinarily centralized control of the U.S. — and set a framework for another round of extended accumulation. This is shown, for example, by internal memos and articles of the Council on Foreign Relations (a U.S. imperialist foreign policy "think tank") in the late '30s; these frankly addressed the inability of the U.S. to continue to operate within its former spheres of influence, and outlined the need for the U.S. to integrate the Pacific and most of the then-British Empire into its domain (as well as posing suggestions on how to portray the war for public

consumption).*

The crucial way that interimperialist war — as well as political and military struggle generally, not to mention revolution — affects the accumulation of capital points to the important intensification of the role of politics and nation-states under imperialism, and the much more fluid interpenetration between politics and economics. The state becomes much more central to the accumulation process; it not only intervenes to aid the further centralization of capital, but also mounts a huge bureaucracy, army, etc., to enforce imperialism's parasitical rule in the colonies and contend with its rivals.

All this is bound up with the heightened internationalization of capital, and its need and ability to straddle national borders. But this doesn't mean that capital has transcended the nation — or still less, become "disloyal" to it — as one tenacious opportunist line holds. Capital clutches the national flag more firmly than ever.

For one thing, capital is not an ideal; it exists in the material world, and its worldwide manipulations serve a circuit that continues to be rooted in the imperialist nation. It needs its base of operations. Thus attention is paid to maintaining vital industries in the home base in a certain condition even at great expense or loss. Capital must contend internationally with *national* strength; political and/or economic erosion in the home base car-

* See "Shaping a New World: The Council on Foreign Relations Blueprint for World Hegemony, 1939-1945," Shoupe and Minter, in *Trilateralism*, ed., Holly Sklar, South End Press, 1980.

ries a great risk. It's hardly as if "they don't care about the people at home" — no, they pay great attention to trying to tie "the people at home" to the national flag in one way or another so as to gain popular support for actions in the international arena, including the threat and actual use of military force. And the essential political-military conflicts among the imperialists have not taken the form of different blocs of finance capital mounting their own private armies, buying and stationing (or using) missiles and nuclear warheads, etc.; rather this is done by the imperialist states (and alliances of these states), through war and military force which clearly have a decisive influence on the existence and reproduction of these blocs of finance capital.

All this in no way negates the *economic* basis underlying imperialism, but it makes clear that this should not be narrowly construed. During the brutal and truly genocidal U.S. war against Vietnam, for example, some forces on the left began to claim that the real cause of U.S. aggression was its desire to control suspected oilfields off the coast of Vietnam. While intended to expose U.S. imperialist motives in this war, this explanation ended up being narrow, economist and reformist, in that it ultimately reduced the war — an extremely important watershed event in world history — to the interests of the "oil companies." In fact, what was at stake for U.S. imperialism in Indochina, and this was revealed openly by the *Pentagon Papers*, was its fear that the example of Vietnam would spread to other countries, inspiring liberation struggles with redoubled intensity

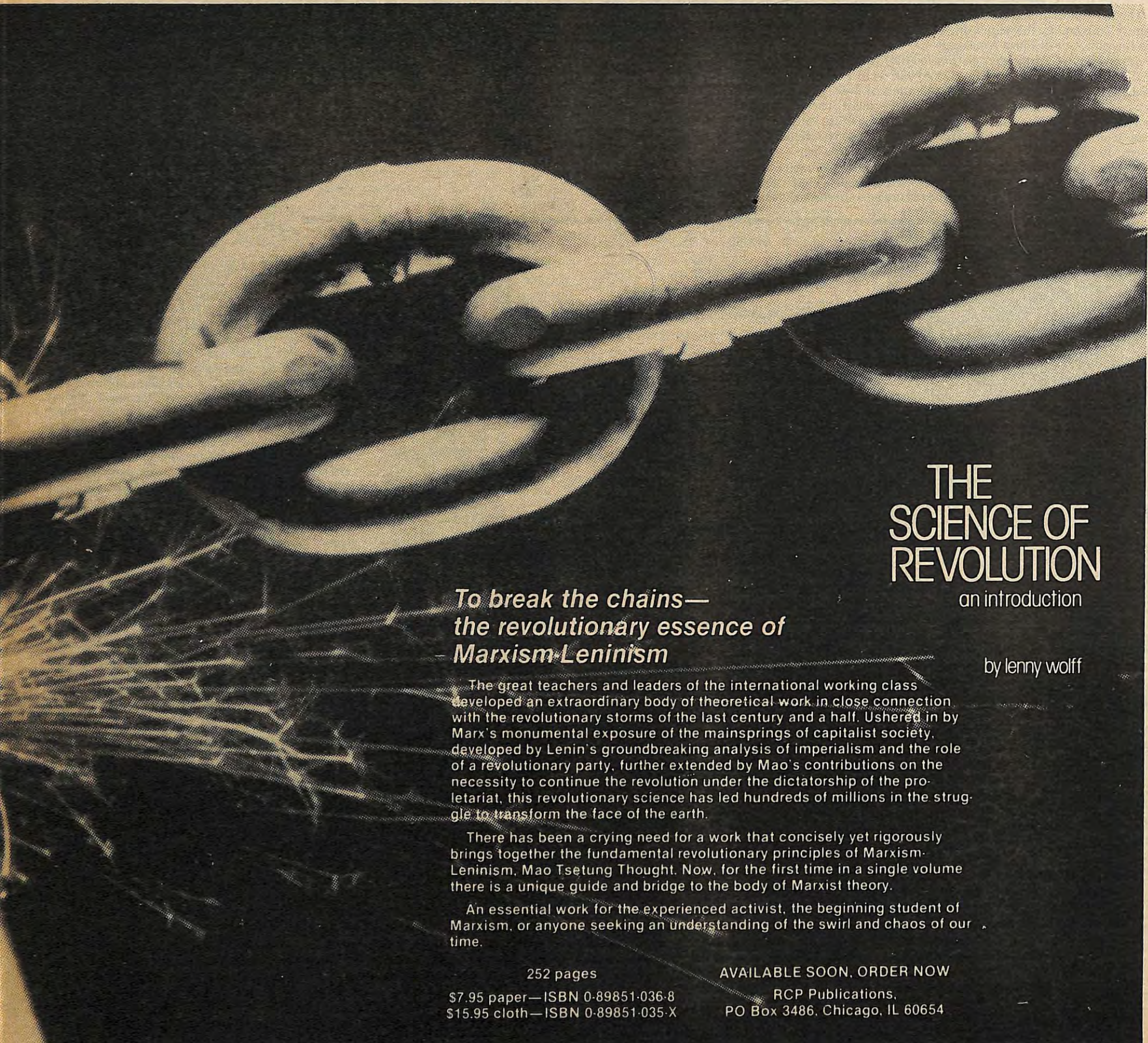
throughout the third world (which in fact it did) and would generally shake U.S. political hegemony in the world. The U.S. aims in Vietnam flowed out of the entire empire and system that they had set up coming off of World War 2, based on their superior political and military strength; and the impact and shocks of the Vietnamese peoples' struggle extended way beyond Vietnam, beyond even the third world. It influenced and interpenetrated with the renewal of revolutionary struggle within the U.S. and other imperialist powers, the beginning of the crumbling of the U.S. monetary agreements with Europe in the late '60s, the increased opportunity for the Soviet Union to push out and more aggressively pursue its imperialist interests, and the beginning phase of crisis and stagnation within the Western bloc. In fact, Vietnam was pivotal in heightening the contradictions throughout the world.

The Fundamental Contradiction

Imperialism, as we have emphasized, is a system in transition to something higher; but the very anarchy that drives forward the socialization of the productive forces on a world scale (if in a distorted form) also reproduces barriers to continued accumulation. And the growing complexity and convolution of capital, arising from the machinations it must undertake to continue its reproduction, make the entire structure that much more vulnerable.

At bottom, imperialism cannot escape the contradictions inherent in the basic form of the commodity. The huge

Continued on page 13



THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION

an introduction

by lenny wolff

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May 1st Correspondence

May Day In The Dominican Republic

Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, May First — Slogans, flags, leaflets; pamphlets and books for sale; banners and posters. There was an overturning on "Workers Day." The working class took to the streets. And not only did it challenge Yankee imperialism's domination of this Caribbean nation, it also challenged the domination of opportunism and revisionism within the trade union movement. The posters waved in the Santo Domingo breezes. The faces of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Mao Tsetung were all present.

The "Damián García" Brigade of the Unión Comunista Revolucionaria (UCR) reached the approach to the bridge on 17th, the bridge on Padre Castellanos Ave., at 8:45. The march and rally of the main trade unions had been scheduled for 9 a.m. The brigaders knew perfectly well what they had come for: To beat back the revisionist line that on May Day we march behind the trade union contingents! To bring to workers and oppressed the internationalist message of the revolutionary communists!

MAY DAY: INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY. A DAY TO ADVANCE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WORLDWIDE. With this slogan the UCR expressed its rebelliousness. It denounced opportunism and revisionism, beating them back with the very force of the revolutionary communists. It called on the working class to reject all the opportunist and revisionist tendencies and trends. It was a war cry. Against Soviet revisionism, against Chinese revisionism, against Albanian revisionism.

When they had in their hands the UCR's May Day leaflet, the members and friends of the Partido de Liberación Dominicana (PLD) went crazy. The leaflet rejected the liberal-bourgeois and pro-Soviet ideas of the PLD. Above all: on Sunday, 24th of April, the PLD had forcefully driven a UCR brigade out of a *public event* organized by the PLD. The ideological struggle continued, and will continue as long as revisionism is around.

With fraternal smiles, workers and unemployed were heard to comment several times: "The UCR is among the few organizations that proposes to overthrow the bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism through *peoples war!* And that's a fact. The electoral left organizations are not qualified to lead the Dominican working class in the democratic, national and anti-imperialist revolution. They're only "good" for the legal struggle. For parliamentarianism. For closed door meetings.

All this became clearer when the march headed west from the bridge on 17th. The pro-Soviet forces, now strengthened by their alliance with the pro-Chinese, blurted out their main "internationalist" slogan: "Yankees out of Latin America!" But men and women from among the people and the brigaders of the UCR waylaid them: "Yankees and Russians out of Latin America!"

Meanwhile, UCR brigaders distributed the leaflet: **MAY DAY: INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY. A DAY TO ADVANCE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WORLDWIDE.** And they painted the initials of the organization on walls along 17th Ave. — Padre Castellanos Ave. — as everyone calls it. They did the same thing on Marcos Ruiz and Juan Erazo Sts. To say nothing of the Plaza "Primero de Mayo", situated in the intersection of San Martí and John F. Kennedy Avenues. The UCR brigaders covered it with initials, the initials "UCR" were everywhere — in red.

Overthrow the old, bring about the new. Destroy the capitalist system all over the world. Build socialism and communism internationally. That is the goal of the international working class. In this context, May Day is the festival of the oppressed. It's a sign

of how those who have nothing to lose are preparing the grave of Yankee imperialism, of Soviet social-imperialism and all the bourgeois and reactionaries all over the world.

Just as the article "Lessons From May Day Actions" — published in the May 7th, 1982 edition of the *Revolutionary Worker* — points out: "May First, while a political struggle, is an embryo of and an act of preparation for the armed insurrection of the future." *The social pacifists and other renegades from the revolutionary war of the masses tremble when they hear talk of mass violence and armed struggle.*

As the general headquarters of the revolutionary communists in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, as the undisputed representative of the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST/PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST TREND, the UCR considers temporary the predominance of the opportunists and revisionists within the ranks of the Dominican revolutionary movement. And believes that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will become — sooner than later — the main tendency within the Dominican working class.

The weakness of the UCR will become a strength. Proletarian consciousness will be brought from outside to the workers and oppressed of this Caribbean nation, subjugated by Yankee imperialism and whom the Soviet social-imperialists consider of great strategic importance for the Caribbean area. Therefore, it's important to raise the level, both quantitatively and qualitatively of the forces that uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. There is no time to lose!

The lessons of the May First celebrations in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC bring squarely to the fore the need to build a REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (RCP); as the vanguard detachment of the working class; as an organized detachment of the working class; as the highest form of class organization of the proletariat; as the instrument of the democratic, national and anti-imperialist revolution; as the instrument of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat; as a unit incompatible with the existence of factions; as a fortress of struggle against revisionism and opportunism.

And in order to build the RCP in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC a crucial weapon will be called on to play a crucial role: LA CHISPA REVOLUCIONARIA (The Revolutionary Spark). A means for revolutionary political agitation. And to carry out the ideological struggle against every school of reactionary thought. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought against opportunism and revisionism. A collective conspirator. A collective organizer. A transmission belt between the Dominican working class and the UCR. A means of communication at the service of proletarian internationalism. . . . The UCR has already said it: **THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC MUST BE BUILT!** There is no time to lose! Take up the task!

Revolutionary Communists of the world, forward!

Internationalist proletarians of the world, forward!

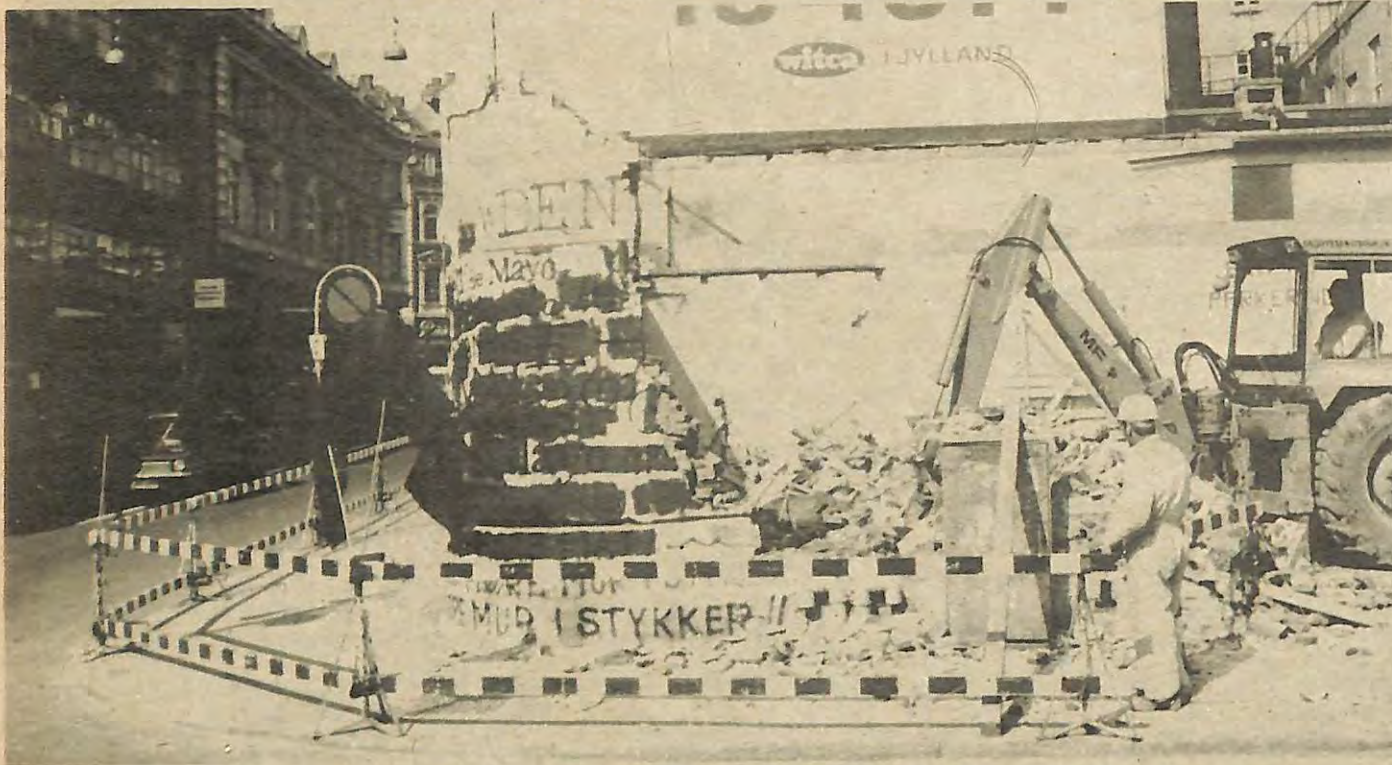
Long Live the revolutionary communist trend!

Down with revisionism and opportunism!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long Live UNION COMUNISTA REVOLUCIONARIA (UCR)!

Santo Domingo, D.R., May 3, 1983
Central Committee



In RW No. 203 we reported the story of the Internationalist Wall of Aarhus, Denmark. Since then we have received several more reports on the status of this wall, which faces both the police station and the local Social Democratic Party building and labor union congress hall. Since the initial paint job, the wall has become the focus of a protracted tit-for-tat battle. When the first graffiti were covered with whitewash, the fresh white background was soon covered with even fresher red letters duplicating the original. A second attempt at obliterating the slogans was also reversed, and red flags were added to the site for good measure. In this photo the wall is finally being demolished (it has been in the process of being torn down the whole time). The demolition has been incorporated into the concept of the international wall, however. Readers may recall that one of the large slogans on the wall is a line from the Internationale in Danish which reads: "Smash the rotten wall of the past to pieces."

Observations of An Australian Revolutionary

On May Day I was in L.A., at the park the international proletariat has already renamed Damián García Park. For me, as a proletarian and revolutionary from Australia, it brought together some points that I have read in the *RW* and other RCP publications we receive "back home". There are lessons there for the currently sharpening and deepening struggle in Australia to step onto the path of building a revolutionary party and preparing the proletariat for revolutionary power.

CORRECTION

The English section of last week's *RW* mistakenly reported 4-5000 people marched in the ATIF contingent in Stuttgart in the article "Initial International Reports." It should have read "... marched with the ATIF contingent of 4-500. . . ."

In Australia the coup against the revolutionary Four and the restoration of capitalism in China in 1976 exposed the deep going weaknesses and errors of the Marxist-Leninist movement, and blew the cover of the opportunists who built their careers (and their party) on the prestige of revolutionary China. Since then many people once active in the Marxist-Leninist movement have given up, rejecting their past beliefs as "idealism" (and they're right, *theirs* were), or rejecting Leninism as inappropriate. . . you no doubt are familiar with similar trends in this country.

Well even amongst those who, at least initially, did not side with Teng revisionism or give up, that is those who at first attempted to maintain or reestablish revolutionary politics, certain errors and bad habits of the past were carried over

and they too have begun to fall by the wayside. This is clearly international phenomena, which the letter on the dissolution of the Canadian "In Struggle!" group and Bob Avakian's article "Crisis of Marxism' or Vindication of Marxist Materialism" expose in sharp outline — i.e., agnosticism (making a principle of one's own ignorance), centrism (not taking a stand on political principles), and trying to build revolution on the terrain of economism. These tendencies have their basis in objective reality, i.e., capitalist restoration in all former socialist states; revisionist betrayals; the passing of the 60's and early 70's "high-tide" of mass struggles and wars of liberation into a period of "low-tide"; and so on. But they also have their basis in subjective reality, that is the habits of the past; e.g., relying on others as the

source of political wisdom and leadership, whether those "others" are represented by a particular socialist country, or, a highly regarded party, or particular leaders; the inadequacy or lack of training in the Marxist method and philosophical outlook; short sightedness, and reliance on the immediate and temporary conditions one is in; and so on.

These problems, and the path to their solution are also outlined in the editorial of *A World to Win* No. 2, where it says "Independent judgment, opposition to tailism and dogmatism, and fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, along with the sincere objective of learning from others and the ability to recognize mistakes and correct them, are qualities inseparable from the genuine proletarian internationalism that inspired the (1980 Joint) Confe-

Continued on page 12

In the southern Chinese province of Guangdong, at least 210 baby girls were murdered shortly after birth in the span of a single year. According to one local account, "In some villages they keep a bucket full of water by the mother's bed as she is giving birth, and if the screaming infant turns out to be a girl, she is immediately drowned in it." In the same year, out of about 11,000 surviving babies in Huaiyuan County in Anhui Province, only 41.8% were girls. There are cases where women who are "unfortunate" enough to have given birth to females are punished for their "mistakes," sometimes even left to die. An official report from the Mandarins in Peking said of the overall situation in the Middle Kingdom: "At present, the phenomena of butchering, drowning and leaving to die female infants and maltreating women who have given birth to female infants have been very serious. It has become a grave social problem." All this might sound like some reactionary relic dug up from the annals of China's feudal era, but the figures from the two provinces are for 1981. There have been similar reports from a number of other provinces. And the official report is from an article which appeared March 3, 1983 in *People's Daily*, the organ of the revisionist Chinese Communist Party. Female infanticide is an ugly reality in present day China.

A Chinese government spokesman, while admitting that cases of female infanticide do exist, said however that they are "extremely rare" and dealt with according to laws which forbid such acts. But the fact that even the official press has been forced to take up the matter indicates the serious extent of female infanticide and that the revisionists themselves are being forced to deal with the problem. After all, such things just don't jibe with the image that the revisionists want to push of a China fast on its way to catching up with the "modern" and "advanced" West. But no matter how much the revisionists crow about how "the laws forbid such acts," female infanticide and other manifestations of women's oppression are inevitable products of the overthrow of proletarian rule and restoration of capitalism in China. The blood of the murdered female babies is on the hands of the revisionist rulers and their modern, advanced U.S. imperialist godfathers.

It's estimated that as late as the turn of the century, there were 122 men for every 100 women in China as a result of female infanticide over hundreds of years. In revolutionary China under Mao Tsetung's leadership (as well as in the years of revolutionary war leading up to liberation), the Chinese Communist Party led a fierce ideological and political struggle around the woman question. Tremendous strides were made in shattering feudal and bourgeois ideas and practices which had chained women for so long. The material basis for and the ideology promoting things like female infanticide and women's oppression in general were dug away at as women were unleashed into active participation in all spheres of production and class struggle. Women became a

REVISIONISM AND THE KILLING OF NEWBORN GIRLS



mighty force in China's revolutionary upsurge.

As Mao said, "Genuine equality between men and women can be realized only in the process of socialist transformation of society as a whole." With the revisionist coup and the setting in motion of the capitalist restoration in China, the old reactionary weeds have come back to life. Daughters are once again mere second rate commodities — not as valuable a return on investment as the son, who is thought to produce more in the fields and has a better chance of getting into a well-paid profession or becoming a high official in this bourgeois society.

The re-emergence of female infanticide comes as the revisionists have taken up with a vengeance the bourgeois theory that over-population is the cause of poverty and backwardness. In fact, China has set such an outstanding example of "population control" that Quian Xinzong, a minister heading up China's family planning commission, is due to come to the United Nations this June to represent China and receive an award

given to the country that has been the most effective in implementing birth control and population planning. This prompted two Chinese students studying in the U.S. to write an article in the editorial pages of the *New York Times* which said in part: "...If China has curtailed population growth and lengthened the life of the average individual at the tragic expense of the lives of new-born girls, would it not be the greatest irony possible for Mr. Quian to receive this reward at this time?"

It's apparent from the article that the two students are not expressing the outrage of the oppressed masses, but rather the distress of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, who feel that Deng & Co.'s four modernizations are not quite living up to their hopes of a Western-style, bourgeois-democratic China. They are in full agreement with the bourgeois theories on over-population; they are only dismayed at the "unintended results" of the policy being carried out by the

Chinese government, which "contradicts fundamental values of humanism, ethics and civilization." Actually, it's quite fitting that the Chinese revisionists are receiving the UN award, since their capitalist restoration is quite in line with the "fundamental values" of Western "humanism, ethics and civilization." The U.S. media is full of glowing reports of how in China today peasants and workers have been rid of Mao's "ultra-leftism" and unleashed to strive for higher wages, bigger houses, TV's, etc.; how women are taking up Western styles of hair and dress; how well Western culture is being received, and so on, *ad nauseum*. What is ironic is how the U.S. from time to time allows certain exposures of the Chinese revisionists to "leak" out, like the printing of the article by the two students in the *New York Times*, as a reminder that, with all the progress since the revisionist coup, China, after all, still calls itself "communist" and is not yet up to the advanced levels of Western civilization. It's sheer hypocrisy for the U.S. imperialists to wag their fingers and cluck their tongues at female infanticide in China, when it is the restoration of capitalism which they support so enthusiastically that is at the root of the resurgence of these barbaric practices against women. But, after all, here in the heart of U.S. imperialism, where such feudal things are considered so backward, we have advanced world levels of pornography, "free market" sex, one rape every eight minutes, forced sterilization, infant mortality rates in some minority communities which rival those in the "third world," "mom" and apple pie, to boot. So Deng Xiaoping and Co. do have some catching up to do.

True to their revisionist nature, the rulers in China today have set up a system of material incentives and penalties to push their birth control policy of limiting each family to one child. Especially in the countryside, this policy combined with the revisionists' promotion of bourgeois right and of "getting rich" as the highest virtue, has resurrected the material and ideological basis for female infanticide. Families are pitted against each other and egged on to out-produce and out-earn their neighbors, all in the name of "raising production." In this situation, it becomes very important to have a male first-born, since sons are considered more productive in farm work and won't be "lost" through marriage. And all this reinforces the reactionary ideas of "male superiority" and "preserving the family vintage." But female infanticide isn't limited to the countryside. As *People's Daily* admitted, it also occurs in the cities among families of party members and high placed officials. There is evidence that the revisionists are going much farther than material incentives in their efforts to limit population. A local newspaper in Fujian Province reported earlier this year that in one area, all women with two children were undergoing forced sterilization, and those who become pregnant for a second time face forced abortion and sterilization. The aforementioned Mr. Quian, when asked about this development, replied that the measures were "understandable."

As for "useless" daughters who have already grown up, another feudal practice has been resurrected to deal with them — the sale of young women as wives and prostitutes. One radio broadcast in Guizhou Province in 1981 said that "Immediate measures must be taken to end the selling and kidnapping of women." From the broadcast, it is clear that this is a recent phenomenon: "The recurrence of widespread trafficking in women, reversing the many gains we have made since liberation in overcoming past feudal practices, is shocking." In February, a Yunnan Province newspaper reported that 750 women in one district have been "abducted, transported and traded" as brides to other provinces. Ten percent of these women were said to be already married, and 60% under legal marriage age. Some men in Hong Kong have found wives and mistresses on the mainland. Last year, a government official in Yunnan was expelled from the Communist Party after he arranged for his daughter to live with a Hong Kong man who already kept a mistress back home.

Female infanticide, forced marriages and prostitution, the re-forging of the chains of oppression — these are what the revisionists' "modernization" have meant for women in China. □

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RCP

William Hogan, a Catholic priest, and William Steyert, a staffperson for Citizens for a Better Environment, acting as their own attorneys in a trial in Ot-towa, Illinois, tried to tell a jury about the dangers of nuclear power and were slapped in jail for 30 days on contempt of court. Nine days later, on April 29, they were sentenced to an additional 15 days for "trespassing." In addition they have been fined more than \$400.

These two are part of a group of 14 members of People Against LaSalle Startup (PALS) who broke off from a larger demonstration of about 50 on June 26, 1982 and nonviolently blockaded Commonwealth Edison's new LaSalle County nuclear power plant about 60 miles southeast of Chicago. They are the 3rd and 4th people to be found guilty.

In a blatant attempt to stifle political exposure the prosecution and judge decided to try all 14 cases separately. (After the first conviction this was changed to pairs.) Then the court ruled that the jury couldn't hear anything about nuclear power, nuclear war, the effects of radiation or the intentions of the defendants. The reason: "legislative pre-emption," a law which states that nuclear plants do not present a danger because government agencies allowed them to be built!

But despite this clampdown the trials so far have revealed something about why these people took this action originally. The judge has been forced to allow some testimony into the court records — but only after the jury was sent home and with any news of these trials whatsoever getting blacked out in Chicago.

The first trial was of Cathy Allen, a

Judge Cites Talk of Nuclear War in Contempt of Court

suburban secretary who participated in the blockade as one of the first political actions in her life. In her defense she called Dr. Rosalie Bertell, a Catholic nun who testified that nuclear plants were "a front" for the military by supplying it with the research needed for building nuclear weapons. Another defense witness, Leo Serens, a nuclear physicist who worked on the first atomic bomb, testified that "the nuclear power industry is a crime against civilization." The nuclear power industry and the nuclear bomb industry are interrelated, he continued, "they support each other."

At their trial William Hogan and Bill Steyert also called Serens and, among others, an "atomic veteran," St. Clair Alexander. In 1953 at Camp Desert Rock, Nev., Alexander and other soldiers were ordered to lie in 4-foot deep trenches 1-1/2 miles from an atomic blast. "We could see the flash through our arms," he testified, "we saw the bones in our arms. We were then told to get out of our trenches and see the beautiful mushroom." The troops were then sent to within 200 feet of the blast "to see our reaction," he said. Since then he has experienced constant headaches, chest and leg pains and his son has an undiagnosed chronic pain. Alexander gave this testimony as an explanation for why he had participated in

the demonstration the previous June, although he had not been arrested. All this was apparently too much for the judge who ruled that "the inflammatory and prejudicial content" of Alexander's testimony would not help the jury reach a decision and sent them out of the room while he testified.

It was a growing understanding of the connection of nuclear power to war, together with the fact that the LaSalle plant itself is literally a nuclear disaster waiting to happen, that moved PALS to blockade the plant. In fact the plant is so dangerous that, as around the Diablo Canyon and several other nuclear plants, there appears to have been some haggling within ruling circles over "safety violation." This surfaced last spring when Tyrone Fahner, then Illinois attorney general and head of "investigations" into the Tylenol murders, filed sworn affidavits on behalf of construction workers who revealed the concrete surrounding the plant's reactors is full of holes, the pipe welding is very poor, the steel reinforcement rods supporting the entire structure were massively and indiscriminately cut, etc., etc. This is in addition to the reactor's design which places a large pool of water directly underneath the reactor ensuring that a core meltdown will cause a massive steam explosion —

with prevailing winds bringing the fallout over the southern Chicago area. In addition, last July a local Chicago TV station did a big exposé of safety hazards at the plant, interviewing, among others, a former manager of plant licensing for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission who pointed to "chilling questions about the safety of the LaSalle nuclear power plant and two other plants in our area."

The result of all this was an "exhaustive investigation" by the NRC last August, lasting all of two weeks, and concluding that the charges were either unfounded or minor. The plant went fully operational in December but has been only able to run part of the time and then only at half power because of a continual series of breakdowns, leaking pipes, stuck valves, etc.

Hogan and Steyert were sentenced to 30 days on contempt when, despite numerous interruptions from the prosecutor and judge, they made closing statements to the jury about why they blockaded the plant. "We realize this is a symbolic action," Hogan told the *RW* from jail, "but we hope it will inspire people to take further actions against nuclear plants and nuclear weapons."

Both say they plan to appeal their trespass conviction, as will Cathy Allen, who was also found guilty in the first trial. Another defendant who pleaded no contest and declared he would continue to take nonviolent direct action to stop nuclear power no matter how much time the judge gave him, served 24 days in jail. The judge said that, as with Cathy Allen, he hadn't shown enough remorse. Other trials in this case are still pending. □

May 1st Correspondence

Continued from page 12
rence." It is well worth rereading and studying that editorial.

What that editorial says is in line with the Marxist-Leninist method and fearless spirit outlined in your recent CC report ("Accumulating Revolutionary Forces...") where it says:

"There is no basis, no need at all for second-stringism when it comes to vanguard responsibilities. It is true that we still have many defects and face many difficulties. These should be analyzed and not be glossed over. Hype will not do. But neither should defects or difficulties in general be seen as some sort of obstacle that must be torn down before we can advance. Instead we should approach these defects and difficulties in the spirit of 'if we have problems, we should solve them.' Perhaps this sounds flip, but it isn't. Rather it points to the firm foundation we have, and also to the duties and responsibilities that face all of us in accelerating the revolutionary advance."

There is nothing to lose and everything to gain by daring to uphold our ideological basis, daring to make mistakes and correct mistakes. There is a future to throw away if we "apply" Marxism only in a lifeless academic sense, only as far as our voices can reach within the 4 walls of our lounge room or kitchen table meeting places.

So what does this all have to do with May Day in L.A.? Well if anything was clear on that day at Damián García Park it was that the proletariat itself came forward to take up the red flag, both literally and in the political sense of taking up responsibility for their future. While the RCP was putting forward its ideological position, its leadership, it was not saying "follow us, trust in us, and the future is yours". Rather it was saying to proletarians "take up the flag, take up revolution and you can make the future yours." So proletarians from Colombia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Iran, Mexico, Sri Lanka, the U.S. itself and elsewhere were there taking on responsibility for hastening revolution.

When the bourgeoisie and its police sent in their stooges and dupes with bibles and American flags, pathetically posing as outraged "real" workers, the response of the international proletariat was there with a hundred red flags flying in their faces. When the police tried to impress upon the proletarians with their batons how revolution breeds violence, proletarians impressed upon the pigs that violence cannot stop

revolution. The red flags were still flying. Proletarians were not going home, they were not accepting the rule of the bourgeoisie.

(There weren't any agnostics out there saying "I don't understand" or centrists unable to take sides. I suppose they were at home...)

What happened out there upheld and took forward the experience of the international proletariat, from the Paris Commune, through the October Revolution and the Cultural Revolution to Damián García Park. When the bourgeoisie thought it had blown the revolutionaries away, more came forward, as the proletariat makes itself fit to rule. The lesson for "revolutionary minded" Australians and proletarians worldwide is that you don't wait for revolution you make it!

An Australian Revolutionary

Letter From A Riverside Blockader

Dear serious people:

Here is some more news of May Day activities. On Friday, April 29, sixty-two anti-nuclear activists were arraigned for an April 1 blockade of the doorways to the Riverside Research Institute (in New York). Riverside is one of the Pentagon's leading "think tanks." Riverside designs guidance systems for cruise missiles, M.X., minuteman, and other nuclear and non-nuclear weapons for the imperialists. Mostly what Riverside does is design the strategies for using nuclear warheads. For several years people have been doing different things at the doors of Riverside to protest the horseshit that goes on inside there.

The protesters at their door now are both a larger group and a much more diversified group. The folks aren't all of middle-class background or all white — mostly, but no longer entirely. Protesters are beginning to really search for a real way out of the nuclear death trap and all of the problems of so-called "peace time" capitalism. It is easy to see the problems of capitalism, but real difficult to find a way out. Study groups are being formed. People are trying to make close ties within small groups to be able to work together in much more intensified ways. For some of us your paper and bookstore are important tools for the growing struggle. On Friday the 29th,

during the arraignments, two of us hung the May Day posters (that folks had gotten from the center of the paper) in the Manhattan Civil Court Building. Two were hung next to the door to the courtroom, and two in a nearby hallway. The ones by the door stayed up at least an hour and several of the other protesters and some of the regular courtroom audience — proletarians caught trying to survive — were glad to see them and made good comments. "Some day we'll do it" one young Latin guy laughed. "We gotta do it real soon, try and get people started," we shouted back.

Later that day I know of two groups of about six folks each that met to continue to study and talk about trying to make real change. One group found it easy to meet that evening because most of their people had taken the day off for a May Day holiday. Folks are thinking and struggling.

Your paper is real good for this. Thanks and keep up the great quality. We need a revolution or the capitalists will give the planet a nuclear death. In the meantime life is hell for too many people to let things continue as is.

Sincerely,

One of the 62 defendants,
and I'm trying to put the stamp
of the international proletariat on the
anti-nuclear movement

A Good Beginning

The following is from a proletarian who writes about the forum on World War held in Berkeley on April 29.

It is interesting to see how the people mobilized themselves with the single thought of the possibilities of war, which sharpen more and more every day and at the same time the discussions among the forces in turmoil around the desire to stop such an imperialist war were also sharpening. The sharpest point is when these forces know that there is no way to stop imperialist war except through overthrowing the system that gives rise to wars.

I am a proletarian who came from El Salvador and I united and struggled with the masses there. I continue supporting revolutionary movements in whatever part of the world that weaken the parasitic system like in El Salvador, Poland, Afghanistan, the Philippines. A while back I participated in the pacifist demonstrations in Diablo Canyon. It disillusioned me to see how it is possible that so many people see the possibility of eliminating this system in this manner.

Some days ago, (before the First of

May, 1983) I participated in a forum about what to do to prevent war. The forces involved in this forum were to a certain point progressive; but they could be much more so if in reality they understood world events and tried to understand what are the true causes of this war of gangsters, the U.S. and the USSR.

Everyone spoke of the necessity to create a united front, but never did they mention the possibilities of uniting with the proletarians in this country... They spoke of the possibilities of changing things without the need to first make revolution. Many think that still there are good things in this system — that we should be content to live in the country of the world's "democracy." This is the country that supports and will do anything to maintain "democracy" in the world, especially "democracies" like El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Philippines...

We the oppressed proletariat, those who really have nothing to lose, united with our friends — the true proletariat of the world who have nothing to lose and have a world to gain, must influence and lead these movements and decide what it takes to stop imperialist war. We must lead in the preparations for the true proletarian world revolution.

What I felt about the forum was that it was a good beginning. At first, when I went to some of the meetings to plan for the forum I was mind-blown that some people think that patriarchy is the cause of war. But after going through some struggle and debate over the different lines on the source and solution, it became more clear to me where these kinds of theories come from. And also it became clear to me why only the proletariat can lead a revolution. While it is definitely true that the future upheaval is stirring up much debate about how to deal with this world war that both imperialists, U.S./USSR, are forced — it is also not clear to forces who are honestly opposing such war moves that proletarian revolution is the only road forward. From our experience as real proletarians we cast away all illusions that we can plead with the imperialists to back down — whether it may be through the ballot box or mass action. We know there is no way to advance beyond this stage of society by preserving any part of imperialist plunder. This reality must be brought more to bear on the situation. More work needs to be done. We dare say more proletarians being brought forward to a higher political understanding is crucial. But also on the other side that progressive forces in the movement need to learn from the science of the proletariat. □

Five days before May 1, 1983, the trial of three revolutionaries for "crimes of violence" at the May Day march in 1981 in San Francisco's Mission District came to an end. The government has tossed aside much of its own "legal procedure" and gone to great lengths in one of the most outrageous railroads seen in the San Francisco Bay Area in years. (See *RW* No. 201.)

In an area where concerted government attacks on the RCP have resulted in hundreds of arrests over a period of years, only two party supporters have been convicted (both in 1979). The authorities have been determined in this case to get a precedent-setting conviction of party supporters and also to set a legal basis for a wide-ranging piece of recent repressive legislation, a new "anti-terrorism" law, championed by California Governor George Deukmajian. One of the key elements of the bill involves getting the court to decide that a given organization has "a history of violence." This established, a court can outlaw even the discussion of certain topics, including at non-public meetings of as few as two people, and meetings of target groups can be banned altogether.

At the trial's end, the government got its conviction — one Chicano woman was found guilty of two felonies. The other two defendants hung the jury, 10-2, and 11-1 in favor of conviction.

Just after the jury returned its verdict, the thoroughly political nature of the railroad was again exposed when the D.A. argued that the convicted defendant should immediately be put into custody because the leader of the RCP, Bob Avakian, was already out of the country, and that the RCP is "an organization with international ties." Lock up the defendant before sentencing because Bob Avakian is in France seeking *political asylum*? Apparently, Judge Arrata recognized that this could pose a delicate political problem so he did not order immediate custody. But a threat was made through a probation officer who asked a "hypothetical" question of the defendant in a post-trial interview: "what if" the judge just happened to give a choice — prison, or probation on the condition that the defendant drop all ties with the RCP and stay completely out of political life? Nothing political here!

Whitewashing such gross maneuverings in this trial has been aided considerably by a media blackout, and by a coordinated effort by the authorities to contain whatever news did leak, including government rebuttals to radio statements by defendants and supporters. The local bourgeoisie is well aware of the potential for their attack on the party to become linked with other sensitive political issues such as police spying and police "conduct" (read: blatant repression), as has happened a few hundred miles away in Los Angeles, and is straining to keep a lid on publicity.

On May 5 the outrageous railroad continued, with more hints of tension within the bourgeoisie on just how far to go on this. The judge ordered the two defendants who had not been convicted to stand trial again. The defendants made a number of motions including the routine one that they be granted a copy of the transcript of the first trial in order to prepare for the second. This and all other motions were denied, and a new trial ordered within two weeks. However, on the next day, the District Court of Appeals stepped in and ordered the trial stayed until the Appeals Court could rule on whether or not there could be a trial without a transcript. A difficult problem for the court, no doubt, for the transcript poses its own problems.

The courts, in fact, would no doubt like to deep-six the entire transcript, packed as it is with scandalous rulings and maneuvers. One particular prosecution witness, who testified near the end of the trial, concentrates a lot of what the government has been up to. In the course of his rebuttal, the D.A. suddenly pulled out his "star witness," someone who had supposedly seen every "crime" the revolutionaries committed that day. The woman appeared to have been severely damaged by alcohol, and very recently sobered up. Her arms shook and her face twitched as she stared at each of the defendants, and managed to describe how they looked. Three positive I.D.s!

She proceeded to fantasize about seeing 6 different groups of demonstrators (including each of the defendants) vi-

State Out For Blood In S.F. May Day Trial

ously thumping on six separate isolated cops with sticks — and not once did she see a cop even lay a hand or stick on a demonstrator! (And this after both the D.A. and judge had admitted, outside the earshot of the jury, that the police had attacked the march — and one defense witness had managed to say, against prosecution objections, which were sustained by the judge, that police had blocked both the front and back of the march, and then attacked, trapping the demonstrators with no way out except through the attacking cops.) The prosecution witness actually broke into tears when shown a picture of police captain Taylor (in charge of police tactical operations on May First) — "my captain!" she moaned — and through tears, claimed that he had been beaten by demonstrators.

The obvious question was when and how had the D.A. (or somebody else) pumped her up for this testimony? And in fact, in the judge's chambers before she testified, the D.A. had admitted showing her photographs of all three defendants; and the judge had ordered defense attorneys not to mention this in court.

When the first defense attorney got a chance to cross-examine the witness, he asked her if she'd been shown any pictures of the defendants. She answered "no," and the judge threatened the lawyer with contempt of court. He continued to ask the question, and the judge continued to threaten him with contempt, as tension built in the courtroom. Then the second defense lawyer got up and asked her if she'd seen any pictures of the defendants, and the judge immediately dismissed the witness from the stand, as the courtroom exploded.

The court recessed for three hours, and when the court came back into session, the judge made a statement to the jury, telling them to "disregard" the events of the morning, particularly the "comments of the lawyers, myself, and the audience." The judge then admitted that the witness had indeed been shown pictures of one of the defendants. She had in fact been shown pictures of all three. All told, the episode was a fine concentration of the whole trial — the prosecution witness perjured herself, according to the judge's own stipulation; the judge was openly involved in trying to keep very important evidence from the jury, and as much as admitted so by his stipulation; the D.A. coached the witness to lie; the judge committed a gross procedural error by dismissing an important witness in the middle of the cross-examination, against the objections of the defense attorneys, and before one of the defense attorneys had even had a chance to ask a single question. To rebut this and other testimony, only two of over two hundred photos the defense has of the march were ever allowed as evidence by the judge.

That something highly political has been going on in the San Francisco courts has become fairly well known, and the topic of considerable debate in legal circles and among sections of the progressive and revolutionary forces in the Bay Area. This has happened despite efforts to almost totally black out coverage of the trial, including the verdict. The May Day action itself was front page and major TV news.

In the wake of May First this year, some of the progressive-leaning radio stations that had been covering the case did include exposure of the railroad in short interviews with defendants as part of their May Day coverage. In two cases, spokesmen for the government went on the air to try and counter this exposure. On KSOL, after one defendant talked of how the police attacked and attempted to "box in" the march, by coming from front and rear simultaneously, the SFPD

press spokesperson came on and denied that the police ever try to cut off escape routes. On KALX, after one defendant had hit at the way the judge and D.A. had limited and restricted the defense from presenting most of its case, the D.A. got on the air and tried to justify that on the grounds that it had been strictly a criminal trial, and that the defendants had "tried to enter things that were totally off the wall, for whatever reason."

But even beyond the trial itself, the Bay Area mainstream media coverage of May Day '83 gave some indications of the larger political attack of which the trial is part — and the delicate and shifting terrain in which the government is trying to operate. Particularly interesting here is the difference between the way the media in L.A. handled May Day '83 there, and how it was handled in the Bay Area. One Bay Area TV station ran a local version of May Day in L.A. — and put special emphasis on making the point that those arrested in L.A. were ostensibly wearing "heavy coats, with padding underneath" — this was very similar to the repeated insistence of the D.A. in the Bay Area trial that the demonstrators had worn padding and helmets, and is part of the "violent" image the government is trying to build up. (This has really got to win some kind of prize for reactionary logic. At the May Day march in question, in 1981, one woman was set upon and beaten so badly by six S.F. pigs that the doctors and nurses in the jail ward of a hospital where she was taken were furious, and refused to allow police anywhere near the woman... after which the pigs had the nerve to publicly whine about their "bruises." This TV news report, having ample photographic evidence of numerous incidents like this,

still goes ahead and "accuses" the marchers of wearing heavy clothing! One must give due credit to a specially twisted mentality which is capable of devising such justification for the most vile actions of the police!)

Along the same lines, the *San Francisco Chronicle* had a tiny, three-sentence article on May Day in L.A. which said that the L.A.P.D. had attacked May Day demonstrators, but that this was because the demonstrators had attacked the police first. This coverage was quite different in emphasis from that in L.A. itself where the *L.A. Times* did put out that it was the police who attacked the May Day demonstration.

The *Times*, of course, has its own motives for doing such things — and it is such a state of affairs that the local authorities want at all costs to avoid in San Francisco. They are right to be concerned, for the trial touches on some very explosive political issues. For example, there has been definite infighting for some time within the bourgeoisie — as well as fury among the masses — over the open brutality of the San Francisco police. About a year and a half ago, the police attack on the May Day '81 march was dragged out in a *Chronicle* article about police brutality. These days, such exposure is being avoided. But the underlying contradictions over the role of the police, and how to prepare them for the enormous "security" tasks ahead, still fester — in fact, during the course of the May Day '81 trial, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran two front-page articles about the dangers of the "Los Angelization" of the S.F.P.D., as the *Chronicle* put it, and exposed the way that S.F. pigs are trained to brutalize the masses. One of the articles even focused on Mission station (May Day '81, and the trial, were not mentioned).

At this juncture, despite plans for ramming this thing through, a good deal has come to light concerning this blatant political assault, with the potential for more exposure and problems for the bourgeoisie lying just below the surface. While a second trial constitutes a serious raising of the ante against the revolutionary defendants, the government also will have to fight through another round of exposures in the political and legal arenas. The political costs paid for attempting this may be quite high indeed. □

Imperialism

Continued from page 9

superstructure of credit, state intervention, financial manipulation, political rivalry, military conflict, etc., rests on the foundation of the production and exchange of commodities produced by socialized labor but appropriated privately. And these commodities must be sold in order for the value and surplus value which they contain to be realized. Here, then, is a simple but potentially explosive contradiction. For while a commodity must be sold in order for its value to be realized, there is no guarantee it will be sold. If the time between the production and sale of a commodity becomes too great, if, in the words of Marx, "the split between the sale and the purchase becomes too pronounced, the intimate connection between them, their oneness, asserts itself by producing — a crisis." And Marx went on to say that:

The antithesis, use-value and value; the contradictions that private labour is bound to manifest itself as direct social labour, that a particularised concrete kind of labour has to pass for abstract human labour; the contradiction between the personification of objects and the representation of persons by things; all these antitheses and contradictions, which are immanent in commodities, assert themselves, and develop their modes of motion, in the antithetical phases of the metamorphosis of a commodity. These modes therefore imply the possibility, and no more than the possibility, of crises. The conversion of this mere possibility into a reality is the result of a long series of relations. . . . (*Capital*, Vol. 1, 114).

That "long series of relations" has developed in a spiral-like form that led

from competitive capitalism into imperialism, in which the globally socialized productive forces strain against the capitalist shell — with its added weight of parasitism — that contains them. The crises implied in the germ of a single commodity now assert themselves with incredible power and destructive force. But the anarchic drive which has lent capital its unprecedented dynamism has in essence done nothing but cast dragon teeth into the soil of every corner of the planet, from which spring the gravediggers of capital itself. Engels' powerful statement — that "it is the motive force of the social anarchy of production which increasingly transforms the great majority of men into proletarians, and it is the proletarian masses in their turn who will ultimately put an end to the anarchy of production" (*Anti-Dühring*, 352) — expresses itself under imperialism especially on a world scale in an epoch of war and revolution. And while revolutionary upsurges ebb and flow, at no time since the leap to imperialism has the world been quiet.

The elimination of bourgeois social relations by proletarian revolution and the forging of a qualitatively higher form of society — communism — on a world scale is a process still in its infancy, but through the tortuous and zig-zag development of wars and revolutions of the last 80-100 years, the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch has moved closer to resolution. The productive forces have become more massive and socialized through each round, and the expressions of anarchy more severe and wrenching; the proletariat, even as it has proceeded through spirals of revolutionary advances and bitter setbacks, has through it all tempered itself, constantly gained new legions from all over the world and discovered and absorbed important principles and lessons concerning the task of the revolutionary transformation of society. □

Toe-to-Toe

Continued from page 1

choking off Lebanon's only overland route to the Arab hinterland."

Ah, yes, the "independent nationalist" leader being supported by the democratic United States, but up against nefarious and ruthless foes who, out of rage and spite, will do anything to lash out and destroy anyone who courageously dares to take an "independent approach." Will Lebanon, protected and encouraged by the United States, succeed in "taking its destiny into its own hands?" The very next day, the *New York Times* announced that "the United States signed a confidential agreement with Israel today recognizing that despite the accord with Lebanon, Israel had the right to self-defense to retaliate against attacks by 'terrorists' in Lebanon." The document is "not being made public at Lebanon's request." Another clear victory for Lebanese sovereignty.

If there is one area of concern the agreement is not likely to affect favorably, it is "prospects for peace in war-torn Lebanon." Based on statements by officials of the Reagan administration, it seems very likely that any withdrawals of Israeli troops would be accompanied by a multi-fold expansion of the multinational "peacekeeping force," including several thousand U.S. Marines, to fill the vacuum. In fact, in a little publicized action, on April 19 the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the entire \$251 million in additional "aid" for Lebanon (money for troops) requested by Reagan. Nobody's arm had to be twisted on this one. Interestingly, in its account of the House Committee's move, the *Times* reported that the "Administration has said that if an agreement were worked out for the withdrawal of all Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian forces from Lebanon, it would probably agree to send a few thousand more marines to help expand the international peacekeeping force . . ."

As U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib reportedly "blurted out" at a meeting on May 7th, the main incentive the U.S. and Israel are offering Syria for withdrawing from Lebanon is that the Israeli army is "25 kilometers from Damascus." By linking any Israeli withdrawal to a "simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian and PLO forces," the United States and Israel hope to focus attention on Syria's 40,000 troops in the Bekaa Valley and around Tripoli, Syria's "refusal to join the peace process," and the growing Soviet military role in Lebanon.

According to U.S. and Israeli estimates, Soviet advisors attached to Syrian forces now total between 4,000 and 5,000, up from 2,500 before the June 1982 war. Whatever the true numbers, there has unquestionably been a marked increase in the Soviet military presence.

During the massive Israeli airstrikes on Syrian positions last June, the famous Soviet-supplied anti-aircraft systems deployed by Syria in Lebanon proved completely ineffective: Syria lost 80 aircraft in the battles, and Israel lost exactly zero. This resulted not only in the destruction of Syrian military capability, but in a severe embarrassment to Moscow, which has gotten a reputation of passing off second-rate stuff to its "client" states.

The Soviets, however, have moved quickly since the fall, pumping an estimated \$1.5 billion in fresh aid into the Syrian military. In addition, they have provided more advanced SA-5 and SA-10 anti-aircraft missile systems. In the case of the SA-10, this is its first deployment outside Soviet territory.

All the commentary in the Israeli and U.S. press decrying these developments seems to imply that the only "peace-loving" course for Syria to take would be to make no effort to replace the losses it suffered in the Israelis' attack last year, and no effort to repair the deficiencies in its air defenses which allowed Israel to establish absolute air superiority early in the battle. The SAM-5's are being deployed, not in Lebanon, but deep within Syrian territory.

As Syria's patron, the Soviet Union would have had to take the step of reimbursing Syria for its military losses, and attempting to improve its air defenses, even in the total absence of any activist strategy for elbowing its way into the thick of things in Lebanon. To have failed

to do so would have been tantamount to an open declaration to the U.S. and Israel that as far as Moscow was concerned, Syria can be knocked upside the head with impunity, and forced out of Lebanon without a peep of Soviet interference.

Thus, the steps the Soviet Union has taken so far are to be seen merely as "ante-ing up" to stay in the game. But beyond the ante, it is also necessary to bid and bluff, and the Soviets are starting to do both with more assertiveness and tougher rhetoric.

Through various organs, Moscow has issued a number of blunt warnings to both Syria and the United States, charging that Israel is planning a military strike against Syria and warning Washington "not to give Israel the go-ahead." The evacuation of dependents from the Soviet embassy in Beirut was a grandstand play the Soviets had not pulled since before the 1967 war, and the explanation of the Soviet ambassador to Beirut Aleksandr A. Soldatov, that "the families had been sent home for the summer vacation," did little to counter the impression that the Soviets had reason to think it was time to fasten seat belts. Syria was also emboldened to throttle up on the braggadocio, and Radio Damascus blared that "any Israeli aggression against Syria would mean an unlimited war." (It is worth recalling that last year, when the PLO and Palestinian people in Beirut were being cut down by Israeli cluster bombs and mortar, *nothing close to a peep* was heard from the Soviet Union. Revisionist apologists explained that the Soviets didn't want to antagonize the U.S. and "risk world war." In reality, they had more to gain by clamping up. But the Soviets hardly seem reluctant to antagonize the U.S. now! There's more to gain by squawking.)

The Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean now represents a definite challenge to the U.S., which until a few years ago could regard the Mediterranean as essentially a U.S.-NATO lake. The Soviet fleet, bobbing off the coast of Lebanon and Israel, includes 12 destroyers, 12 submarines, 15 support ships and 3 electronic eavesdropping vessels. Additionally, the SAM-5's now in place with Syria have the range to take out U.S. aircraft over Mediterranean waters.

The combination of Soviet military moves and the strident declarations have clearly had a definite effect. Last year,

when Israeli propaganda was spewing out reams of charges against the growth of PLO strength in south Lebanon, it was easy to surmise that this was part of political preparations for a long-planned Israeli strike: The PLO was isolated, and the U.S. and Israel calculated, quite correctly, that neither Syria nor any other Arab regime, nor certainly the Soviet Union, would come to intervene on the PLO's behalf. In the present situation, however, the U.S. and Israel cannot plan with any such assurance: any plan for an Israeli assault against Syria must take into account the serious possibility that the Soviets might pitch in with fists flying.

In the short term, this very possibility could mean that nothing will happen at all. At this writing, it is not at all clear what either side considers to be the "bottom line" regarding the Syrian military forces in Lebanon. Also it should not go unnoticed that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, on May 10, "appealed to the Soviets" to "take another look and to get on the side of peace in Lebanon." The *Times* commented that "the Soviet Union has complained in the past that the United States has tried to shut it out of Middle East diplomatic efforts, and Mr. Shultz seemed to be suggesting that there might be a role for Moscow if it used its influence with Syria constructively . . . A senior aide to Mr. Shultz said privately that some consideration was being given to a meeting between Mr. Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko to discuss not only Middle East questions but the whole range of differences between the two countries as well."

The anachronistic tone of Shultz's "appeal" to the Soviets, harkening back as it does to the "detente"-style rhetoric of the '70s, has drawn fire from William Safire, who fulminated that "... the Soviet Union is now making a determined and dangerous bid to force its way into the politics of the Middle East . . . the American Secretary of State, driven by an understandable desire to make his Lebanese-Israeli agreement stick, appears to be in danger of acquiescing to the Soviet power play . . . To bring the Russians in now — first by appealing to them as Secretary Shultz did from Paris yesterday, then by acceding to Moscow's desire for a gang-up-on-Israel Geneva Conference — would snatch an American defeat from the jaws of Israeli victory."

There is zero reason to suspect that the Reagan administration is planning on

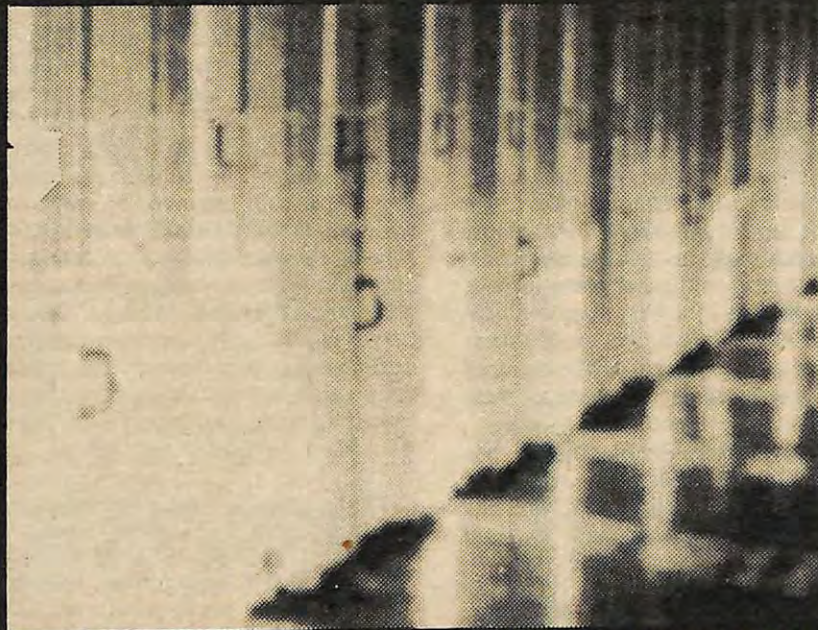
"acceding to Moscow's desire for a gang-up-on-Israel Geneva Conference." But the U.S. — and Israel — are confronted with the following situation: Syria is in Lebanon in force, and the Soviet Union is backing Syria in force. In order to deal with the problem of Syria, they have to deal with the Soviet Union. And this is the point the Soviet Union is desirous of getting across, too: "You have to deal with us, fellas."

There are two possible roads out of this impasse. The first is for the United States to actually reach an agreement with Syria, perhaps including guarantees for Syrian security in its border zones roughly similar to those enjoyed by Israel. Syria might also be interested in holding out for assurances that the flood of money from Saudi Arabia (which has made remittances to Syria of billions of dollars a year by virtue of its status as a designated leader of the Arab League's "Arab Deterrent Force" in Lebanon — a relic of the ceasefire of the 1975-76 civil war — and as a "confrontation state" bordering Israel) will not dry up. When Syria sent its troops into Lebanon in 1976 to slaughter the PLO-Moslem insurgents, it was very much in the interests of the United States and Israel that it did so. Though Syria is now far more deeply enmeshed with the Soviet Union than it was in 1976, Syrian president Hafez al-Assad knows how to talk turkey with more than one contending imperialist bloc at one time. But if the road of negotiations is to be pursued, on the other hand, it will be very difficult to ignore the Soviet Union, which will be there asserting its own claims and attempting to enforce its own terms.

The other possible road involves the proposition that there is more than one way to "deal with the Soviets." This is the military option, based perhaps on the hypothesis that although Moscow has been mouthing brave words, it won't be able or willing to really go to the mat if Israel launches another massive "pre-emptive" strike against Syria, knocking out the SAM-5's, destroying once again the Syrian air force, and routing the Syrian forces out of Lebanon. There is every evidence that the U.S. and Israel have been seriously considering whether to take this gamble, and it is beyond dispute that there is a detailed operational plan for carrying off such an enterprise.

The Soviets can ill afford another humiliating setback in the Middle East, but the U.S. can ill afford to allow its arch rival to just swagger right into Lebanon in the wake of the great U.S.-Israeli victory of 1982 and start acting like it owns the place. The resolution of this particular circumstantial phase of the crisis remains obscure; but it ought to be remarked that the proximate effect of the "great U.S.-Israeli victory" thus far has been to bring both the U.S. and the Soviet Union much closer to each other's front lines. □

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
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To: All concerned,

The members of the Black Prisoner's Caucus fully support and strongly encourage the support of others in the *Revolutionary Worker's* drive to establish the very much needed Prisoner's Literature Fund.

As prisoners of the State, we are subjected to many hardships and many of our basic human rights are violated. Being behind the walls of the prison is in fact, being cutoff from the outside world and society.

We of the B.P.C. strongly applaud the efforts of the *Revolutionary Worker* in its drive to further shine the light of revolution behind the walls of prison! We thank the *Revolutionary Worker* and all of the others striving to help in the establishment of the *Revolutionary Worker's* Prisoners Literature Fund!

"May we all struggle until we achieve Victory!"

Sincerely,
Black Prisoner's Caucus'
Executive Staff

.....

Dear RW,

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Paris

Continued from page 2

cluding the CGT union which is dominated by the PCF (Communist Party of France), claimed organized sabotage by the right. The right could not oppose selection, of course, and limited their criticisms to how the left's bad management was responsible for the ill feelings.

Mr. Savary's Reform

Then in April, law students from the prestigious and reactionary university in Malakoff, a near suburb of Paris, went on strike against the Minister of Education, Mr. Savary, and his new reform for higher education. After eighteen months of deliberation, Savary announced the reform to replace the out-dated reform voted in 1962.

What the law students don't like is that part of the reform permitting anybody with a Bac (high school diploma) to enter university for two years. The law students claim that if anybody can enter university the value of their diplomas will be reduced and therefore they wish to maintain the rude selective measures imposed on candidates. These measures include a case study of social background.

It is important to note that only one-third of French high school students obtain the Bac through hard selective exams. The present system is rather open once one gets into a university. After two years of successful study one usually obtains the DEUG (equivalent of a B.A.) and no selective measures prevent a student from continuing on into what is called the second cycle. The Savary law states that after two years hard selective measures will be taken for those who wish to go on. The number of students admitted to each category will be based on the industrial and economic needs of the country. Capitalist interference in education? Never heard of such a thing!

The reasons given above are applicable here as well. Firstly the Grandes Ecoles, producers of the French capitalist business class, are under absolute control by the traditional right and cater once

again to the father-son buddy set up. The law will break school autonomy, impose curriculum and the appointment of teachers — which explains why the professors of these schools have encouraged the strikes by threatening a strike of exams. Needless to say the strikes spread quickly among the Grandes Ecoles.

The other reason for this apparent liberal entry program is that the more students you have to choose from, the greater the competition and therefore the quality of the elite you choose from will be that much better for French imperialism. The traditional right tried desperately to get fuel from the student turmoil. Their problem was how to denounce the left's more efficient selective process without denouncing selection. The right daily *Figaro* lamented that "the opposition (the right—RW) is disorganized and therefore unable to exploit the discontent."

Matters were made worse for the right when the student demonstrations led by extreme right organizations such as *Partie des Forces Nouvelles* and *Oeuvres Françaises* clashed with police. The students made their political point by yelling at the CRS (French riot police) to "go beat on the bougnoles (racist term for Arabs) not on the French." The right opposition spends a great deal of its time trying to demarcate itself from the extreme right. This explains why the left has not only allowed the extreme right to function but have given them wide publicity on the national networks as well.

The Real Solution

The left just loves to point out that the people the right are supporting are led by fascists. This discredits the right in the eyes of the French public. The coup syndrome is something in the back of every Frenchman's mind as France has had its series of coups, the latest of which was De Gaulle's in the late fifties. Let's not forget either that this is the FIFTH Republic.

The left has another sort of ally in the extreme right. As the French people become more and more disillusioned with capitalism à la socialiste the government has to show that they are the lesser of evils. After all, the fascists are in the streets!

The Royalist paper, *Action Française*, complains of the law that, with no selection at the entry of university, "students will be sent out on the job market after two years with no definite job training and vague general principles." The right cannot echo such open class selection and the left further rubs the right's nose in the merde (shit) by saying "you see how class oriented the right is."

The fact that these extreme right parties exist at all is suspicious. Since the government came to power two years ago they have disbanded a number of organizations for much less than the extreme right has done. An excellent example was the disbanding of the SAC, the para-military organization of the leading opposition party, Jacques Chirac's RPR. Extreme left and revolutionary militants sit in jail merely because of what they had written.

How can one speak of destabilization when the events have further discredited the right and frightened a part of the disillusioned French voters back under the left umbrella? Selection is not the issue as the Savary law and a number of high ranking government hawks have stated. The real issue involved here is who is going to do the selecting and how. The extreme right's activities and demands for hard selection at the entrance of university allows the government to mask the real selection which is catered to imperialist needs, as the Savary law implies.

To show where the left opportunists really are at, the pro-government student unions UNEF (CPF) and UNEF i.d. (Trotskyites) managed to get a miserly two thousand people in the streets in favor of the law. In order to look progressive, they meekly complained about the proposed selection after two years. They have selective proposals of their own. After all, more than 50% of the students drop out before the end of the second year and in the SP-CP controlled faculty of PARIS VIII the percentage is a soaring 75% — the highest in the country. It is through survival-of-the-fittest competition that the left forces selection.

Meanwhile back on the farm in Brittany, French farmers began rioting against compensatory Common Market duties allowing German pork to undercut French. In one riot 250,000 dollars worth

of damage was done and the government was forced to release 20 prisoners from jail. This upsurge of violence was strange since at the same time the farmer's union had given their support to the Socialist Party's prima dona Michel Rocard, Minister of Agriculture. Pro-government forces again claimed right-wing sabotage and this led to heated debate in Parliament.

Taking advantage of the student turmoil, the Union of small and medium Factory Owners organized a demonstration with the participation of small shopkeepers. These people feeling the pinch of austerity and not benefitting from imperialist investment chanted "Mitterand go to hell—Mitterand we're fed up!" Of course Mitterand could not hear them from China where he was doing good business in favor of French imperialism. After clashing with police, the demonstrators all sang the French National Anthem and went home.

Medical students on strike against harsh selective measures and law and economics students on strike for more of them; traditional right doctors and university professors on strike to maintain their power and privileges; small factory bosses and shopkeepers demonstrate against austerity; the discontented left social base being frightened back into line so that they can meekly accept austerity; and farmers riot demanding what the government is trying to do. This is the confusing comedy being played before the people of France.

The big bourgeoisie has no reason really to be upset with the present government in France. The government has successfully made the workers swallow austerity measure after austerity measure without so much as a day long strike. After all, it is a left government. Now they are going to enrich the quality of the elite working for French imperialism by applying a more intelligent selective process. All these wonderful things are in the national interest and everybody is for the national interest. On a wall in Paris there is a poster saying, "Make French-Buy French!" and over it a poster which reads "France for the French!" One is the Communist Party's poster and the other is an extreme right poster. Can you guess which poster goes with which party? □

THE SOVIET UNION:

Socialist or Social-Imperialist?

Essays Toward The Debate
On The Nature Of Soviet Society

Compiled by the Editors of *The Communist*

The essays making up this collection offer both the specialist and non-specialist reader a wide-ranging discussion of the controversies surrounding Soviet society and the role of the Soviet Union in the international arena.

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