

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
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Party, U.S.A.

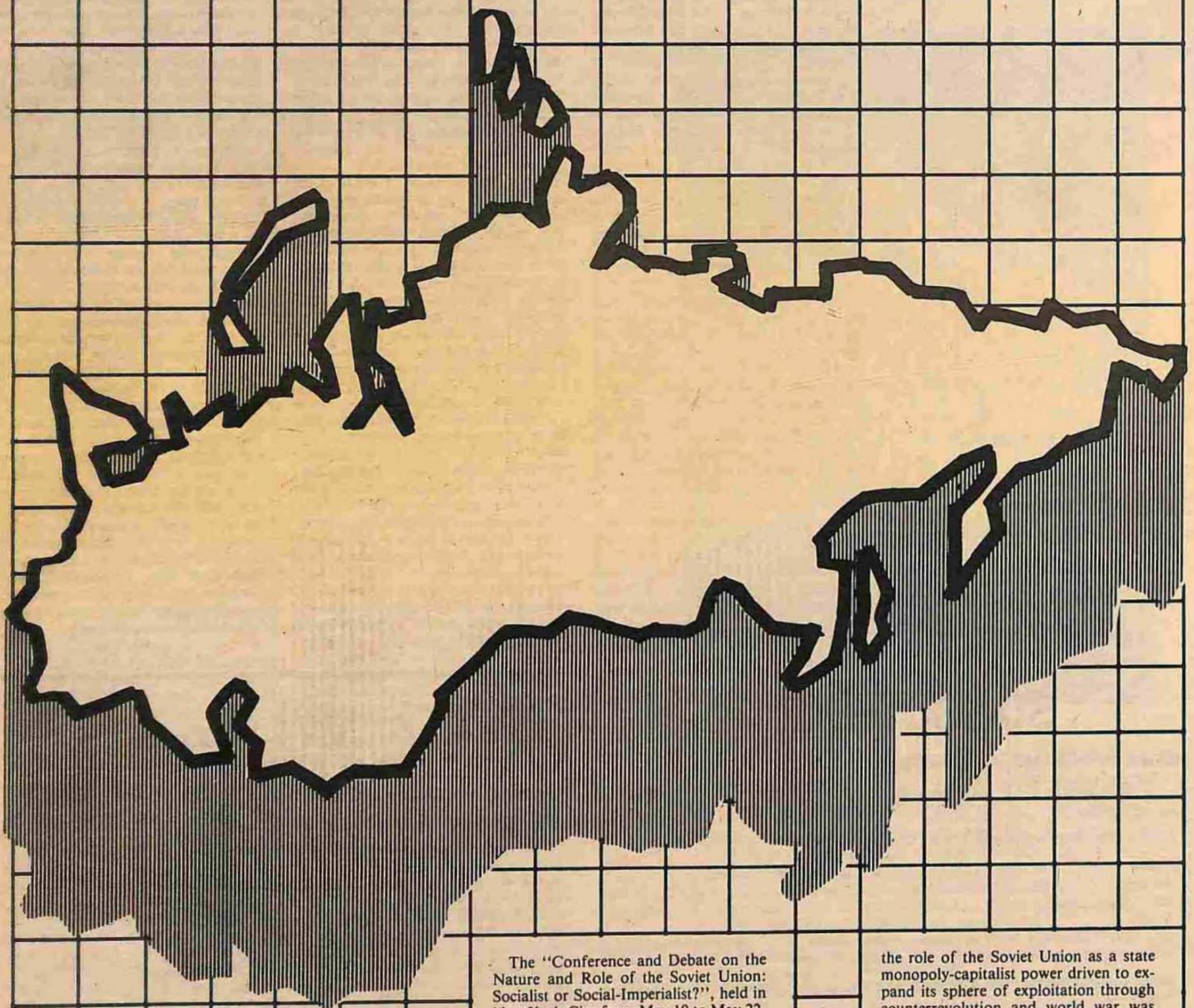
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800 attend NYC conference

Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist? The Question is Joined



The "Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist?", held in New York City from May 19 to May 22, was a major success. Urgency, seriousness and enthusiasm, exhibited by those who came to grapple with the decisive questions which the conference concentrated... The breadth and diversity of forces comprising the panelists and the excellent turnout, including many from countries which are focal points of contention between, and revolutionary struggle against, both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism... And the sharp clarity of two-line struggle where the revolutionary communist analysis of

the role of the Soviet Union as a state monopoly-capitalist power driven to expand its sphere of exploitation through counterrevolution and world war was posed in debate and struggle with leading defenders of the socialist character of the Soviet Union. These were the striking characteristics of the conference.

This conference and debate marked the first major theoretical confrontation organized explicitly around the central question of whether the Soviet Union is socialist or social-imperialist since the 1976 counterrevolutionary coup which overthrew proletarian rule in China. The conference culminated more than a year

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A Cure for Toxic Shock Syndrome?

So Near, Yet So Far

In the two-and-a-half years that have followed the general recognition of Toxic Shock Syndrome (TSS) and the subsequent withdrawal of Rely super-absorbent tampons from the U.S. domestic market, TSS has largely disappeared from the pages of the press — not, however, from the hospital-beds. It is true that the disease is hardly the mystery now that it was back in 1980: research has progressed significantly, and understanding of the basic physiological mechanisms causing TSS is becoming well-established. But far from heralding an end to the ravages of TSS, the disease is as widespread today as ever — and though development of an anti-TSS vaccine seems well within reach, for the U.S. medical industry this — or any decisive cure for the disease — has been ruled off the agenda.

In the fall of 1980, following a sharp rise in the number of women crippled or killed by TSS, blame for TSS was focused almost exclusively on Proctor & Gamble's Rely super-absorbent tampon. With Rely gone, so, they told us, was the need to worry about TSS. The other tampon manufacturers moved in on Rely's \$60 million market share with heavily-publicized assurances of their own safety: "Tampons don't cause TSS, bacteria do," went the Tampax Corp.'s ad. Subsequently, medical institutions issued reassuring reports that the number of TSS cases had dropped dramatically.

But these official figures conceal a grotesque lie. For one, many women with less serious cases of TSS often did not report their illness — undoubtedly many had been led to conclude that they must have had some other disease. But even had they reported it, "mild" cases of TSS are *not even counted* by official institutions in the first place. This is especially significant because three-fourths of women with these undiagnosed and untreated "mild" cases will have recurrences of TSS — and many of these will be much more serious. In contrast to the figures above, in the one region of the country that did keep rigorous standards for counting all TSS (the Minnesota-Wisconsin-Iowa region), the number of TSS cases is *the same now* as before Rely's removal.

This may be a surprise to many — but not so for the veteran hacks that sit atop the medical institutions, because for some time now it has been well-established that it was not merely Rely but tampons and especially super-absorbent tampons in general that give rise to TSS.

That this is so is now beyond question — it is a fact, for instance, that of the 1600 TSS cases reported to the Center for Disease Control, 91% of them involved women who were stricken while using tampons during their menstrual cycle. It is now known that super-absorbent tampons themselves constitute an ideal growing environment for either the TSS bacteria *Staphylococcus aureus* or its toxins, a bacteria which is found in from five to twenty percent of all people. The tampons further stimulate growth of the bacteria and its toxins by introducing air

into the vagina, drying out the vaginal walls, and by causing minor ulcerations on the walls. How then could the rate of TSS possibly have gone down, when the removal of Rely was followed by a switch to other brands, which are every bit as deadly? Several of these other super-absorbent brands even use the same chemical shit (carboxymethylcellulose) as Rely!

What all this means is that researchers now estimate that there are about 4,500 cases of TSS striking every year, and that dozens of these will be fatal.

Not that nothing *could* be done about this. Given the great strides made in isolating the physiological mechanism giving rise to TSS, the possibility of eradicating TSS — through, for example, a vaccine, the potential for which is mentioned by at least one specialist — is not at all remote. This, though, is not on the agenda for American health care. No, as one of the leading TSS researchers observes in a recent *NY Times* article, "the likelihood of developing a vaccine is remote, in part because so few people would be candidates for it." So few people — why, merely between five and twenty percent of women. But right there lies the heart of the problem — 98% of all TSS victims are, indeed, women. And it is not the first time that this meatgrinder of a health care system, in which the exploitative nature of the society is reflected and reinforced, with all its oppressive values, has turned its dull and rustiest blades on the masses of women.

As if to illustrate this point a bit for us, the very same issue of the *NY Times* turns its attention to another disease: a malignancy which mainly strikes "upper-class" whites — cancer of the testicles. Now here we have a disease that matters! True, it strikes no more people than does TSS, about 4,000 per year. Nor is the fatality rate substantially different. But then, *who* dies — that's what counts. Illustrative of the values that shape medical treatment are a couple of observations made by a group of cancer specialists concerning the method for diagnosing this testicular cancer (which involves surgically removing the suspected testis): "The measures to which physicians will go to avoid orchietomy (the operation removing the testis—ed.) are often extraordinary." Who doesn't know what a sharp contrast this is to the way suspected tumors of the sex organs are dealt with in women; or to the routine performance of hysterectomies? Indeed, the doctors go on to characterize their colleagues' overall attitudes: "No ovary is too good to leave in and no testis too bad to take out." (Not that testicular cancer is anything but a horrible disease, and here too the methods of modern medicine are brutal and primitive, centering, as ever, on that supreme tool of the "modern" doctor, the butcher knife — yet and still, not wielded quite so coarsely as it is towards women.)

There are today only efforts to "warn" women about TSS in various ways, warnings, which, it turns out, are either useless or even harmful in themselves. For exam-

ple, there are occasional discussions of developing a test for susceptibility to TSS by detecting the existence of Staph bacteria in a person's body. But this ignores the fact that the bacteria can be transmitted from someone else in many ways, and also that, as has been shown recently, there are new strains of TSS-causing bacteria evolving in the human population.

As for the obvious — abolishing or radically redesigning super-absorbent tampons — our medical researchers wouldn't dream of such a thing. As a reporter for *Science* magazine observed, members of the prestigious Institute of Medicine (who have conducted many of the TSS studies), "went out of their way to avoid the *appearance* of proposing reforms in current FDA regulations governing tampons." (our emphasis) However, at great risk to their enormous profits from tampon sales, the manufacturers have gone to the extraordinary length of putting a little message on the side of the tampon box informing users of the existence of TSS, while reassuring us that it "is a rare disease." Now to label a disease "rare" that potentially threatens great numbers of women is, at the least, extremely misleading. It should also be pointed out that for those hundreds of women who will survive a serious case of TSS, the disease is unforgettably horrible. One woman described how as she lost all her body fluids and went into shock, and as her diminished blood flow went to her vital organs only, the extremities of her limbs, her fingers, feet, tongue, etc., all turned black from loss of blood, how to counteract this doctors pumped 40 pounds of fluid into her in a few hours — and how after recovery, the majority of each of her eight fingers had been amputated, and one of her feet paralyzed. It is hardly the picture painted by the press.

Finally, this piece of advice from the Tampax Corp. (among others) should be examined: "If you use a tampon, change it 3 to 4 times in a 24-hour period. It's sanitary and it's sensible." It's also potentially deadly since frequent tampon changes may worsen the ulcerations which many believe facilitate growth of the TSS *Staph*-bacteria.

Why only these pitiful and dangerous measures — why, for instance, no crash program to develop a vaccine? After all, is it not at least possible that a vaccine might even be profitable? But this isn't the point, for a vaccine program now would represent a crashing indictment of the medical system and its "normal" criminal workings. In 1980, the tampon industry dealt with the TSS "problem" with a veil of lies designed to put the rap strictly on one brand, Rely, and to portray TSS as "rare" and nearly extinct. A vaccine would, of course, give great visibility to the existence and deadly effects of TSS and the system which had deliberately obscured these; the choice for the industry is simply to continue the coverup, or face an exposure of a brutal — but typical — social crime. □

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"And science struck the thrones of earth and heaven,
Which shook, but fell not..."

Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*

In an article in the *International Herald Tribune* (Oct. 11, 1982), headed "From Outer Space A Globalist Vision," Isaac Asimov argues that, with the experience of space probes and the benefit of seeing the earth from outer space, "The sight of Earth as a whole, a planetary sphere, seen small and sky-borne from the moon, forces us to think of it as small and fragile. It makes less sensible the arbitrary division of its surface into portions that we must think of as sacred, as something to uphold at all costs." Asimov goes on not only to argue for such a globalist vision but to urgently insist that the choice now is "localism and death versus globalism and life." But he concludes on a hopeful note: if the alternatives are seen in this way, "it may be that one or two of us will join the sane minority. Then, if enough of us do, the sane may no longer be a minority, and may enforce the choice. And that will be the legacy of the Space Age."

Carl Sagan also argues eloquently for similar ideas in *Cosmos*. And indeed, viewed from the perspective of considering the world as a whole, its present divisions and the fact that it is, once again, on the brink of devastating war between rival subdivisions of the earth do seem absurd, and cause for great alarm. The problem is, however, that, as instructive as it may be to look at the earth from such a perspective, in the final analysis these questions are not decided in outer space but here on earth, and here on earth it is necessary to approach the problem in terms of social systems, classes and class struggle, if mankind is to finally advance to a future where its society and its outlook can truly be global.

Sagan, Asimov and others are responding to a very real contradiction — that the technology existing today is capable of wreaking great destruction on the earth and those who now control that technology are in fact driven toward unleashing its destructive potential — driven by the inner compulsion of the system whose representatives they are. This, in turn, is a part of a more general contradiction — that the productive forces of society have developed in advance of the social systems and their ruling institutions and ideas within which these productive forces have developed; it is a peculiar expression of that more general contradiction and a very acute expression of it in today's world.

Not seeing it this way, however, but conceptualizing it instead in terms of life vs. death and sanity vs. insanity, can only mean an attempt to resolve this contradiction by *rationalist* means. The solution suggested by such an approach is to marshal undeniable facts and irrefutable arguments that clearly prove that the only rational thing to do is to find and implement the methods and mechanism for curbing narrow, localist or national rivalry, developing more international cooperation and promoting the peaceful, constructive use of knowledge and technology. In its political expression this is consistent with bourgeois democracy, and in particular with the notion of prevailing upon the leaders of the different countries to embrace these principles, or failing that to replace them with leaders who will.

But, again, the problem with Reagan or Andropov, or Thatcher or Mitterand, et al., is not that they are insane, or that they have not yet seen that choosing life and rejecting death and destruction is the only rational choice. The problem is qualitatively different and much more fundamental than that. These political leaders, no more than anyone else, could not (even if they so desired) simply choose to avoid or curtail rivalry between states because such rivalry is an inherent feature of the imperialist economic system of which they are presently the political chieftains. That imperialist economic system remains rooted in the foundation of commodity production (exchanged by means of money) and the national market, while at the same time it accumulates and can only accumulate internationally. How can the leaders of the separate imperialist states overcome this to arrive at the "rational" agreements that would prevent destruction and war — without overcoming the imperialist system itself, which they have neither the understanding, the desire nor the ability themselves to do?

Nor is it possible to solve the problem by replacing these leaders with others, more amenable to reason. First of all, the political structures of society — in particular a society divided into classes — do not and cannot exist to serve and give access to all and to all ideas. They and the people who hold positions of authority in them exist and function to serve the existing economic system and the class which has the dominant position in that system. Every state, including those which hold elections and tolerate dissent to one degree or other are dictatorships of that dominant class over the rest of society, or at least over those whose interests are opposed to the interests of the dominant class. For all these reasons, even if it were possible to put new people into office committed to promoting cooperation and preventing war, they themselves would be powerless to implement such a program, unless they became transformed into leaders of a mass revolutionary movement to overthrow the existing system and replace it with one which was able, according to its own nature, to realize these aims.

This is not to say that rational ideas, the truth, are insignificant or play no part in effecting change in society and determining mankind's destiny. In fact they can and do play a tremendously powerful role, but only as they are taken up by masses of people and made a weapon in the class struggle and in particular as they are grasped and applied by the advanced class in society. So long as society remains divided into classes this will remain true, and in fact it is only through this process of class struggle that classes and the economic and social basis for them will finally be eliminated; even then, however, it will still be true that correct ideas will become recognized as such by society and become a powerful material force only through social struggle.

Stephen Jay Gould in his book *The Mismeasure of Man* brings into sharp focus and grapples with the fact that science, not only in its conclusions but in its very method, cannot help but be strongly influenced by the societies in which the scientists live and work and especially by the dominant political and cultural assumptions and values of those societies. "Science cannot escape its curious dialectic," he writes. "Embedded in surrounding culture it can, nonetheless, be a powerful agent for questioning and even overturning the assumptions that nurture it." (page 23) Gould documents and analyzes a number of important examples where politics and ideology, including class and racial bias and male chauvinist prejudices, distorted or perverted scientific inquiry and its conclusions. And, as the above statement by Gould indicates, he recognizes that, on the other hand, science can and does react back upon ideology and politics and play a role in the struggle between conflicting ideas and forces in society.

Gould attempts to tie some of these points together in the following passage:

"As a practicing scientist, I share the credo of my colleagues: I believe that a factual reality exists and that science, though often in an obtuse and erratic manner, can learn about it. Galileo was not shown the instruments of torture in an abstract debate about lunar motion. He had threatened the Church's conventional argument

More Reflections and Sketches*

More Questions to Carl Sagan, Stephen Gould, & Isaac Asimov

by Bob Avakian



for social and doctrinal stability: the static world order with planets circling about a central earth, priests subordinate to the Pope and serfs to their lord. But the church soon made its peace with Galileo's cosmology. They had no choice; the earth really does revolve about the sun." (page 22)

There is much to agree with here, but there is also a problem, particularly with the concluding sentence. The problem is certainly not that Gould upholds objective truth or that he emphasizes its power, but, taken by itself this last sentence is wrong and misleading. It is possible to think of many truths — truths no less important or compelling than the fact that the planets do not circle around a central earth — which church and other authorities still refuse to acknowledge as true (and included in this is the fact that god does not exist). But, on the other hand, this sentence does not exist by itself and cannot be divorced from the rest of the passage above and the whole of the book. Gould does identify and even show relation between a number of key contradictions involving science and society as a whole, but there still remains a problem with the synthesis of all this.

Most basically, what one senses is still lacking in Gould's approach — and even more so in that of people like Sagan and Asimov — is a firm underpinning of historical materialism. Perhaps, since it sets forth in such a concentrated way one of the most profound and at the same time simple truths, one of the

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*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.

The morning of May 4, the INS, in coordination with LAPD detectives, conducted a massive sweep of the inner section of Olympic and Mariposa near Damián Garcia Park in Los Angeles. At 8:30 a.m., at least 14 INS cars converged on the intersection, some blocking off the streets and alleys while other agents jumped from their cars to round up everyone they could catch, slamming those caught against cars, cursing them, beating any who "resisted" — eventually hauling 45 people off to INS detention cells in the LA federal building. Several of the proletarians from this streetcorner played a significant role in activities on and around May Day.

On this streetcorner unemployed immigrants, mostly from Central America, gather each morning waiting for some employer to drive up offering work for a day or two — for a standard \$25 for 8-10 hours of dishwashing or backbreaking "labor." Proletarians have been gathering on this corner for 10 years, doing the dishes in some of "LA's finest restaurants"; clearing the ground, shovelling the gravel for the condos, apartments and smaller offices surrounding Wilshire Boulevard's high-tech, high-finance "Miracle Mile," with a certain legitimacy stamped on the scene by the hot-food vending roach wagon that includes the corner in its daily rounds. But on May 4 a raiding Migra snorted, "We don't want to see you here again. There are offices for finding work in this country." A doubly vicious threat because not only are there no jobs for anyone, especially immigrants — many in their teens — in the unemployment offices, but one Mexican worker recently

Brutal INS Raid in LA

told the *RW* how some "employment development" bureaucrats have been turning job applicants with "insufficient proof of legal residence" over to INS agents waiting outside.

Of those detained May 4 (without concern by the INS/LAPD raiders over having "probable cause for detention" — the Supreme Court's latest guidelines for the proper execution for such raids), a few were immediately deported to Mexico. But the majority of people at this corner are Salvadoran. Aside from the few who were found to be "legal" it appeared that most or all of these Salvadorans have been immediately deported to El Salvador. Of those deported, some are already back (one even from El Salvador).

While one Salvadoran immigrant was being pressured to sign a "voluntary

departure form" with threats of 6 months in the INS hell-hole, El Centro Detention Center, plus exorbitant legal fees if he refused, he told the INS agents he left El Salvador because of the danger there. The agents called him a "coward," saying "Why don't you go fight the war?" — fight, of course, for the U.S. puppet army. "Are you a man or not? Would you rather have your mother go fight in your place?"

The May 4 raid was larger than most. Immigrants at the intersection say the INS raids once or twice a month, arresting anywhere from 3-25 each time, with guns being pulled, beatings, and sometimes with LAPD squad cars making the initial assault, then turning their handcuffed victims over to the INS. One proletarian who now has "legal" status told of being deported three times in two years, including once in 1981 when he

fled the corner into the apartment of his friend nearby only to have Migra agents bust through the door, arresting and deporting both he and his friend.

It's much the same at any of the other dozen or so intersections in greater Los Angeles where unemployed immigrants gather hoping for a day's work. The INS is undoubtedly congratulating itself for another raid May 16 in which it successfully trapped and captured 75 people who were waiting in Malibu for a day's work at the million dollar beach-front mansions.

The raid at Olympic and Mariposa also fits into a larger clampdown in the area surrounding Damián Garcia Park, a clampdown that was most intense around May Day but which continues with an 84-man LAPD task-force which "officially" began operating May First. The target of this task-force has been Central American immigrants — especially youth — with the pigs going after any youth seen hanging out on the streets, arresting scores on petty charges.

The corner at Olympic and Mariposa was the scene of some sharp political struggle leading up to May Day, especially over a banner sent to workers from Turkey in Germany. A few former members of the National Guard in El Salvador denounced the banner, while others defended and signed it. Given the size of the raid at this corner, the fact that it occurred just three days after May Day, and the presence of plainclothes LAPD detectives on the scene, the definite impression is created of a wounded beast lashing back. □



A normal day at an L.A. intersection, squad car snatches a day laborer off the corner for delivery to the INS.

La Migra's "Increased Productivity" in Chicago

Last year Chicago was a major target of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's massive assault on foreign born workers, Operation Jobs. Of the 5400 immigrants swept up in the INS dragnet nationwide, nearly a quarter were picked up in Chicago. Now almost exactly one year later, a series of raids on a smaller scale have been launched resulting in the arrest of 351 workers in a one week period from May 18-25.

Although these raids have been carried out without the kind of flashbulb-popping barrage of media coverage that accompanied Operations Jobs, naturally the opportunity to foment some American chauvinism towards "those illegals who are stealing your jobs" was not missed. On May 18, TV camera crews appeared at the Jaygee Co., a woodworking factory on Chicago's West Side, shortly after 72 Mexican workers were seized by INS agents. Already hundreds of job-seeking workers, mainly Black, had lined up outside the plant. Although it is not clear how word of the raid spread so quickly, the presence of Chicago pigs walking up and down the line passing out job applications hinted that this was more than just a purely spontaneous gathering.

According to the INS official in charge of these raids, Bud Geymer, they are a result of a "change in policy" by the Reagan administration which led to

doubling the number of Chicago INS investigators from nine to eighteen in order to "improve productivity" in this area. That this increase is aimed at terrorizing the foreign born is indicated by the wide scope of the raids, hitting as many as 22 employers in a single day. Relatives of the arrested workers also reported that many had been picked up in sweeps through their neighborhoods in the early morning hours when people are leaving for work.

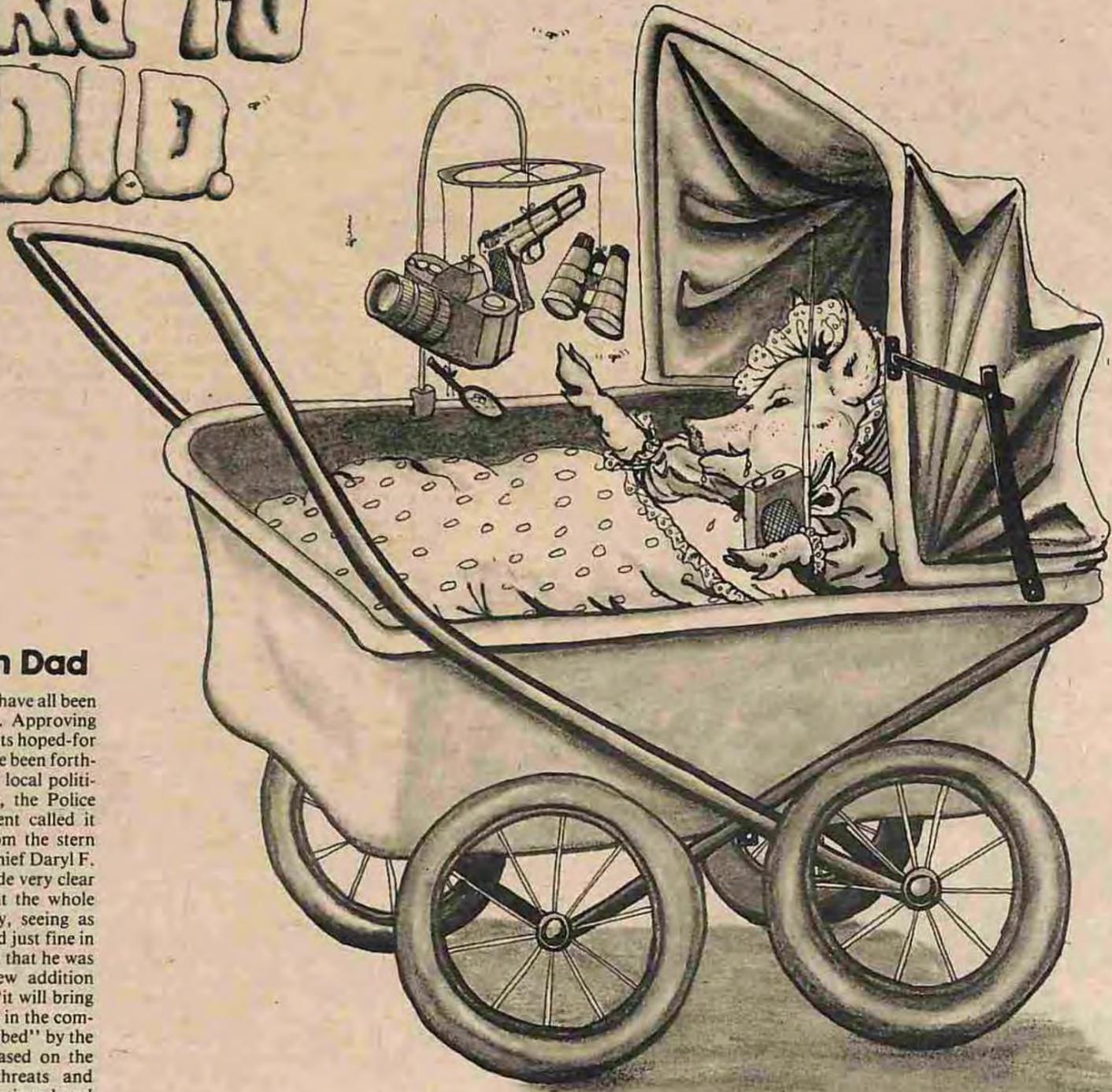
191 people, more than half those arrested, have already been shipped back to Mexico after signing the "voluntary departure" forms. The INS "breaks people's arms" to get them to sign these forms, as one immigration attorney put it, with one standard tactic being to misrepresent the meaning of the forms by telling the workers that it will not prevent their re-entry into the U.S. And the unusually high cash bond of up to \$5,000 demanded this past week is an added arm twist for "voluntary" departure.

According to Bud Geymer, "We don't have any date of termination for this operation. We have a lot of enthusiastic people now who are doing their job." Whether or not INS sustains this level of operations remains to be seen, but these "enthusiastic people" have certainly performed the job of a timely, terroristic assault on immigrants. □

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SON BORN TO PDID.



It's Uglier Than Dad

Los Angeles's city fathers have all been beaming at their new baby. Approving comments, especially about its hoped-for capacity for intelligence, have been forthcoming from virtually every local politician, all major newspapers, the Police Commission (whose president called it "significant") and even from the stern task master himself, police chief Daryl F. Gates. Now it should be made very clear that the chief really thought the whole thing was quite unnecessary, seeing as how the old body still worked just fine in his opinion. But he admitted that he was "comfortable" with the new addition and, most of all, he hoped "it will bring some peace of mind to those in the community who have been disturbed" by the antics of its predecessor. Based on the charges, countercharges, threats and overall delirium that has continued and even escalated since the glorious nativity, one would have to say that there was more than a little wishful thinking on the part of the chief; "peace of mind" is not exactly flowing through the ranks of "the community" — especially those that rule over it and much of the "world community" as well — when it comes to political police activity in Los Angeles. Nevertheless, in the midst of an ongoing and increasingly bitter family feud, the powers-that-be in L.A. (and beyond) managed to jointly preside over the birth of the son of PDID.

The newest version of covert action in L.A. arrived on May 9 when the Police Commission unanimously voted to replace the notorious Public Disorder Intelligence Division with the newly named "Anti-Terrorist Division." *RW* readers will recall that a top-level LAPD transition team had recommended something along the lines of "criminal intelligence" for its political police spy apparatus — a name that wouldn't have such a blatantly political ring to it (see *RW* 198). However, it seems that careful consideration at the highest levels of authority has shown that this is just too vague for the kind of leap in "domestic security" operations and apparatus that is now required. After all, it is a clampdown on political opponents of U.S. imperialism that is called for — and broad application of the "terrorist" brush to any and all of these political opponents is most definitely on the agenda. Thus, the new name for the new version of PDID is just right for the time, and there is broad agreement among all the rulers that it was a fine choice indeed.

Just like PDID, the new group's targets will only be those whose activities "can reasonably be expected to result in deaths, serious bodily injury or significant property damage..." With the world-renowned professionalism of the

LAPD, it is already taken for granted that all of its targets can "reasonably be expected" to face any or all of the above — so no changes will be required here. As for the very important matter of guidelines for the new group, the Police Commission's report noted that "details of the undercover operation are not appropriate for public disclosure" — indeed, they neglected to mention just how *inappropriate* it has been that so many of those little details have become so widely exposed — but that the new group will continue to operate under the same set of rules and regulations that had governed the old. Thus, the usual array of infiltrations, provocateuring, break-ins, frame-ups, setups, murders, and so forth can also "reasonably be expected" to continue.

As a matter of fact, they should be expected to *increase*. The LA press is making a big deal about the supposedly "smaller" unit that ATD will be — its publicly authorized personnel going from PDID's 54 to ATD's 46 right away, with another drop to 40 scheduled for *after* the 1984 Olympics — implying that this will limit the new spy apparatus to only the most necessary thug-ism, as opposed to the rather widely applied kind that PDID (and its accomplices in other divisions of the LAPD... not to mention other agencies) have been carrying out. But this supposed "decline" in personnel actually covers the *expansion* of the spy unit. In the first place, ATD will not have to deal with a number of functions of the old PDID, such as the protection of visiting dignitaries, tactical planning for public gatherings and "prison gang" spying; in fact, nine "prison gang" experts from the 54 PDID personnel have already been

transferred out to another division, thereby making the ATD's new total of 46 publicly admitted officers actually an increase of one over the old unit. And whether or not any other officers who also specialize in re-routed functions will also be transferred, it is obvious that the new operation consists of a more highly developed and refined division of labor within LAPD, leaving the political police spies more time to concentrate on carrying out their favorite criminal activity. Even more importantly, the 46 pigs publicly admitted to inhabit the "intelligence" catacombs is just the tip of the iceberg, mainly referring to only those involved in the supervisory and paperwork functions of the operations; the number of undercover operatives is a closely guarded secret. Thus, any streamlining of functions of the publicly acknowledged officers can only facilitate a big jump in the number of those who carry out their nefarious schemes.

On these and many other points the newly reorganized intelligence operations of LAPD is a big hit throughout the ruling class. And why not? Much of ATD's operating manifesto was listed straight out of the previously mentioned top-level transition team report, which itself was a product of even higher level direction; after all, the team did get input from cities around the country (and beyond), from *private* "security" corporations (which invariably feature "retired" officers from every level of the official political police and counterinsurgency apparatus), and from various federal law enforcement agencies as well, in keeping with long-standing close contact and cooperation between LAPD's political police operations and the FBI, Secret Service, et

al. All this is quite in keeping with the vanguard role that LAPD has long played for the bourgeoisie as a whole. And it is even more in keeping with a leap in that role that is to take place in conjunction with the 1984 Olympics — a significant pre-war event in its own right and important preparations for the much, much *heavier* events coming up in the not-too-distant future.

But unanimity on all this within the ruling class hardly precludes the most bitter infighting over the best way to carry out this leap, not to mention over *who* will be in control of these beefed up organs of official thuggery. And the fact that some of the dirty dealings of LA's swinest have been widely exposed has only exacerbated this furor. Thus, even while all the city's fathers seemed to be agreeing on the new ATD, there was fierce contention occurring in official circles.

A little of this seeped out in regard to the new spy unit. The *LA Times* and others of its persuasion have profusely praised the sections of the new ATD plan which call for greater "accountability" by the chief and greater "civilian oversight" in the form of Police Commission input (including having some say in hiring the right pigs for the job) and legal advice from a deputy City Attorney assigned full-time to ATD. Although Chief Gates had previously announced that he personally authorized all the main activities of the old PDID, he has managed to deny having any knowledge of many of the various PDID activities that have been exposed, from the secreting of 100 cartons of files in a loyal sergeant's garage to spying on city officials and other respectable types. (The chief hasn't

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Why They Called It MacArthur Park — and still want to



was dedicated on January 26, 1955, a day on which the then-aged MacArthur traveled to Los Angeles for the occasion and also delivered speeches before an Episcopal Church convocation and the American Legion. (The definitive collection of his public utterances says that on this day, MacArthur "in a remarkable display of oratorical skill, spoke on three different subjects to three different audiences without repeating himself"!)

Below we are reprinting for the enlightenment of our readers the text of the general's address at the official ceremony in the park which was entitled "Be Proud To Be Called A Patriot." It is notable for its straightforward elaboration of the "spiritual impulse" alluded to above that is so cherished by our rulers — an "impulse" that has far more urgency for them now than it had in the '50s, '60s or '70s — and it reveals why they are so excruciatingly upright *today* about this beloved shrine to a long-moldering general.

than an individual; an armed force rather than its commander; a nation rather than its servant; an ideal rather than a personality. This but increases my pride, that my name has been the one chosen as the symbol of an epic struggle and victory by millions of unnamed others. It is their heroism, their sacrifice, their success, that you have honored today in so unforgettable a manner. I, and this statue, and this park are but the selected reminders of their grandeur. Most of them were citizen soldiers, sailors and airmen — men from the farm, from the city, from the school-room, from the college campus — men not dedicated to the profession of arms, men not primarily skilled in the arts of destruction — men amazingly like the men you see and meet and know each day of your lives — but men animated, inspired and ennobled by a sublime cause — the defense of their country, of their native land, of their very hearthstones. The most divine of all human sentiments and impulses guided them — the spirit and willingness to sacrifice. He who dares to die — to lay his life on the altar of his nation's need — is beyond doubt the noblest development of mankind. In this he comes closest to the image of his Creator who died on the cross that the human soul might live.

MacArthur's Speech

I have listened with deep emotion to these solemn proceedings and my heart is too full for my lips to express adequately my thanks and appreciation for the extraordinary honor you do me. Even so, I understand full well that this memorial is intended to commemorate an epoch rather

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The recent renaming of Damián Garcia Park (previously known as General Douglas MacArthur Park) in Los Angeles has been quite a source of consternation for the bourgeoisie. Just how much so was revealed on April 18 when twenty-seven people were arrested as they presented the demand for the name change to the L.A. City Council. During this episode one of the arresting cops was heard to growl, "General Douglas MacArthur was a national hero!" and one of his partners quickly chimed in: "A national *American* hero!" Indeed, the clash between the imperialist chauvinism and reaction that MacArthur represents and the proletarian internationalism of the example of Damián Garcia's life and death is posed sharply in the controversy over the name of this park.

In fact there has been ongoing opposition for widely diverging reasons ever since the park, historically known as Westlake Park, was renamed for MacArthur in 1942 when William Randolph Hearst hit upon and promoted the idea as part of an effort to push the general out as a possible presidential candidate. During the '60s, the park was the scene of numerous demonstrations against the Vietnam War — an irony that protesters frequently took note of — and by the '70s demands for dumping MacArthur's name were largely fueled by prevailing anti-war sentiments. But in 1975, the Parks and Recreation Department refused by a 3-2 vote to change the name back to Westlake despite the fact that, as *L.A. Times* columnist Jack Smith observed, letters received on the subject ran 20 to 1 in favor of changing it back.

But while the '60s into the mid-'70s were one thing, it is not too difficult to figure out why the powers that be are particularly uneasy about the terms on which the question of the park's name are being

presented to them today. In the middle of the park, an eight-foot statue of MacArthur stands before a pond that symbolizes the Pacific Ocean and the various island nations that fell to American conquest in WW II. It's inscription reads: "Battles are not won by arms alone. There must exist above all a spiritual impulse — a will to victory. In war there can be no substitute for victory."

This monument to U.S. imperialism



Soldier, statesman, and about a gallon of red paint.

May First Correspondence

About Peru

Dear RW,

I am writing in response to your call for reports on internationalist actions this past May Day, and to inform your readers about events that seem to me to be of some significance.

El Frontón is an island prison just off the coast of Peru. It is there that many of the "suspected terrorists" of the Sendero Luminoso are being held. They have been sent to this infamous "concentration camp" to isolate them and, at the very least, to break their spirit. Yet here the spirit of internationalism is particularly strong and defiant. The red flag flies there day and night. The walls — as can be seen from a photo (below) that appeared in the Peruvian magazine in mid-May — are filled with calls to celebrate International Workers Day. To the horror of the Peruvian bourgeoisie, and most certainly their imperialist masters, El Frontón has become a "mixture of popular school, military training camp and liberated zone." The revolutionary unity and high morale of the prisoners has been unbreakable despite intense harassment, including the cutting off of food and water, violent assaults (19 prisoners have been shot in the past several months) and murder. In early May, 2 prisoners, Américo Solórzano Rojas and Angel Botonero Alvarado were gunned down by prison guards. This can only be interpreted as an intensification of the nationwide campaign of repression against the growing revolutionary forces led by the Sendero. In response to the murder, the prisoners held a revolutionary vigil in the prison which they decked out with red banners and flags for the occasion.

What happened as a result four days later in Lima was just as remarkable and inspiring. For those readers not familiar with the situation, it must be understood that some regions in Peru are near a state of civil war. In January the Peruvian government and armed forces launched its biggest offensive yet against Sendero Luminoso and the revolutionary forces they lead in the mountainous region of Central Peru. Along with this they have conducted an international political campaign of lies and outrageous slanders, which has appeared mainly in the Latin press and in the Spanish language press in the U.S., aimed at isolating the revolutionaries. Recently the press has been filled with boasts from military commanders and reactionary politicians about how the guerrillas are in retreat, near defeat, etc.

On May 13, Sendero Luminoso, which has openly declared war on the Peruvian government and "all reaction," and has taken credit for several thousand armed actions such as the seizure of landed estates, assaults on prisons, the seizure of radio stations, the blowing up of the Kennedy statue and the hanging of dogs in honor of revisionist traitors like Deng Xiaoping, led an open demonstration on the streets of Lima for the

first time! A thousand people, many dressed in red, carried the coffins of the brothers murdered at El Frontón which were draped in red flags with yellow hammers and sickles, through the streets of Lima. With red flags and banners flying, they sang the Internationale "a todo pulmón" — as loudly and defiantly as they could.

The "audacity" of the march definitely caught the bourgeoisie by surprise. They tried to counter it by saying it was an act of desperation to keep up "sagging morale" in the revolutionary ranks.

More likely it represented a very significant advance for the revolutionary forces which have continued to gain strength overall in spite of a furious repression. It was also a very bold move to strike against one of the bourgeoisie's main tactics, their attempt to isolate the revolutionaries and spread despair among the revolutionary masses.

a reader

From Greensboro

To the RW:

A May Day rally of approximately 40-50 people, mostly students, was held in the center of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, on Friday, April 29. Several banners, including one calling for victory to people's war in El Salvador which was signed by many, hung as backdrops. Speakers included a representative of the Internationalist Bookstore in Chapel Hill, the RCP, and a student who has been very active in a struggle against UNC investments in South Africa. He denounced "so-called liberal concern that does nothing . . . there's something more fundamental than apartheid, and that's imperialism, a worldwide system," and called for May Day "not only in Chapel Hill, or North Carolina, but all over the world, and it should be bigger and better next year!"

A Palestinian revolutionary spoke: "Who are the friends of the Palestinian people? Not the United States, not the

Soviet Union, not the reactionary Arab states. Our friends are the workers and the oppressed all over the world. And we will continue our struggle until the Palestinian flag flies over Jerusalem and we contribute all we can to the world revolution." His speech and the Palestinian flag flying among the banners represented a leap in revolutionary internationalist sentiments among the political activists on the campus, largely stemming from the turmoil and struggle engendered by Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the subsequent imperialist bloodletting and maneuvering.

When the Internationale was sung to close the rally, some patriotic Christians who had been hanging around the edges jumped out to oppose its message. This engendered a lively debate in which some representatives of liberation theology stepped forward to unite with the thrust of "the oppressed turning the world upside down."



The red flag flying at El Frontón prison.

MONOPOLY

The following excerpt from the new book *The Science of Revolution: An Introduction*, by Lenny Wolff, is taken from the chapter on Imperialism:

At the foundation of imperialism lies the emergence of monopoly capital in the advanced capitalist countries. Monopoly capitalism is imperialism; they are one and the same. During the late 19th century monopoly took root in and eventually gained dominance over one industry after another in these countries. Rough agreements between a handful of the biggest firms in a field were worked out over division of markets, prices, pace of technical innovation, etc., which allowed firms to fix prices above value and delay investment in new machinery, and hence to extract surplus profits (relative to non-monopoly capital).

This particular characteristic of imperialism is so conspicuous as to be almost self-evident. Take the U.S., where by 1900 monopolies controlled 66% of the iron and steel industry, 81% of the chemical industry, 85% of aluminum production, 95% of coal, etc.; or where a more current statistic reveals that today the top 200 corporations in the U.S. own almost two-thirds of the industrial assets. (This represents a significant increase from pre-World War 2 levels of concentration; at the beginning of the rise of monopolies following the Civil War the percentage was negligible.)

But why did monopoly develop? As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a tendency inherent in the accumulation of capital towards the increasing concentration of the means of production and command over labor power in the hands of a few capitalists, which, as Marx points out, widens the basis for large-scale production. By the late 19th century the tendencies to greater concentrations of capital, and hence larger-scale production, and to the centralization of capital (i.e., the absorption of one capital by another) developed to the point where monopolies could be — and soon had to be — formed in the main industries, and a qualitative

leap in the organization of the social capital as a whole took place.*

Lenin sums up in *Imperialism* that:

Economically, the main thing in [the transition to imperialism — LW] is the displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly. Free competition is the fundamental characteristic of capitalism, and of commodity production generally; monopoly is the exact opposite of free competition, but we have seen the latter being transformed into monopoly before our eyes, creating large-scale industry and forcing out small industry, replacing large-scale by still larger-scale industry, and carrying concentration of production and capital to the point where out of it has grown and is growing monopoly: cartels, syndicates, and trusts, and merging with them, the capital of a dozen or so banks, which manipulate thousands of millions. (*Imperialism*, 104)

*Here a brief discussion of the "social capital" is necessary. The social capital refers to the aggregate of the individual capitals of a particular nation-state in which the capitalist mode of production is dominant. Marx writes in Vol. 2 of *Capital* that:

"Every individual capital forms, however, but an individualised fraction, a fraction endowed with individual life, as it were, of the aggregate social capital, just as every individual capitalist is but an individual element of the capitalist class. The movement of the social capital consists of the totality of the movements of its individualised fractional parts, the turnovers of the individual capitals." (*Capital*, Vol. 2, 351-352) Marx goes on to analyze that the value-relations (for instance, the organic composition of capital, the value of labor power, the rate of profit, etc.) of the aggregate social capital of the nation form a framework within which the terms for the functioning of the various individual capitals are set (not smoothly and consciously, of course, but through contradiction and struggle). For example, the contradictory rates of profit in different enterprises and industries resolve themselves into a general rate of profit for the social capital as a whole around which, in turn, every individual capital tends to fluctuate. It is this general rate which principally determines the actual rate of return on an individual capital.

Further, just as individual capitals are components of the social capital, their movement also forms part of a larger, determining process; as Marx also notes: "... the circuits of the individual capitals intertwine, presuppose and necessitate one another, and form, precisely in this interlacing, the movement of the total social capital. Just as in the simple circulation of commodities the total metamorphosis of a commodity appeared as a link in the series of metamorphoses of the world of commodities, so now the metamorphosis of the individual capital appears as a link in the series of metamorphoses of the social capital." (*Capital*, Vol. 2, 353-354)

While imperialism qualitatively increases the tendency for capital to overflow its national framework, and in fact internationalizes the circuits of capital on a far higher plane than previously, capital nonetheless remains profoundly national. However internationalized its circuits become, capital is anchored in a particular nation; and the aggregate social capital principally refers to the aggregate social capital rooted in a particular national market, even as its operations take in capital invested all over the globe, and even as it interpenetrates with the social capital of other nations.

This very development, though, is contradictory, as Lenin notes:

At the same time the monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist over it and alongside of it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts. (*Imperialism*, 105)

Beginning in the 1870s there were a series of partial monopolies and unsuccessful (or only temporarily successful) attempts at monopoly in the advanced capitalist countries; but as the tendencies to concentration and centralization increasingly asserted themselves, by the end of the century monopoly had become general, and had laid the basis for imperialism. Monopoly carries with it (and partially results from) a further development of the productive forces: it does not generally take hold in the form of one or a few concerns dominating and/or owning many small workshops, but is bound up with an immense increase in the concentration of production. Huge, highly mechanized plants are typical, and a vast concentration of capital is necessary for even initial investment in most basic sectors of production.

But the concentration of capital, and of production on a new scale, erects a new barrier to continued capital accumulation: capital is now enormously overproduced relative to the national market alone. What Engels called the "expansive power of socialized production," and likened to the force of heated gas expan-

ding in a container, geometrically multiplies, and the constraints of private appropriation, and in particular now the national market, make themselves felt all the more acutely. Hence the compelling pressure on capital to drive beyond its national framework. It has become superabundant, and must be exported in a qualitatively greater way than before to other countries in order to be most profitably employed (as well as for other reasons — more on this later).

Thus, the dominance of monopoly forms the basis for a qualitative leap in the socialization of production. No longer does the heart of the question of socialization lie in the organization of production on the plant level, but in the overall socialization and integration of the process on a global scale.

"Competition becomes transformed into monopoly," Lenin wrote. "The result is the immense progress in the socialization of production. In particular, the process of technical invention and improvement becomes socialized." And Lenin went on to stress that:

This is something quite different from the old free competition between manufacturers, scattered and out of touch with one another, and producing for an unknown market. Concentration has reached the point at which it is possible to make an approximate estimate of all sources of raw materials (for example, the iron ore deposits) of a country and even, as we shall see, of several countries, or of the whole world. Not only are such estimates made, but these sources are captured by gigantic monopolist combines. An approximate estimate of the capacity of markets is also made, and the combines "divide" them up amongst themselves by agreement. Skilled labor is monopolized, the best engineers are engaged; the means of transport are captured: railways in America, shipping companies in Europe and America. (*Imperialism*, 24-25)

This entire phenomenon has gone even further since Lenin. What the capitalist economists call "the integrated global assembly line" is one example of the worldwide socialization. For instance, one Ford model in 1982, the Escort, got its doorlift assemblies from Mexico, its rearbrake assembly from Brazil, its shock

PROPOLY

absorber struts from Spain, the hub and bearing clutch from France, its manual transmission axle from Japan, the engine cylinder heads from Italy, the valve guide and bushing from West Germany, the wiring from Taiwan and the steering gear from Great Britain.

A more dramatic instance lies in the entire semiconductor and transistor industry which took off in the '60s. Midway in the process of manufacturing transistors or integrated circuits, many U.S. firms ship the unfinished components abroad for assembly and then ship assembled "chips" back to the U.S. for testing. The U.S. company Fairchild Semiconductors, for example, assembles components in plants in Indonesia, South Korea, Hong Kong and the Philippines, and then tests and warehouses them in Singapore — to be later used in computers that are almost the exclusive property of the advanced capitalist countries. Most of this semiconductor production goes on in what are known as export processing zones, or enclaves: sections of third world countries in which, on the one hand, the national labor laws, wage floors and taxes are suspended, and on the other, a tremendous amount of capital is concentrated in order to develop the infrastructure (i.e., the electrical power, telecommunication, highways, ports, airports, etc.) necessary for industrial production. Often this capital takes the form of loans extended to the "host" country by international financial institutions; the Export-Import Bank, for example, lent money to the Philippines to build the Marong nuclear power plant, which in turn is intended to service the Bataan export processing zone. The following passage from Lenin underlines both the tremendous significance of this socializa-

tion of production on a world scale and what gives it its distorted character:

Capitalism in its imperialist stage leads right up to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of a new social order, a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialization.

Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a few. The general framework of formally recognized free competition remains, but the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable. (*Imperialism*, 25)

What's possible, on the basis of the socialization already achieved, is a world in which production and distribution could generally be — indeed, would have to be — organized and carried out on a global scale with the view toward breaking down the inequalities, backwardness and misery still dominant in most of the world, and overall advancing human

society to a whole new stage. But the fetters of imperialist relations reproduce disparities and distortions in many spheres, including, markedly, what Bob Avakian has called the "lopsidedness" in the world. Because of the relations between the imperialist powers and the great majority of the world's nations, the global socialization of production has gone along with, and in fact intensified, a situation in which "... in the vast bulk of the world 8% unemployment would be a miracle — it's 30 or 40% all the time, let alone when there's a really acute crisis. And outside of a few pockets, these places are extremely backward and the railroads don't even reach to most of the areas, much less run on time, and the goods aren't moving rapidly all over the country, and there is not an articulated economy...." (*Conquer the World?*... , 36)

In this leap in the socialization of production Kautsky saw the germ of control that he thought would allow the capitalists to endlessly manipulate their way out of crises. Nothing could be further from the truth, or closer to the heart of the contradiction. Monopoly and the organization of production on a world scale enables capital to better maneuver in the face of one set — or on one plane, if you will — of contradictions, only to project those contradictions onto a more all-encompassing and devastating plane; in Lenin's words, it "increases and intensifies the anarchy inherent in capitalist production as a whole." (*Imperialism*, 28) Anarchy erupts in any number of ways, it springs from every pore: in the continued competition and struggle between monopoly and non-monopoly capital, in tendencies for blocs of capital to break into antagonistic rivals, and in the struggle between the monopoly giants themselves. The agreements between monopolies are in the nature of truces, and tend to give way to open and destructive warfare — both economic and military warfare between states.

Further, the need to find profitable avenues of investment of superprofits leads to risky investments, especially abroad; and in many investments, due to the increased mass of capital needed to start up or transform an industrial enterprise, much more is on the line from the very beginning. Also, with capital concentrated on such a massive scale and able to flow in and out of different and more profitable areas with great speed

(more on this later), some sections of the economy in a country are rapidly built up while other less profitable ones (which may be just as vital to the functioning of the social capital as a whole) decay and stagnate — a disparity which is both an expression of anarchy and a factor further aggravating it.

Additionally, there is the fact that capitalist accumulation gives rise to the tendency of one capital to break into a number of competing capitals, and for blocs or alliances of capital to similarly break apart. This comes out, for instance, in the competition within huge conglomerates like ITT or GM between different divisions or production units over investment capital, allocation of surplus value and long-term investment strategy — or, to take the state-capitalist Soviet Union, in the struggle, say, between agricultural and heavy industrial sectors over state-determined investment policies, distribution of surplus, etc. This tendency asserts itself on a higher level in the conflicts within imperialist blocs between different nations, conflicts which can only be subordinated to (and partially and temporarily resolved on the basis of) more overriding contradictions with the rival bloc (or blocs). Indeed, the conflict between rival imperialist blocs over the division of the world — which can only be settled on the basis of political-military strength, with world war as the decisive measure of this — is the most critical and concentrated expression of the intensification of anarchy which imperialism entails.

The heightened way in which bourgeois production relations act as fetters on the now-internationalized productive forces makes the contradiction between the two all the more acute and the need to carry through the transition all the more urgent and undeniable; the tools now speak more forcefully and urgently, and in all the tongues of the planet, for a change in the production relations. □

On May 20 in New London, Connecticut, the seven Atlantic Life Community members who took part in the "Plowshares 4" action against a Trident sub were given jail terms ranging from three months to a year because, as presiding Judge Whaley stated, they had gone beyond "real civil disobedience." Six months earlier, on November 15, 1982 — shortly after the Trident Nein had been given a year in jail precisely in order to deter such actions — the seven entered General Electric Boatyard, smashed and poured blood down six of the *USS Georgia's* missile tubes, hammered at the sub's massive steam turbine, painted the word "DISARM" on the sub's conning tower, and hung a banner alongside reading "Beat Swords into Plowshares."

Taking hammers to and defacing such "property of another," as the court prefers to call the Trident subs, was, in the judge's words, "Not following Gandhi or the Gandhi film or Thoreau..." It is one thing, the judge went on to say, to exercise your god-given and American-blessed right to peacefully protest, but quite another to actually take matters into your own hands and challenge the state's legitimate right to conduct "national defense." Such was the justifica-

Sentencing in Plowshares 4 Case

"Follow Gandhi" — Or Go To Jail!

tion for sentencing two of the seven, the "hard-core repeat offenders," to one year in jail, while lesser sentences were given to the others who, according to the judge, should realize that "they would be better off going back to the Catholic Worker soup kitchen feeding the hungry" and "using your brains rather than sitting in jail."

As with the Trident Nein, the sentences and the reasoning behind them were intended as a clear-cut warning to "be legal" and confine such protest to "reasonable civil disobedience," particularly at a time when other anti-nuke protests are already planned and the government is moving to deploy their Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe and to produce more Trident subs as well as the MX missile. At the Electric Boat

plant itself there have been repeated protests, including various illegal blocking actions, and, while on the one hand doling out stiff sentences, on the other the New London court has also dismissed many of the minor charges (which would have resulted in numerous jailings and the consequent exposure that would bring). The press has hailed this low-profile, "kid glove" approach and the Groton Police Department's stated intention to continue this policy so long as the protestors remain "reasonable and cooperative." As for how successful this crude carrot-and-club approach will be in deterring "unreasonable" protest: on the very morning of their sentencing, members of the Plowshares 4, joined by eleven others, blocked the entrance to the General Dynamics Engineers Building.

The trial itself also made clear the limits the state is attempting to impose on the protest, including on the overall terms of the political struggle involved. While the defendants managed to do some exposure — including from an ex-Polaris sub sailor, who stated that he would rather see his sub go down than take part in a nuclear exchange — no testimony was allowed about the nature and role of the Trident, either technically or as part of U.S. "defense policy." A number of expert witnesses were simply ruled irrelevant. As in the Trident Nein case, the jury followed the judge's instructions and found guilty on all charges, including a felony forgery charge relating to the use of homemade plant ID badges by the defendants.

Meanwhile, another major protest is scheduled at the Groton Trident plant for June 18 through the 20th. On June 18, the *USS Florida*, the target of the original Trident Nein action last summer, is to be formally commissioned and turned over to the U.S. Navy. The actions will continue through Monday, June 20, when a blockade of the plant will coincide with other actions around the world in an international day of protest. □

PDID

Continued from page 5

bothered to deny knowledge of or involvement in LAPD crimes directed against the RCP, preferring to throw around fabricated quotes falsely attributed to RCP Chairman Bob Avakian as the justification for continued and escalating assaults on the party and its supporters.) The enforcement of an "accountability" provision in the new setup is designed to ensure that the chief will be held personally responsible for any of ATD's shortcomings or controversies that see the light of day. As to the "civilian oversight" provision, Chief Gates apparently feels that he will still be able to let his ruling class enemies know as little or as much as he deems fit. When asked whether he would reveal political police operations to the deputy City Attorney assigned to the spy unit, Gates replied, "I will never be willing to jeopardize or compromise an investigation."

Such relatively quiet and controlled squabbling over the agreed-upon "anti-terrorist division" apparatus exploded into frenzied warfare over the still-to-be decided issue of a proposed "freedom of information act" for Los Angeles. This proposal was first raised five years ago when it was discovered that PDID had been spying on a whole bunch of social movement groups supposedly in violation of the famous "guidelines." But the pressing need to "restore public confidence" in the LAPD on the eve of the Olympics, coupled with a certain wariness on the part of many in authority over their own status vis-à-vis the chief and his backers, has breathed new bourgeois life into the proposed "freedom of information act." The *LA Times*, City Attorney Ira Reiner, many City Council members and a host of other politicians have jumped on the bandwagon. Of course, with such illustrious supporters, it should come as no surprise that the proposal has lots of "exemptions" to prevent the release of any damning exposure that would reveal the true nature of this glorious democracy for the bourgeois dictatorship that it is. Ongoing investigations, confidential sources, someone else's privacy, someone else's "right to a fair trial," political police techniques and procedures, and the physical safety of others (especially undercover pigs) are all to be protected over and above any individual's supposed "right to know" what kind of data the spies are keeping on him. But all this is not good enough for Chief Gates, and he has bitterly and vociferously opposed the passage of any "freedom of information act." On the very day that the new "anti-terrorist division" was being formally adopted in the Police Commission chambers, the chief's assistant was blasting the proposed "freedom of information act" in the City Council chambers, saying that some of its proponents were "Marxists and socialists" and had a "hidden agenda." City Attorney Ira Reiner, who Chief Gates had

previously warned to "be wary that he doesn't make me an enemy," slapped back by announcing that in a private conversation in January, Gates had told him that he would refuse to abide by anything resembling a "freedom of information act." Reiner said that Gates told him that if it was required that certain records be made available, then "I won't keep records" and that's a direct quote. When he was asked if Gates promised to "break the law," Reiner answered, "That's right, that's exactly what he is saying. Obviously that is very serious."

Gates responded the very next day. He called a press conference to announce that Reiner was a "liar" and questioned whether the City Attorney was "qualified for office." At the same time, he stepped up his attack on the proposed "freedom of information act," saying his "hands were going to be tied behind him" in the upcoming Olympics, and producing a letter from the Special Agent in charge of the LA FBI office, who wrote that the proposed ordinance would have a "chilling effect" on cooperation and exchange of information between the FBI and the LAPD. The bill's sponsors immediately began explaining how the FBI qualified as a "confidential source," and then followed it up by writing yet another "exemption" to specifically leave any information gathered from other agencies out of the act. But Gates said that all the exemptions in the world wouldn't change his mind. "The point is that the decision will be made by the Police Commission and the courts... (it would be) taken away from the department, and that is what other law enforcement agencies that deal with us worry about."

In the middle of all this fury, the *Los Angeles Times* once again dropped a bombshell of exposure. The *Times* had discovered, through its "sources" (apparently in the police department, district attorney's office, grand jury and elsewhere), that the loyal PDID detective who had stored 100 boxes of files in his garage and mobile home, Sgt. Jay Paul, had all along been working for an outfit hooked up with the John Birch Society, the Western Goals Foundation. Western Goals was created by Congressman Larry P. McDonald, Birch Society chairman, and has a reputation of serving as a "clearinghouse" for police departments that have been required to stop keeping some types of political information, according to a *Times* source. *RW* readers may recall that the current political police controversy in LA was fueled by *Times* reports last fall that an unknown number of boxes of PDID files that had been ordered destroyed had instead been offered to other agencies, including military intelligence. Apparently, some of those boxes (along with newer, updated material) turned up in Sgt. Paul's garage. Now, it turns out that Sgt. Paul has been working as a "computer consultant" for the Birch Society's Western Goals, computerizing the foundation's data banks. He also showed his bosses in PDID how to plug into Western Goals' system and retrieve all its valuable information, and Paul has said that his superiors approved of and encouraged his role in the

organization. Somehow, at the time of the discovery of boxes in Sgt. Paul's possession, Western Goals' computer tapes made their way from Sgt. Paul back to the organization's home base in Alexandria, Virginia. However, Chief Gates was quick to inform reporters that although foundation officials "have certain rights and they are protecting those rights," the LAPD was really trying very hard to try to get those tapes. Naturally, the chief had "absolutely no knowledge" of Sgt. Paul's connections with Western Goals; the fact that Sgt. Paul helped to set up an interview with Chief Gates for a Birch Society magazine is completely irrelevant.

Western Goals' literature, as reported by the *Times*, claims that the foundation has "thousands of documents relating to the internal security of our country and the protection of government and institutions from communist-controlled penetration and subversion," and that all this has been computerized and is "just a push of a button from our veteran analysts, who will continue to work closely with the official agencies in charge of our protection." The Western Goals' advisory board is studded with congressmen, "retired" military leaders, nuclear scientists like Edward Teller, and so forth — respectable, mainstream conservatives all. Often targeting various bourgeois liberals who are supposedly allowing the CPUSA and "revolutionaries" to infiltrate the state apparatus, Western Goals declared that its purpose is to "rebuild and strengthen the political, economic and social structure of the United States and Western civilization so as to make any merger with totalitarians impossible." So naturally, in order to prevent the continuous pro-Soviet efforts at "historic compromise," these watchdogs have to keep their eyes, and cross hairs, fixed on a very wide range of forces. As to why the *Times* has decided to expose all this now, portraying it as a spectre of a "fascist conspiracy" and implying that perhaps even Chief Gates may be a part of it — that remains to be seen. The *Times* has been making a

concerted effort to offer up suggestions for maintaining the democratic facade throughout the past period, in the face of widespread exposure of political police crimes. Whatever its particular reasons, the *Times* has certainly been in the forefront of those demanding a heftier and a more efficient repressive apparatus in LA, and its pose as outraged democrat is certainly to say, "all the better to eat you with, my dear" in the end.

In any case, the continued and escalating infighting over the repressive apparatus — even in the midst of basic agreement on strengthening that very same apparatus — has not only provided new, rich material for exposure. It has also caused a great deal of concern over the adequacy of preparation for the big Olympic games. After all, what if in the midst of all this heated argument (and the other typical methods that the bourgeoisie uses for resolving interneine disputes), the masses or even some athletes manage to make some *political* statements about the games, what they represent, and so forth? This is most definitely a thought that strikes "terror" in the hearts of all bourgeois. To try to prevent such a revolting development, the White House has hired "retired" Army colonel Charles A. Beckwith, former commander of "Delta Team" aka "Project Blue Light" aka "Charlie's Angels" — the same unit that made the futile attempt to rescue the U.S. Embassy's spies from Iran in 1980, and is being held in readiness for possible use during the Olympics. Colonel Beckwith now runs a private "security" agency in Texas, but he is needed to make a report on whether the current "security" preparations for the Olympics are adequate. It seems that only \$50 million has been earmarked for federal "military contingencies." What if Charlie's Angels, the National Guard, et al. isn't enough? The federal government needs to make sure that it has set aside enough funds for the Olympics. Why, that \$50 million would barely cover one MX missile. □

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Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist? The Question is Joined

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of political and ideological struggle, from the time the original call for the conference was made by the RCP in May 1982; a year which saw the idea for such a debate prove nearly as controversial as the central question itself. Could a high level and substantive debate be organized around the two lines — socialist or social imperialist? Would such a debate be a diversion from more accessible or even more important questions? But the wrangling and general excitement stirred by the call as the tempo of world events sharpened produced fruitful results, and numerous individuals and organized forces from various countries came forward with their support, suggestions and positions. The "Letter of Support for the Proposed Conference on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union Today," which attracted a diverse group of 45 signatories, including intellectuals and revolutionary organizations, called for engaging "the energies and experiences of diverse political currents: from academia, from political organizations and mass movements, from among immigrants and circles of political exiles — and to have the conference culminate in an actual debate between major representatives of opposing views intended to sharply bring out the bases for their differences and the implications that flow from them." The success of this conference, in both the participation and the sharp and substantive presentation of the two lines throughout the 4 days and especially in the main debate, pointed to the correctness and necessity of this approach.

That something big was about to happen — a major theoretical confrontation — was portended by the publication of the book *The Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist? Essays Toward the Debate on the Nature of Soviet Society* compiled by the editors of *The Communist*, which contains important articles by leading proponents of the opposing views. Leading up to the conference, Clark Kissinger, a conference organizer, appeared on two radio shows in Ohio, including one on radio station WJW, a major outlet in Cleveland. Kissinger, Benny Bunsee, an Azanian activist associated with the journal *IKWEZI*, and Norman Soloman, author and peace activist, appeared on a live cable TV call-in show on channel 34 in upstate New York to promote the conference. And the question "Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist?" hit the New York City airwaves on station WLIV in a live show with Conrad Lynn, Black civil rights attorney and a moderator for one of the panel discussions.

Once it became clear that there was going to be a real two line confrontation, those who answered the call and attended the conference in a way that surpassed expectations, demonstrated that there was a real felt desire for this among various classes and strata — proletarians, youth, and intellectuals. The conference was marked by a strong international character. There were individuals and groups participating from numerous countries, including Iran, Eritrea, Azania, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Indonesia, Guinea, Haiti, Puerto Rico, Australia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua and occupied Palestine. In the past few years, events in the world, Afghanistan, Poland, Central America, Indochina, Africa, the quickening pace of imperialist war preparations have raised questions which cry out to be answered. The sizable turnout for the conference reflected a thirst to grapple with theoretical questions of earth-

shaking importance in the face of the arid and suffocating atmosphere of anti-theoretical reformism and the game plan of the revisionists which have been holding sway, an atmosphere where the "legitimate" political struggle is held to be anti-Reaganism. The conduct and content of the conference itself and the electric participation concentrated the demand for serious investigation and principled struggle over the burning questions facing the revolutionary movement.

The Debate

More than 800 people attended the climactic debate session which was held at the International House Auditorium near Columbia University. Albert Szymanski, author of *Is The Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today*, and *The Logic of Imperialism*, argued for the socialist character of the Soviet Union. Raymond Lotta, author of *And Mao Makes Five* and co-author of the forthcoming work *America in Decline* presented arguments upholding the Maoist and Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, analysis. The debate was moderated by Anwar Shaikh, Associate Professor of Economics at the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City, and author of "The Current World Economic Crisis: Causes and Implications."

Szymanski has for a number of years been arguing for the socialist character of the Soviet Union. His essential arguments include that in the Soviet Union, state power is in the hands of the working class; labor power is not a commodity; the economy is developed according to a unitary centralized plan; there is no export of capital; there is nothing resembling a capitalist ruling class, with all its attendant privileges; and that increasingly since the mid-'70s, the Soviet Union has been pursuing a proletarian internationalist policy. Szymanski's arguments have been influential especially among certain forces formerly critical of the Soviet Union, including some who at one time embraced Mao's analysis of the restoration of capitalism there; but in light of the ebb in the revolutionary struggle in the '70s, the reversal in China, the material force of revisionism in power in the Soviet Union, and its increasingly sharp confrontation with U.S. imperialism, these forces have been quite susceptible to the view that "maybe the Soviet Union isn't that great, but it's still socialism." This sort of offensive has in fact been necessitated by the force and influence of the Maoist analysis of capitalist restoration and exposure of Soviet betrayal of revolutionary movements.

Raymond Lotta's arguments, building on the fundamental analysis of Mao Tsetung, and on the contributions of the Revolutionary Communist Party, including *Red Papers 7* (1974), "The Tarnished Socialism Thesis" (in *The Communist*, 1978), and Bob Avakian's groundbreaking work *Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will* (Revolution No. 50, Dec. 1981), broke further new ground in analyzing the capitalist laws of motion and their mode of existence in the Soviet Union today. In his opening remarks, Lotta laid out that his approach was not to focus on specific cases of counter-revolutionary betrayal or obnoxious social policies on various fronts but to lay bare how the laws of capital operate in the Soviet Union and how those laws themselves are part of the global dynamic of imperialist accumulation. Lotta's presentation focused on four main areas: the role of profitability in the Soviet economy, including how labor power functions as a commodity; planning and

how the laws of capital assert themselves through the plan; how the "many-ness of capital" manifests itself in the Soviet economic structure; and how crisis and international compulsion drive the Soviet Union and its bloc into ever sharper confrontation with the U.S.-led imperialist bloc.

Following the main presentations and rebuttal by the opposing sides, the floor was opened to the conference participants. There were many sharp questions directed at the speakers and the subject in general, indicating that the debate had both stimulated and challenged those in attendance, and opposing views were argued from the floor. The liveliness, intensity and seriousness of the participants was indicated by the moderator, after the opposing sides had completed their summary remarks, when he thanked the participants "for your patience and for your stamina, which you're going to need in the upcoming decade." The floor discussion ran the gamut from the history of the Bolshevik revolution to the very relationship between theory and practice, and the connection between taking up a complex question like this and waging the armed struggle against imperialism and reaction.

Panel Discussions

The main debate culminated and concentrated the previous three days of intense panel discussions where debate was focused around several key questions on the nature and role of the Soviet Union, and demonstrated rather vividly that exactly because the Soviet Union heads a world bloc, and because it at the same time claims to be socialist, the threads of a thousand political decisions and the struggle to attain the final goal constantly lead people back again to the controversy surrounding the USSR.

The conference proceedings opened on Thursday evening with a panel on "Women in the Soviet Union," held at the New School For Social Research. The panelists were Hilda Scott, author of *Does Socialism Liberate Women?* and other books, and Marilyn Wong, a revolutionary internationalist. The panel was moderated by Manuela Dobos, who teaches Russian and Womens' History at the College of Staten Island, New York. Roberta Manning, who has published data purporting to show that women have achieved basic liberation in the Soviet Union, declined an invitation by the organizing committee to come and defend her position, but did send some statistical material which was distributed to the panel and the more than 160 participants. The discussion not only featured sharp debate about the actual position of women in the Soviet Union, but delved into other basic questions concerning revolution and liberation of women.

On Friday evening, as the conference continued at Teacher's College of Columbia University, the "Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa" panel included Gayle Smith, a supporter of the Tigrean and Eritrean liberation struggles and co-author of *The Hidden Revolution*, a book focused on the Tigrean struggle, and Azinna Nwafor, who defended the Soviet/Cuban role in the Horn of Africa. The panel was moderated by Kassahun Checole, Professor of African Studies, Rutgers University and Director of the Africa Research and Publications Project. All of the panels were extremely crowded with 140 to 200 in attendance at each, and it is worth noting that the panel on the "Law of Value in the Soviet Economy" which took place at the same time as the one on the Horn, was no exception, as experienced political economists, youth in mohawk haircuts,

proletarians and a diverse array of other participants tangled over the question. The panelists included Rafor Boddy, Associate Professor of Economics at San Diego State University, and Paresh Chattopadhyay, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Quebec. Moderator and commentator on this panel was John R. Ernst, Professor of Economics at SUNY at Old Westbury.

There were two panels on Saturday afternoon. "The Soviet Union and the Arms Race" included panelists Andrew Mack, a guest scholar at the Institute for Policy Studies and author of *Intervention, Imperialism and Development* who argued that the military strategy of the Soviet Union is a defense reaction to U.S. imperialism; Norman Soloman, a peace activist and co-author of *Killing Our Own*, whose views recently appeared in the May 25 issue of *The Guardian*; and Mike Ely who argued that the Soviet Union is an imperialist power preparing for world war. The moderator was Frank Panopoulos, a member of Atlantic Life Community. The panel "Workers' Role in Soviet Society" featured a debate between C. Clark Kissinger, an organizer for the conference and a contributing writer to the *Revolutionary Worker*, and Michael Parenti, Associate Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, author of *Democracy for the Few and Power and the Powerless*, and of the article "The Hidden Holocaust" which appears in a recent issue of *Political Affairs*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party, USA.

Close to 350 people attended the evening panel of "The Soviet Union in Southern Africa." The panelists were Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, and Carl Dix, of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. The moderator was Conrad Lynn. A.M. Babu, from Tanzania, author of *African Socialism or Socialist Africa?*, was also scheduled to participate as a panelist, but was unable to attend due to serious illness. He sent greetings to the conference from his hospital bed: "I wish this conference every success. Onward with the struggle."

CP Boycott

As we pointed out when the call to debate first went out, "There will undoubtedly be forces who attack the very idea of sharpening the struggle over the Soviet Union. And we anticipate the charge that such struggle only aids U.S. war preparations, because the socialist nature of the USSR should be axiomatic, because even to raise such questions shows infection with anti-communism, and because such discussion can only be a diversion from the real 'concrete' concerns of the masses." In this light we should note that while the pro-Soviet position was argued and well represented at the conference, it was predictable that the Communist Party, USA, officially did not answer the challenge to debate, nor did their members attend in any discernible numbers to enter debate from the floor. This was no surprise, since the central question of the debate is ruled by the CPUSA to be complete heresy and out of court, much as the Catholic church does not debate the holiness of the pope.

(In the absence of significant CP presence, their idiosyncratic cat's paws, the Trotskyites, served as an exposure of the revisionists by their effort to come out as the "best defenders of the socialist character of the Soviet Union." Deprived of their usual topic of being "denied freedom of speech" and suppressed at the door, they took the opportunity to do some self-exposure as well, revealing their utter rightism and inability to make any contribution to a serious debate around the cardinal questions.)

The fact that the CP officially boycotted the conference, however, should not be taken to mean that they "ignored the debate" or "were afraid" to come. On the one hand, revisionism requires the sterile atmosphere of a state religion and the stifling of ideological and political debate among the masses; but on the other hand, the revisionists recognize on what terms the issues will ultimately be resolved. It is the unprecedented development of the last decades, that revisionism is not just an ideology of capitulation within the revolutionary movement, but emanates from countries where it actually holds state power, and does so with the ability to offer a strategy based on the

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establishment of state capitalism, backed by the major military and economic resources of the Soviet state. The pro-Soviet revisionists know this well and are in fact banking on the major military and economic resources of the Soviet bloc as the ultimate means of deciding these vexing theoretical questions — a strategy which takes on all the more immediacy in view of the intensifying contradiction between the rival imperialist blocs.

Weapon of Criticism

While it is quite true that the weapon of criticism will not replace the criticism of weapons in the struggle to transform the world and eliminate all oppression of man by man, revolution cannot be waged without the class struggle in the theoretical realm, where repeatedly and inevitably revolutionary theory confronts the world view of the enemy in the form of revisionism, as a barrier to the revolutionary road forward. Theory can become a powerful material force when it is gripped by the masses, and the weapon of criticism is quite indispensable, particularly in shaping the understanding of vanguard forces.

In the course of preparing theoretically to defend and uphold Mao Tsetung's fundamental analysis of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, new contributions were made and new ground was broken. Comrades from several countries contributed original theoretical material as preparatory material for the debate, including contributions from Uganda and Colombia which were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* in the months preceding. Both in preparation and in the conference itself a new flowering of theoretical work has begun which will strengthen the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend. In the course of the con-

On The Three Cynicals

To the editors of the *Revolutionary Worker*,

Due to the overwhelming demand, I feel duty bound to reveal the "third cynical." As people who attended the Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist will recall, I characterized the revisionist view of socialism in terms of the "three cynicals" in my closing remarks. I listed two of the "cynicals" but forgot the third in the heat of the debate. The first cynical was "cynical realism" — i.e., "let's not be unrealistic in trying to create a new world." The second was "cynical naiveté" —

i.e., "why should leaders sellout if they've been part of the struggle for so many years?" It wasn't so much that I forgot the essence of the "third cynical" as much as I incorporated it into the first cynical. But it does stand on its own and deserves separate mention. This was "cynical disdain for the masses" — i.e., "the masses want meat on the table, not the struggle to grasp and transform the world." Of course, one could list 3,000 more "cynicals," but these do, it seems to me, capture what is palmed off as "real existing socialism."

Raymond Lotta

ference and particularly in the main debate, the revisionist arguments — positions in defense of the Soviet Union which have considerable influence — were concretely examined, dissected and subjected to the microscope of Marxism-Leninism, revealing that indeed the nature and role of the Soviet Union is "imperialism as it has emerged in the world today." It is our view that this conference saw a forceful reassertion of the Maoist position which will have international ramifications.

The Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist? Politically and ideologically, this debate turns on grasping the very

nature of the process of revolution and counterrevolution in this epoch. We live in an era of turbulence and upheaval, an era which has seen the proletariat seize power in Russia and China and begin the process of ripping up the roots of exploitation and oppression, yet has shown that the march to the future is a tortuous one. How to sum these experiences up, indeed what kind of revolutionary struggle and transformation is required to eliminate classes and class divisions on a world scale, is at the heart of the question. The Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union was a sharp concentration of two world outlooks, a culmination of serious effort in the theoretical realm and a living exam-

ple of the spirit of daring to take up the big questions confronting the proletariat and its allies worldwide. The conference has broken the ice in a major way and placed key questions on the agenda for further examination and debate on the nature and role of the Soviet Union. The conference organizers are planning to publish important materials from the debate which will certainly broaden the theoretical struggle beyond the forces who attended the conference and provide the basis for sharpening and deepening these crucial questions which are posing themselves ever more concretely in the world today as life and death practical problems for solution by revolutionary forces throughout the world. □



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More Questions to Carl Sagan, Stephen Gould, and Isaac Asimov

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most fundamental and yet most commonly forgotten or ignored principles of human society and its development, I will be forgiven for quoting the following rather lengthy passage from the "Preface To *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," by Karl Marx:

"In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life-process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or — what is merely a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within the framework of which they have hitherto operated. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. At that point an era of social revolution begins. With the change in the economic foundation the whole immense superstructure is more slowly or more rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic, in short, ideological, forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. . . . The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production — antagonistic not in the sense of an individual antagonism but of an an-

tagonism growing out of the social conditions of existence of individuals; but the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society simultaneously create the material conditions for the solution of this antagonism. The prehistory of human society therefore closes with this social formation." (FLP, pp. 3-5)

This, of course, does not exhaust truth nor replace the need for scientific investigation into every sphere of society, but on the contrary provides a foundation and basic guideline for this and for grasping and applying the correct understanding of the overall relationship between science and society. It does not remove but enriches the grounds for struggle over the principles and methods that guide this investigation and the influence of this struggle on the class struggle in society, in its broadest terms. Especially given the urgent problems, dangers, challenges and, yes, opportunities that are posed by the world situation and its direction today, might not the struggle to apply and popularize this basic outlook and methodology have a vital effect on the class struggle that is already, objectively, raging in the scientific realm, and in this way as well as more generally, exert a vital effect on the overall life and death struggle between the two classes and two futures locked in confrontation? Can science and scientists avoid playing a part, a very significant part, in this confrontation, one way or the other? I close with Marx's concluding words in the *Preface* cited earlier:

"At the entrance to science, as at the entrance to hell, the demand must be made:

'Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto
Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta.'

(Here must all mistrust be left;
All cowardice must here be dead.)"

from Dante's *Divine Comedy*

NEXT WEEK: On Saviors, Realism and Working Within the System

Why They Called It MacArthur Park — and still want to

Continued from page 6

These men were my comrades-in-arms. With me they knew the far call of the bugles at reveille; the distant roll of the drums at nightfall; the endless tramp of marching feet; the incessant whine of sniper bullets; the ceaseless rattle of sputtering machine guns; the ominous roar of threatening cannon; the sinister wail of air sirens; the deafening blasts of crashing bombs; the stealthy stroke of hidden torpedoes; the amphibious lurch over perilous waves; the dark majesty of fighting ships; the mad din of battle lines; and all the stench and ghastly horror and savage destruction of a stricken area of war. They suffered hunger and thirst; the broiling suns of relentless heat; the torrential rains of tropical storms; the loneliness and utter desolation of jungle trails; the bitterness of separation from those they loved and cherished. They went on, and on, and on, when everything within them seemed to stop and die. They grew old in youth. They burned out in searing minutes all that life owed them of tranquil years. When I think of their patience under adversity, of their courage under fire, and of their modesty in victory, I am filled with an emotion of admiration I cannot express. Many of them trod the tragic path of unknown fame that led to a stark white cross above a lonely grave. And from their tortured, dying lips, with the dreadful gurgle of the death rattle in their throats, always came the same gasping prayer that we who were left would go on to victory. I do not know the dignity of their birth, but I do know the glory of their death, and I am sure a merciful God has taken them unto Himself.

In these troublesome days of confused and bewildered international sophistication let no man misunderstand why they did that which they did. These were patriots, pure and plain. These were men who fought and, perchance, died for one reason alone — for their country — for America. No complex philosophies of world intrigue and conspiracy dominated their thoughts. No elaboration or extravagance of propaganda dimmed their sensibilities. Just the simple fact — their country called them; just the devoted doctrine of Stephen Decatur when he said, "My country, may she always be right; but right or wrong, my country." Be not deceived by strange voices heard across the land decrying this old and proven concept of patriotism. Although it

has been from the beginning the main bulwark of our national strength and integrity, seductive murmurs are arising that it is now outmoded by some more comprehensive and all-embracing philosophy; that we are provincial and immature or reactionary and stupid when we idealize our own nation; that there is a higher destiny for us under another and more general flag; that no longer when we send our sons and daughters to the battlefield should we see them through all the way to victory; that we can call upon them to fight and even to die in some half-hearted and indecisive effort; that we can plunge them recklessly into war and then suddenly decide that it is a wrong war, or in a wrong place, or at a wrong time, or even that we can call it not a war at all but by some more euphonious or gentler name; that we can treat them as expendables although they are our own flesh and blood; and even in times of peace, for some romantic reason, they must share — not as a gesture of generosity but as a bounden duty — their national blessings and goods, built from nothing to a height never before reached by man, with others because, whether through neglect or not, they have not fared so well; that we, the most powerful nation in the world, have suddenly become dependent upon others for our security and even our welfare. Listen not to these voices, be they from the one political party or the other; be they from the high and the mighty or the lowly and the forgotten. Heed them not. Visit upon them a righteous scorn born of the past sacrifices of your fighting sons and daughters. Repudiate them by word and deed, in the marketplace or the platform, from the pulpit. Those that are our friends will understand; those that are not we can pass by. Be proud to be called patriot or nationalist or what you will, if it means you love your country above all else and will place your life, if need be, at the service of your flag.

I wish again to express to the people of this community my gratitude for their generosity in creating this memorial, and my thanks and appreciation to all those present here today. You have etched for me an indelible memory of patriotic friendship and sympathetic understanding. You have made me feel far greater than my just desserts, and yet more humble than I would care to admit. □

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