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“NEW” U.S. CARIBBEAN POLICY: RENEWED THREATS, OLD LIES

Nearly a year ago, U.S. officials first began making noises about a Caribbean Basin Initiative—a “new policy” for Central America and the other countries of the Caribbean area. For the past week, Ronald Reagan has been deflecting all questions about El Salvador with the promise that he would have something new to say when he announced the initiative. Then, on Feb. 24, the glorious day finally arrived: a speech by Reagan before the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, D.C. The least that one

can say about this is that it is further proof of the moribund nature of U.S. imperialism—a “new policy” to these fossilized relics is the Monroe Doctrine of 1823.

Bringing the proprietary interests of the U.S. ruling class to the forefront, Reagan used the concept “our hemisphere” vs. “outsiders” to a degree unsurpassed. The shameless hypocrisy of the message was laid out in naked imperialist rantings: “We are *all* Americans,” “Our continents and our islands boast vast reservoirs of food and raw materials.” And on the other hand: “A new kind of colonialism...brutal and totalitarian,” “not of our hemisphere,” “part of a larger imperialist plan,” threatening our land: No Hollywood movie ever brought out more

vividly the image of a gangster battling for turf with his rival than this speech.

But for the U.S., getting many of those under its “protection” to recognize the stakes here has not been so easy. This problem applies broadly throughout its bloc. Indeed, this is why this speech had been delayed a number of times and why Secretary of State Haig was widely publicized in the media as “fighting” for the inclusion of “security concerns” into a speech that was supposedly going to deal solely with “economic matters.” A message was needed—and a message has been delivered: This is “our turf” and we will do *whatever* is necessary to preserve our rights of ownership. There were sops to those who might have labored under a more *narrow* outlook. This included the geographical equation—“El Salvador is nearer to Texas than Texas is to Massachusetts”—and the strategic aspect—“nearly half of our trade, two-thirds of our imported oil and over half of our imported strategic minerals pass through the Panama Canal or the Gulf of Mexico.” There was reference to those both in the U.S. and its allied imperialist countries who have opposed U.S. actions in El Salvador: “A determined propaganda campaign has sought to mislead many in Europe, and certainly many in the United States, as to the true nature of the conflict in El Salvador,” with the “true nature” being spelled out as “land reform... (and) the democratic process” vs. “a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship.” There was also a blunt call to those bourgeois forces in the region who have historical ties to Western imperialism, but who have been increasingly driven into opposition, including into alliances with pro-Soviet revisionist forces—such as the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and the top leadership of El Salvador’s Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN): “We seek to exclude no one. Some however have turned from their American neighbors and their heritage. Let them return to the traditions and common values of this hemisphere and we all will welcome them. The choice is theirs.” As should by now be clear, the whole message was wrapped up in a package as blatantly reactionary as one of

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*More Gov't
Trash on
Race and
Intelligence*

Under the guise of surveying the vocational aptitude of draft-age youth, the Pentagon last week unleashed yet another salvo in the escalating wave of attacks directed at Black and Latino people. Supposedly the new study, entitled “Profile of American Youth,” was intended to demonstrate that the all-volunteer army had not affected the “quality” of youth being tricked, cajoled and economically (or directly) forced into the imperialist armed forces. Yet its findings had precious little to do with the real, or hoped for, ability of such youth to act out their role as cannonfodder. The new study concentrated instead on blatantly racist attacks, announcing that whites scored three times as high as Blacks in the “unbiased” testing of 12,000 youths. Supplementary material distributed with this report openly raised the foul and bogus theory of genetic inferiority of Black people, and the whole ugly undertaking quickly unfolded into its real purpose—the unleashing and reinvigoration of openly reactionary ideas and social forces in this time of growing crisis.

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UAW/Ford Contract Renegotiation

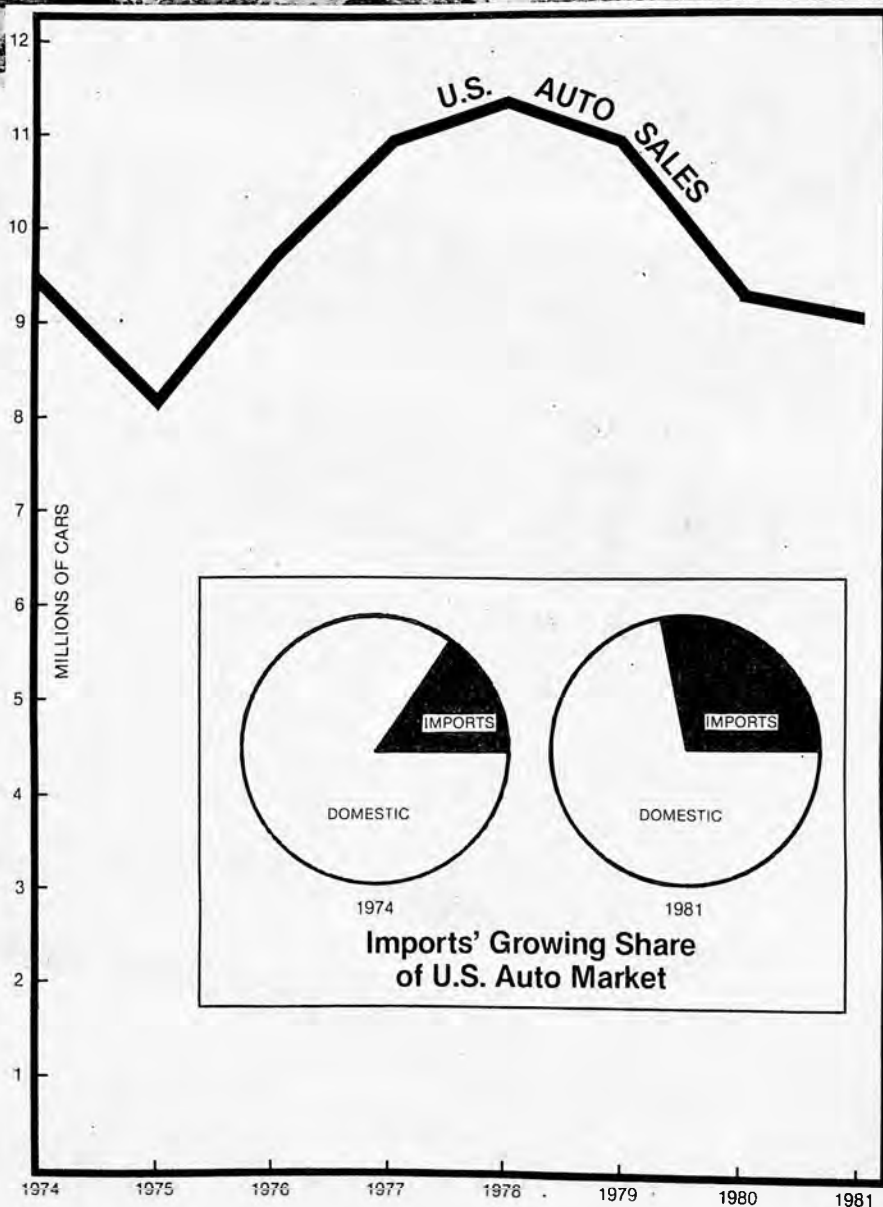


Trouble in Auto, Turmoil in the Empire

"A historic deal"—"wave of the future." This is how the U.S. media greeted the renegotiated contract agreement between Ford Motor Company and the United Auto Workers (UAW), which essentially gives some job security pledges by the company in exchange for pay concessions by the union. The new contract cancels ten paid holidays — the equivalent of two full weeks of work — defers cost-of-living increases, and eliminates the 3% annual wage increase which has been a part of UAW contracts throughout the post-World War 2 period. In return the company has agreed to a profit-sharing plan to take effect when and if Ford begins to make a profit again, a pledge to pay workers with 15 years seniority half their wages until age 62 if they're laid off, and a 2-year moratorium on plant closings for reasons other than a slump in sales. The new three-year contract was quickly endorsed by the UAW hierarchy and is expected to be approved by the membership before the end of this month. The union's contracts with the auto makers had not been due to expire until September, but the UAW began secret talks with General Motors about a year ago about an early renegotiation of the contract. Negotiations with GM began openly near the beginning of 1982, and when these collapsed at the end of January, the UAW immediately opened talks with Ford at the beginning of February. When the Ford agreement is signed, talks with GM may be reopened.

The new pact has been greeted by the press with a barrage of laudatory comment, hailing it as not only the key to saving the American auto industry but as the wave of the future for union contracts and labor-management relations generally. ABC's "Nightline" outdid itself, digging up worker after "typical" worker who would praise the pact as opening up a "new era of negotiations" and talk about how "things had gotten bad between labor and management — now they can really talk to each other" and that "it's not a question of who's gonna win and who's gonna lose, but just the

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More Thoughts on Party Building

A Social Base for Proletarian Internationalism

by Bob Avakian

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," just published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. These answers (edited from a tape) are being published in serial form in the RW. Previous sections ran in RW Nos. 136-143.

Another important aspect of the question of the relationship between quality and quantity in party building is the relationship between line and social base. This takes us back again to the founding congress of our party in 1975. If you remember, the economist line which manifested itself in a number of ways there also manifested itself in the question of building the party and recruitment and particularly the way the contradiction of line and social base was expressed. At that time it was basically said that workers in our party, or even workers in the leadership, are the sign of a great victory and great advance for the proletariat and our party, in a very mechanical, economist kind of way. This congress presented the question of line and social base very mechanically, and as a matter of fact it had identified the wrong social base. That is, it identified the more bourgeoisified workers as the ones who should be our social base and the ones who ultimately would be determining what kind of line the party would have.

One of the Menshevik ironies is that they haven't had much success in getting that kind of social base to want to join their—I guess they still call it "communist"—formation. It's an ironic contradiction that they are involved in: for historical conditions and reasons owing to the different positions of these countries in the world, that kind of social base in the U.S., as opposed for example to some of these European countries like Italy or France, is not interested in being identified with communism in any kind of way. Trade unionism, yes, to some degree. But, unfortunately for the Mensheviks in the U.S., they don't have the whole historical and present day reality that enables them to wrap trade unionism up in a pink diaper of so-called communism. So they are really shit-out-of-luck (at least for now, with the present conditions).

But, getting back to our situation, despite all the distortions, there is still an important question of the relationship between line and social base. Line is still decisive, and line is particularly the key link that you can grasp at any given moment to move this dialectical process forward, to act correctly upon this dialectical relationship between line and social base. At any given time it's the line that enables you to build the party, and in particular to build it among the real proletarian social base for the kind of line that our party has been deepening and applying through struggle.

But on the other hand, in another context I presented the question this way: it's also a matter in a certain sense of "coming from behind" in terms of the party itself. You remember, the talk "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution" raised this idea of "coming from behind" in a general, overall sense. This means, especially as the objective developments themselves accelerate, being able to accelerate ourselves to go from where we are to catch up with and get to the fore of the situation. This itself will not happen in a straight-line way either, but in an overall way we have to be able to do that. There is also an application of that with regard to our party itself. In other words, there is a question in a certain way of rupturing the party itself, or making a further leap in the party itself, and in that sense really rupturing it into the kind of vanguard that is going to be necessary for the period ahead, especially if there is actually the development of a revolutionary situation in the U.S., but even if there is not. Even if a revolutionary situation does not fully mature or ripen in the U.S., the kind of tests that the proletariat and its vanguard are going to be put to in the world as a whole, including in a country like the U.S., are going to require a vanguard force that really is one. And that means not only in line being more and more firmly based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, but also actually strengthening the party's political base among that social base in society that has the greatest interest in proletarian revolution—that is, in carrying out that kind of a line. This social base is what we've called in short-hand terms the "real proletariat" in the U.S. Put-

ting it from the other side—I mean that social base which has the least basis for being drawn into support for or conciliation with the imperialist system, in particular the imperialist ruling class of the country itself. There is a kind of a race involved there, a "coming from behind" process involved there.

Our party did come out of a certain kind of movement of the '60s, which was tremendously important and did bring forward a lot of forces. You were telling me earlier about an activist from the '60s now working as a lawyer, coming forward and being inspired by the example of people still carrying out revolutionary work, and coming forward and telling our people, half in whispers, "You know, I still believe in revolution." There's a lot of people like that and the '60s did have a lot of lasting effects. It produced a lot of people who already are, and many more who will be, drawn forward as things sharpen up. The '60s laid a lot of the basis for the future, both in terms of the overall consciousness of the masses and in terms of the vanguard itself; it was in that period that our party had its roots and out of which it developed. This is a broader, international phenomenon, too.

So all that's very important, but still there was a certain character to that social movement of the '60s in the U.S. It was a social movement which corresponded to a period (the '60s and early '70s) when things *didn't* sharpen up all the way to a revolutionary situation. And the lines (and the organizational expressions) that had currency and were largely in command in that period were not the kind that were capable of leading the revolutionary movement all the way through. (This is dialectically, though not mechanically, related to the way things did—and didn't—develop.) Neither were these lines and organizations capable of meeting the tests of the period of the '80s and ahead, meaning the tests that are going to be placed on the masses and in a concentrated way on the vanguard, even if a revolutionary situation doesn't develop in the U.S. In any case there are going to be tremendous demands as well as tremendous opportunities that are going to confront the masses, and in a concentrated way the vanguard forces, internationally, including in an important way in the U.S. So, there is a test.

Leaps in the Party Itself

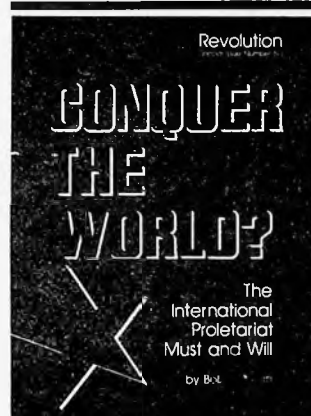
Now I don't want to introduce this to say we should panic, or to say there is something wrong with our party, or to say that it's only a matter of time, if we don't radically alter this party then it's going to go down the drain. That's not the point at all. The motion is forward. Viewing things in terms of their motion through contradiction we can actually see that the future is bright for the party itself as a part of the heightening prospects in the overall situation in the world as a whole. I think in the struggle carried forward up to this point there has been a strong foundation laid for coming from behind in relation to the party itself, for making further leaps and making a real rupture in terms of the party. But *that* is what's required—and nothing less! When I talk about a rupture, I mean our party has to do *more* than just keep going forward along the road it is going forward on. It has to make some real qualitative leaps. And that involves a certain process of rupture with some of the character that it has had up to this time. Specifically talking about social base, it means that there is a relationship between line and social base. That line has to be carried out mainly, not only, but mainly among that social base. And the advanced elements mainly, not only, but mainly from among that social base have to be brought forward toward the party, into the party, trained more inside the party and developed into a more solid base of our party. Now I don't mean this in a mechanical way or just repeating (with simply a different social base) the economist and tailist errors that we made in the past. We have to do this precisely by actually training people in practice and in theory in an all-around way as Marxist-Leninists, and ever more broadly raising the political consciousness of the people, especially that social base and particularly the advanced.

That revolutionary communist, proletarian internationalist line does represent in the most fundamental sense the interests of the international proletariat, but in terms of its expression inside the U.S., it does represent and is a concentration of the interests and to a significant degree the felt aspirations of a social base of people too—a concentration in the sense of raising to a

higher level. This doesn't mean that those people are already basically conscious, or a tailist notion that they already have the basic understanding that's required and all we have to do is refine it a bit. They themselves need to make ruptures and leaps in terms of their consciousness and in terms of their activity. But nevertheless, it's not like a line is just in the abstract. It does represent most fundamentally the interests of the international proletariat, but it also represents and has to find its most solid roots among that section of society whose interests are, in fact, most fully in line with the fundamental interests of the international proletariat, and whose felt aspirations are also more in the direction of those internationalist interests. If further leaps aren't made in that direction, and in that sense a "rupturing", then that will react back upon the line of the party. Even though the line at any given time is the key link, still there is that relationship with the question of social base, and that will react back upon the line of the party.

Now the role of revolutionary intellectuals, for example, among whom I count myself, is an extremely important role in the revolution, and it's an economist line and philistinism to downgrade in any way the role of revolutionary intellectuals in the movement. We have to continue to combat those kinds of tendencies. But at the same time it is decisive to carry out that line and build the base of support for the party, and also to build the party itself mainly, not only, but mainly among that proletarian social base. Ultimately, either positively or negatively, that will react back upon the line of the party. And the question that is up for struggle and will in-

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A Special Issue of Revolution Magazine

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

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

"In an overall sense and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just that that we have to do. And it's not just that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more limited sense there's truth to it. We have to look at it even more broadly. In fact, even seeking to make revolution in the U.S., even that has to be done as part of the overall goal and with the overall goal in mind, of doing everything possible to contribute to and advance the whole struggle worldwide toward communism and in particular to make the greatest leaps toward that in the conjuncture shaping up."

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“O.K., I’M A WARRIOR”

This week, as March 8, International Women’s Day is approaching, we are reprinting the testimony given to the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal against U.S. imperialism in the Chicago hearings, by a woman who did seven years in the military and who is now a member of the 11th Hour Battalion in Oakland, California.

I’ve come here today to talk about the story of how I’ve seen imperialism in the United States of America. Now I got it real clearly when I was a kid and watched my mother raise 7 kids in a working class neighborhood that what her life about was raising Christian soldiers, and that’s what she did. She spent her time chained in a house, where I would not see her leave that house for 3 months at a time, because my father was out working trying to find some money to feed these kids, and he couldn’t deal with the stress that goes with these things so he’d go out at night and drink and he wouldn’t come home, so my momma had to stay. And when that happened, I started to realize, “Damn, women are oppressed!” And the thing that I got was that I was going to get out of this situation.

My momma kept telling me, “What you’ve gotta do is find someone who can take care of you.” Somehow that was not the line that I’d follow. I thought that what I needed to do was to get out of Lor-raine, Ohio, that if I stayed in Lor-raine, Ohio, I was going to be subjected to the same kind of things that my momma was. So what I did was I went to high school, and thought what I really needed to do is get a skill. If I had a trade and I had a skill, I’m going to beat these chains, and I’m going to get up and out, and not have to suffer and raise my children the way

my momma raised hers. So, I didn’t know how to do it, because I didn’t have no money, but there at my high school graduation was the navy recruiter. And that navy recruiter told me that all you have to do is join the military for three years, and I will give you a trade, I will teach you how to beat the chains that you have on; that we have equal opportunity in the military for women; that we have expanded the jobs that women can do in the military. And I said, “All right, this is what I need. This is what’s going to make the change.” So I thought I was letting go of the oppression that I had seen in my life, being a working class white.

I went into the military. I was trained in medicine. When I went into the military, I started to get an understanding of what the military is all about. The military is just an extreme expression of what imperialism is all about. It takes the factors of imperialism to their finest level.

I was trained in highly technical skills, working in an intensive care unit, a coronary care unit, and saw a lot of stuff that went on. In 1972 I was stationed at Camp Pendleton Marine Corps base in California. One of the things I saw there was a brain surgeon who was well known for the studies he had done on the ability to go through surgery to heal the brain. But what I saw was the people he was working on. What he wanted to do was to perfect a thing called the Jackson Shunt. His name was Dr. Jackson. The only thing I ever called him was Sir, so I don’t know his first name. But he was in Camp Pendleton in 1972. So I saw what happened with that Shunt.

One order you cannot refuse in the military is a medical command. They have this setup so that if you’re a general,

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Belfast, Northern Ireland, providing security at a Sinn Fein march



Freiburg, West Germany, Anti-nuke demonstration



Tehran, Iran, demonstration for equal rights, 1979



Washington, D.C. women’s march on the Pentagon



Eritrea, Freedom fighters

Haig and Reagan on Latin America and the Caribbean



Panama: U.S. soldiers protect U.S. "values and principles" by keeping Panamanians and the Panamanian flag they're carrying out of the Canal Zone in a 1959 demonstration against U.S. control.



Nicaragua: The "proud heritage" — U.S. soldiers pose with severed heads of Nicaraguan rebels during one of several U.S. invasions in the 1920's and '30s.

"In the Caribbean, we above all seek to protect those values and principles that shape the proud heritage of this hemisphere."

Ronald Reagan

"... there are external forces seeking to exploit human misery for external objectives."

Alexander Haig



Mexico: Seeking to wrest Mexico from "external forces" at that time—Spain and France—and especially to crush the Mexican people's struggle, U.S. troops seize Veracruz in 1914.



Dominican Republic: Under the terms of the Rio Treaty, U.S. "peacekeeping forces" invade the Dominican Republic in 1965. On May 1st, mass armed revolts against the invaders broke out in the streets of Santo Domingo.



Chile: U.S. didn't bother with the Rio Treaty for this one. Soldiers sweep the streets, arresting 200,000 and murdering 30,000, in U.S.-bought and paid-for, and supervised coup in September 1973.



Guatemala: U.S.-supplied A-37B counter-insurgency planes flying the skies of unfriendly Latin America.

CARIBBEAN

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Reagan's cowboy campaign speeches when he was running for president—with the words "sea to shining sea" replaced by the expanded "pole to pole of what we proudly call the New World."

Staving Off Economic Collapse

What happened to the "economic plan" amid all this? It very nearly got lost in the shuffle—which is just as well since it will hardly make a dent in the U.S.' severe difficulties in the region. The "centerpiece" was supposed to be a one-way free trade provision for goods coming to the U.S. from the region, but 87% of such goods are already duty-free; only imperialist-dominated industrial expansion could make use of this provision, and such expansion is not about to occur in this period of economic crisis in the

U.S. bloc. The same goes for the vaunted tax-break for U.S. companies investing in the region. In fact, the real "centerpiece" of the Caribbean Basin Initiative is a huge emergency jump in U.S. economic and military "aid" to the region, which if it is approved by Congress, would bring the region's total to \$1.01 billion, putting it third behind Israel and Egypt as recipients of imperial largesse—with the major part of both forms going to El Salvador. Nevertheless, given the state of the economies in the region, this is not even a drop in the bucket; Costa Rica's public debt is \$2.7 billion alone and its reserves are less than 1/2 billion, while El Salvador has suffered capital flight equal to \$2 billion in the past couple of years.

As to whatever possible attraction such promised sums might hold for the recalcitrant bourgeois forces, Reagan has made it crystal clear what will be expected of them. He specifically upheld as

"models" the direct colonies of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands and praised the "positive" example of Jamaica, where a U.S. "destabilization" campaign installed the slavish lackey, Edward Seaga (also known as CIA-ga), last year. Not surprisingly, the "economic plan" is expected to triple the amount of U.S. military aid to Jamaica.

The quick fix that Reagan announced for the Caribbean Basin will mainly help prevent the absolute collapse of some economies. And, this is all very much related to the military necessities facing the U.S. in the area. Reagan issued serious warnings of the use of U.S. "military components": "We will do whatever is prudent and necessary to ensure the peace and security of the Caribbean area." Reagan also specifically alluded to the Rio Treaty of 1947, which established "reciprocal defense responsibilities" for the countries of the region;

that is, if any government is threatened with imminent demise, it is the "responsibility" of the others to jointly come to its aid. This treaty was invoked to justify the sending of U.S. Marines into Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic in 1965—a vivid example of U.S. defense of the "sovereign and independent states" of the Western hemisphere.

Stepped-Up Military Activity

The fact that Reagan brought up this treaty as a specific reference to a possible course of action in El Salvador was lost on no one. But what he neglected to mention in the speech is that there has already been a significant increase in U.S. (and allied) military activity in the region.

Joint U.S.-Canadian naval exercises are currently underway in the Gulf of Mexico, and they are to be immediately
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Arkansas Court Opposes Creationism, Upholds God

On January 5, amidst much fanfare, the U.S. Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas reversed State Act 590, which would have required "balanced treatment" in public school science classes for the teaching of the biblical "story of creation" and for the teaching of evolution. Hailed by some as a major victory in the battle against the rampagings of the creationist troglodytes and an important blow for science, the decision actually represents nothing of the kind. While in the immediate sense it slaps down the creationists' bid to get a full legal stamp of approval for their crusade for ignorance and reaction, it in several ways gives them aid and comfort, while not stopping them in the slightest from continuing their offensive against the godless heathens with all the more legitimacy and public attention. And more importantly, the Arkansas decision is a calculated attempt to promote the reconciliation of science with religion (albeit more liberal religion) and establish certain narrow guidelines to which those who oppose creationism are supposed to limit themselves.

In the first place, even the fact that a trial like this one in Arkansas was held speaks reams about the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism. Over 100 years after the discovery of the evolutionary process was firmly established, and long after the basic concepts of evolution have become an essential part of the scientific understanding of nature, the U.S. bourgeoisie, driven by political necessity, has set about unleashing its bible-toting neanderthals to spearhead a movement to attack and call into question this basic pillar of mankind's scientific knowledge. Over 100 years since Charles Darwin — and courts are seriously considering the question of whether the creation myth should be taught in schools. Judges have decreed that evolution must be taught in a "tentative," i.e., watered-down and half-assed fashion — or even not at all. It is becoming increasingly respectable, even "scientifically correct" in some circles, to "have your doubts" about evolution — which, don't forget, is "only a theory." Why, perhaps it is even arguable whether the earth is 4.5 billion years old — or only six thousand! And that fitting representative of a class of dinosaurs, President Reagan himself, captured the spirit of all this when on the campaign trail: "Many scientists do not consider it (evolution theory) to be as infallible as was once believed," and even issued his own brilliant opinion that "if it is taught in the schools, then the story of creation should also be taught."

During the trial in Arkansas there were more than a few ridiculous debates on TV around the country featuring creationists vs. some hack scientists and set up from the beginning to make the creationists look good. Typically, these "debates" consisted of the creationists launching an attack on the basic tenets of evolution and, more than that, a straight-up attack on the materialist world outlook, while the hack scientist would sidestep the question and babble on about how "creationism just isn't science," it's religion, and science has no opinion on religious matters. The viewer was frequently left to wonder, "If those scientists can't refute religion, maybe the Genesis account of creation is right after all." All this was a tipoff to just what the decision of Judge Overton would be in the Arkansas courtroom.

Reconciling Science and Religion

After a whole involved trial with a number of distinguished scientists and well-known authorities on evolution testifying, Judge Overton was able to come to the amazingly profound conclusion that the *Book of Genesis* is "not science, but religion," and that teaching it in the public school science classroom is a violation of the (often and ritually violated, but still ritually upheld) "constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state." Such

wisdom and deep insight!! Imagine — he was actually able to discern that the story of "six days and the flood" was religion. Where would we be without judges to decide these tricky matters? Overton, of course, cleverly didn't say anything about teaching the creation myth as part of a curriculum on "The Bible as Literature" or in a course on the "History of Western Civilization." Excuse us for looking for loopholes — surely no godfearing creationist would do such a thing!

But there is more to Overton's decision which makes it not only *not* a victory for evolution but a definite attack on the propagation of an overall scientific world outlook.

The judge has discovered a new "legal limit" to how not only the teaching of evolution, but evolution theory itself, can proceed. He criticizes what he calls the "contrived dualism" of the fundamentalists according to which one is faced with the *unpalatable* choice between *either* "six days and the flood" *or* atheism, saying:

"The emphasis on origins as an aspect of the theory of evolution is peculiar to creationist literature. Although the subject of origins of life is within the province of biology, the scientific community does not consider origins of life a part of evolutionary theory. The theory of evolution assumes the existence of life and is directed to an explanation of *how* life evolved. Evolution does not presuppose the absence of a creator or God..." Further, speaking perhaps on behalf of the many religious organizations which were joint plaintiffs with the ACLU in bringing the suit against the Arkansas act, Overton noted: "The idea that belief in a creator and acceptance of the scientific theory of evolution are mutually exclusive is a false premise and offensive to the religious views of many... many working scientists who (subscribe) to the theory of evolution are devoutly religious."

The thrust is clear: evolution is about fruit flies, London moths, and, perhaps,

apes; but the evolution of inorganic molecules into life itself is, at best, considered "dubious." And as for Big Questions like "Where did it all begin — or did 'it' have any beginning?" — now who would dare to say that science, much less evolutionary theory, has any bearing on such matters? Better to leave these questions out of the classroom, within the province of sacred "training in the home," or maybe in certain "non-secular" public institutions...

Closely connected with this, Overton has achieved a legal precedent of sorts with his ruling on what the "essential characteristics" of science, which distinguish it from religion, supposedly are. Key among these is the notion that science, unlike religion, must be "testable against the empirical world" and "falsifiable." While somewhat vague, this "criterion" goes hand in hand with the idea that statements about the origins of life, which do not lend themselves to direct "experimental tests" since there is no way to roll the clock back billions of years, cannot really have a scientific character. At best, they can be advanced as *hypotheses*, but never as established scientific *theses*. This not only serves a juicy plum to the creationists to chew on in future cases (actually they have already begun to do so), but more important, is the standard stock-in-trade of bourgeois ideological hacks in their assaults on an overall scientific world outlook and Marxism in particular. Judge Overton did not explore these implications of his highly restrictive definition of what science can and cannot do, finding it more *judicious* to leave this morsel for future judges, talk shows and editorial pages.

And, in fact, the main significance to date of the Arkansas court decision has been that a number of commentators have used its thin veneer of anti-creationism as a foil behind which to promote less "offensive" and inflexible forms of religion which, they argue, are "consistent with science." Pitching this line to those who are appalled and disgusted by the

flag-waving fundamentalists parading about in full biblical regalia, they seek to ban any scientific criticism of religion *per se* as being "dogmatic — as dogmatic as the literal-truth-of-the-Bible fundamentalists themselves." According to this line, science is science, religion is religion, each valid within its own bounds. Of course, in the context of waging a determined defense of an ideological framework that *denies* the ability of science (and upholds that of religion) to address the "big and eternal questions," this amounts to a real attack on the scientific world outlook and a major promotion of religion — all under the cloak of a dualistic doctrine of "coexistence." As *Time's* science magazine, *Discover*, noted editorially: "...in opposing the Arkansas law, *Discover* is not attacking religious beliefs, as some letters to the editors have charged. Indeed, we have a profound respect for religion as an important force in our lives."

At the same time, these commentators seek to enshrine the legal system as the great arbiter in matters of "True Science" and "True Religion," as the only force standing above class interests and provincial prejudices and in a position to combat the "twin extremes of atheism and fundamentalism." Matters of scientific truth and falsehood and of philosophy are to be decided on the scales of justice — and who could be opposed to such a fair, reasonable and wise proposal?

Promoting the Resurgence of Creationism

As mentioned earlier, even the fact that the creationists are given a "fair hearing" with all the associated fanfare serves them by putting them on the map, giving them legitimacy, and promoting them as an awesome right-wing force to be reckoned with. Last year the "scientific creationists" had effectively won a so-called "stalemate" in their last major courtroom contest when a California judge had ordered the broad dissemination of curriculum guidelines requiring that evolutionary theory and the conclusions derived from it be presented *tentatively* rather than as established fact. This was less than the full goal which the creationists had held going into the trial — that of "balanced treatment" for evolution and creationism, as later put forward in the Arkansas act. But they did achieve

Continued on page 21

Original Version	Changed Version
CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS	
Science is the total knowledge of facts and principles that govern our lives, the world, and everything in it, and the universe of which the world is just a part.	Science is one way of discovering and interpreting the facts and principles that govern our lives, the world and everything in it, and the universe of which the world is just a part. The scientific way limits itself to natural causes and to descriptions that can be contradicted, at least in principle, by experimental investigation.
Evolution is a central explanatory hypothesis in the biological sciences. Students who have taken a biology course without learning about evolution probably have not been adequately or honestly educated.	Evolution is a central explanatory hypothesis in the biological sciences. Therefore, students need some knowledge of its assumptions and basis concepts.
QUALIFICATIONS TO "REDUCE DOGMATISM"	
Scientists believe that these species were ancestors...	According to the evolutionary view, these species were ancestors.
Modern animals are descendants...	Modern animals that seem to be direct descendants.
Some fish began to change.	Some fish began to change, although we don't know why.
The evidence that shows how...	Evidence that is often interpreted to mean...
Paleontologists have been able to date the geological history of North America.	Paleontologists have assembled a tentative outline of the geological history of North America.
CHANGES TO AVOID EVOLUTIONARY ASSUMPTIONS	
Many scientists believe that the universe had a beginning similar to that of a snow fort. They believe that the stars and the galaxies of the entire universe in the beginning were in the form of very small scattered particles.	Science, by definition, cannot say anything about where the first matter and energy of which our universe is made came from. That is because there cannot be any science without matter and energy to deal with. When scientists speak of the beginning of the universe, therefore they mean the first interactions of matter and energy. Many scientists believe that these first interactions were like those in making a snow fort...
Scientists believe life may have begun from amino acids or viruses, neither of which is usually considered living. Scientists believe life may have been transported from another planet.	Scientists do not know how life began on earth. Some suggest that life began from non-living material. Others suggest that life may have been transported...

Some of the changes in passages in high school biology textbooks that were accepted by the California Board of Education, between 1973 and 1976, are compared with the original passages. The changes were intended to reduce

"scientific dogmatism" and to eliminate "evolutionary assumptions."

Source: *Scientific American*, April 1976.

Atlanta Teach-In Spreads

On Tuesday, February 23, over 100 people, mostly students, attended a teach-in on the Atlanta Black youth murders, held on the campus of the Atlanta Jr. College. This event came two weeks after a similar teach-in in Atlanta (major excerpts of which were featured in last week's *RW*).

Sponsored by the school newspaper with the help of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, the teach-in was originally meant to be an opportunity for students to hear tapes of the first teach-in, but it quickly became apparent that much more was called for as enthusiasm on the campus grew for an event such as this. The date was set back a few days, speakers were contacted, and, through word of mouth only, news of the teach-in spread. One teacher released students in all of his classes during the three hour period so that they (and he) could attend. Michael Langford of the United Youth Adult Conference, Onaje Chionesu, a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika and advisor for the National Black Student Association, and Wayne Webb of the Revolutionary Communist Party all spoke, followed by close to two hours of intense discussion and debate. Atlanta Jr.

College is a predominantly Black campus with a large concentration of youth working either to finish high school or get two years of college. Many who attended the teach-in were influenced by or worked directly with the Black Panther Party as teenagers in the '60s, and the discussion, along with delving deeper into the significance of events around the Black youth murders, went into what are the prospects—and strategy—for revolution in the period ahead.

In a particularly powerful moment in the teach-in, a list of new sponsors from the Washington, D.C. and New York areas was read. The list included students from Howard University, Bronx Community College, Queens College, members of the Caribbean Club at Brooklyn College, and several residents of the South Bronx. The list was topped off with a mailgram just received that day by the teach-in committee from Dr. Don Quinn Kelley in New York: "The blood of the innocent demand that we continue to search for the truth. The truth will indeed set us free. Onward to our liberation."

Anti-War Stirrings

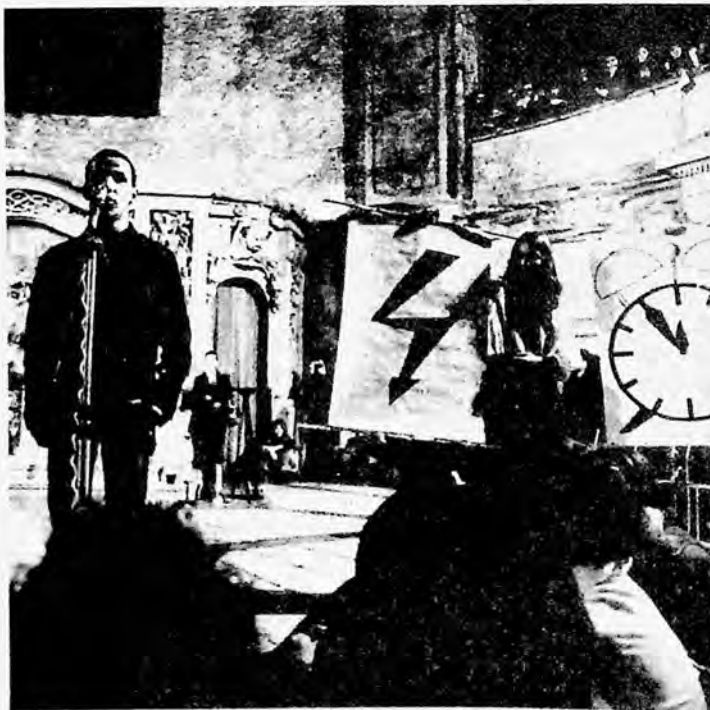
Youthful Beast Haunts East Germany

Dresden, East Germany. On the weekend of February 13, a youthful crowd of 4,000 took part in a Peace Forum at a local church on the anniversary of the U.S. and British fire-bombing raids which nearly obliterated the city at the end of WW2. According to some reports, leaflets had already appeared in Dresden calling for demonstrations to demand nuclear disarmament in the Eastern bloc as well as the West. This meeting, a question-and-answer debate involving a panel of East German Lutheran church leaders, was then organized by the church in an attempt to pre-empt this call for "unauthorized demonstrations" that might take on an overtly anti-government flavor. Still, after the conference an unauthorized anti-war demonstration took place in downtown Dresden anyway.

There was much thinly-veiled criticism of East German defense policy at this meeting. Typical were the remarks of a clergyman, active in Dresden church youth groups, who contrasted the official approval of the East German government for movements in West Europe against NATO nuclear weapons with government attempts to quash similar movements inside East Germany. A number of youth protested against attempts by the authorities to stop them from wearing peace emblems. In recent months members of church youth groups have started sewing badges on their jackets with slogans such as "Make Peace Without Weapons" and pictures of the statue presented to the UN by the Soviet Union showing a blacksmith beating a sword into a plowshare—with the implication that the Soviet bloc should practice what it preaches.

The Dresden meeting took place less than a week after the publication in the West German press of a paper called the "Berlin Appeal," initiated by Rainer Eppelmann, a Protestant clergyman from East Berlin. This paper, signed by more than 200 East Germans to date, and circulating in both Germanys, called for the dismantling of all nuclear weapons on German soil, the withdrawal of foreign armies from East and West Germany, and the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Europe, starting with both Germanys. Shortly after this appeal was published Eppelmann was arrested by the East German authorities and jailed for two days. An announcement at the Dresden meeting that he had been released was met with considerable applause. There was also loud booing when several church leaders said they did not recommend signing the Eppelmann paper.

While it is not exactly clear at this time just which master this minister is serving, this opposition from within the Lutheran church in East Germany is significant. The Lutheran church is part of the ruling establishment in both East and West Germany. Indeed, the East German government is preparing with great fanfare to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Martin



Forum in Dresden, East Germany

Luther's birth, claiming this symbol of the German nation as their own.

One of the more significant things being struggled over at this meeting was the question of departing from the suffocating embrace of revisionist "official channels"—especially from the official "peace movement" that has consisted of demonstrations carefully stage-managed by the East German regime. While sing-

ing the praises of "socialism" and the Warsaw Pact's "purely defensive" military buildup, these "demonstrations for peace" have all been aimed at U.S. and NATO war preparations; and they have often been called to coincide with similar actions in Western Europe, like the demonstration of 50,000 last October in Potsdam, East Germany.

But two can play this game. Just as the

Soviets have used their revisionist parties and other forces in the West to utilize nationalism and pacifism to disrupt the U.S. bloc, it seems that some of these same political themes have been picked up by forces in East Germany. The mainstream of the anti-war movement on both sides of the border is characterized by pacifism, German nationalism and illusions about the nature of imperialism, East and West, especially German imperialism. Still the development of a movement against war preparations represents a potentially serious problem, especially as revolutionary elements within it begin to emerge, as they have already in West Germany. The beast which has reared its head in the West, and which the Soviets have tried to lead to their own advantage, is now beginning to grumble in their own bloc. This is tied in with the fact that the social movements in Western Europe and Eastern Europe are seeping into each other. East German youth watch West German TV every night. They are well aware of each new massive demonstration in the West; the squatters, the punks and other rebel youth in West Germany and elsewhere (in fact some East German Punk bands are hot in West Germany right now); the events in Poland and so on.

The East German rulers are displeased, to say the least, at the refusal of growing numbers of students to take part in classes dealing with "national defense" and in para-military summer training, which are both mandatory in East Germany. In addition, in the past six months more than 6,000 members of Christian youth groups in East Germany have signed petitions demanding a "social peace service" as an alternative to the current universal conscription. Ironically, the same question has become a political hot potato in West Germany as well, with so many young West Germans — 58,000 — taking advantage of the "alternative service" option in the last year that all the major political parties have become embroiled in debate over how to put an end to this situation without provoking more drastic forms of anti-war activity.

According to the Feb. 13 London *Economist*, East German State Secretary for Church Affairs, Klaus Gysi, speaking to a meeting of clergy in East Berlin, explained that, "The state could not consider such requests (for alternatives to military service — *RW*) at this time because it found it hard enough anyway to get the troops it needed." Around the same time, a regional party secretary lashed out at the anti-war movement as an "enemy of peace, socialism, and of the constitution." Highly irate, he exclaimed, "Our whole republic is a social peace service!"

Clearly the rulers of both Germanys share common woes as they attempt to prepare the youth of both blocs to march against each other. Who, in the end, will march against whom is not a settled question.

An Internationalist Call to May First Action

In our February 19 issue, we first published this call to May First action by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. As we said at the time, it is a call to the proletariat and oppressed people from whatever part of the globe who are presently living in the U.S. to carry the struggle forward to the maximum this year within the belly of this beast as a component part of the worldwide struggle toward the common revolutionary goal. Last week, the text appeared in eight languages. This week it appears in five more. In addition we are republishing it in Farsi because of an error in the layout last week. We ask for help in translating it into more languages. (The call has been reprinted in English on p. 16 for those who want to help translate it.)

This call is a first draft. We hope many different people and organizations will circulate it in different languages, make criticisms of it and collect suggestions for it and forward them to us before the end of March so that it can be republished in final form—all contributing to even more powerful internationalist actions on May First.

MIĘDZYNARODOWA ODEZWA
do
AKCJI PIERWSZO-MAJOWEJ

en polaco

in Polish

Do Robotników , Uciemienionych i Tych Wszystkich Którzy Mają Odwagę
Walczyć o Lepsze Jutro :

Wojna Światowa i Rewolucja Starcie tych dwóch kierunków podkreśla nadejście 1-go Maja , Międzynarodowego Święta Robotnika . To daje nam platformę i stawkę - do udziału w akcji rewolucyjnych robotników na całym świecie .

1-y Maj jest świętem rewolucyjnym międzynarodowego proletariatu, klasy ludzi , która prawdziwie nie ma nic do stracenia oprócz kajdanów wiążących ją z ogólno-światowym systemem nowoczesnego niewolnictwa i zbrodni. Jest tylko jedno , prawdziwe znaczenie tego dnia; silna wola tych wszystkich, którzy są wykorzystywani lub są niewolnikami, tych wszystkich nowych wzrastających się niosących rewolucyjną walkę ze spaczonym porządkiem; postanowienie do przezwyciężenia barier językowych, narodowych i rasowych - w celu usunięcia klasowości i różnic klasowych, wyrugowania uciemnienia jednej narodowości przez drugą , dyskryminacji kobiet względem mężczyzn - do zażegnania wojen raz na zawsze i do zdarcia kajdanów wszelkiej tradycji. Święto to można tylko uczcić w jeden sposób: w walce i oporze , rozwijając czerwony sztandar pod niebem we wszystkich zakątkach świata i walczyć jak tylko można o rewolucyjną przyszłość .

Historia pełna jest niepokojących wybuchów które rozwijają się a potem ustają , tylko po to , aby znów wzniecić się jeszcze silniej. Na spodzie dzisiejszych wstrząsów leży konflikt poważnych i dosłownie wstrząsających rozmiarów .

Z jednej strony siły imperialistyczne dwóch bloków: bloku kierowanego przez Stany Zjednoczone i bloku kierowanego przez Sowiety - przygotowują się do wojny , stąpając w ruchomym piasku, stworzonym przez ich samych , próbują utrzymać swoje imperia, jednocześnie wyglądając z za węgla kłedy rozpocząć konflikt nuklearny. Zmuszeni pozostawać na tym kierunku swojego kursu lunatyczną logiką swoich systemów - te bloki zmuszone są w dalszym ciągu zatrwać "swoje" masy ludzkie tą logiką , aby postawić te masy przeciwko sobie do wzajemnego wybicia się pod sztandarem "wolności i demokracji" (imperialistyczny styl Zachodni) albo pod sztandarem "sprawiedliwości i wyzwolenia" (imperialistyczny styl sowiecki) .

I przeciwko komu ? Jedną sprawą z którą się nigdy nie liczą -- to to duch rewolucyjny i walka mas ludowych , rozszerzająca się jak ogień

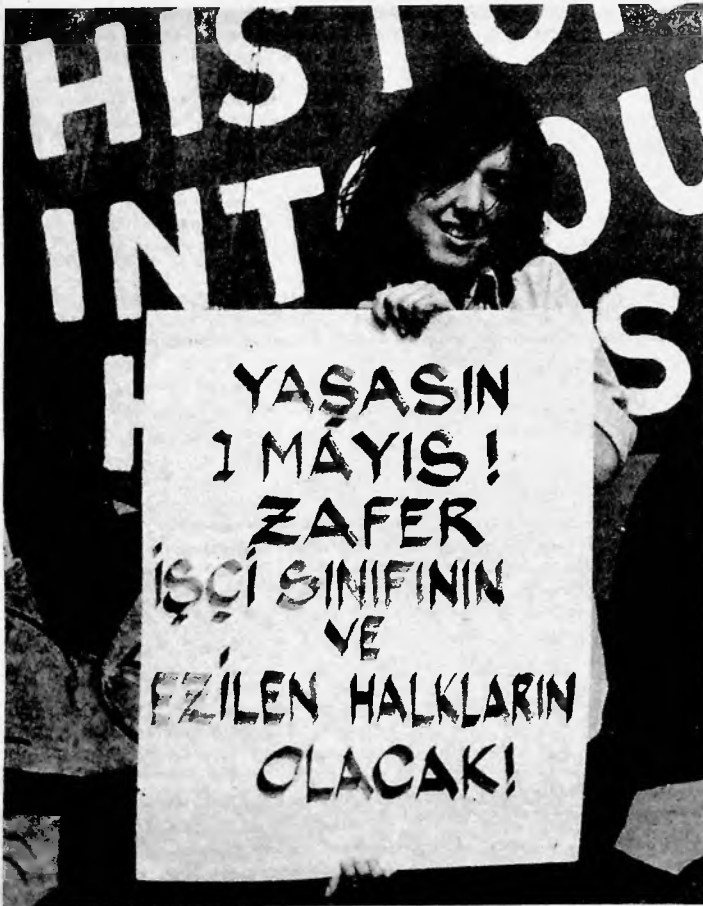
podziemny od Gdańska do Salwadoru i do obozów uchodźczych Haitińczyków na Florydzie. Możecie odczuć to w okrzykach młodzieży - te same akcenty odbijają się na ulicach Anglii jak i w górach Erytreii - wyzywająco wskazujące na nagość cesarza i podważają jego imperium. Możecie to również zauważyć jeszcze raz w oczach, które skrzą się wizją wyzwolenia, odbijając się w ogniach wieczornego horyzontu. Możecie to odczuć w biciu serc pulsujących znów w rytm atakujących stóp i echa rozbijanych ikonów. Rewolucja - czerwony płomień wybuchający wśród ucimieźzonych narodów świata i nawet rozprzestrzeniający się w głównej fortecy - w samych krajach imperialistycznych - z decydującym ogniem, którym jest rola rewolucyjna i przewodnictwo klasowo uświadomionego proletariatu w każdym kraju.

Starcie, które teraz wzmaga się pomiędzy siłami wojny imperialistycznej i rewolucją społeczną, będzie kuźnią w której wykuć będzie przyszłość. 1-go Maja, siły rewolucyjne muszą zrobić duży postęp w ich przygotowaniach.

Tego dnia, wizja przyszłości musi zajaśnieć! Załączek proletariatu świadomy swego międzynarodowego charakteru i jego antagonizmu do wszelkich form reakcji i świadomości jego historycznej misji, mogą tylko podbić świat. Zcalenie wspólnych akcji robotniczych w różnych częściach świata musi stanowczo posunąć się naprzód - jak powiedział Lenin - "nie z punktu widzenia mojego kraju... ale z punktu widzenia mojego udziału w pracach przygotowawczych, w propagandzie, i w przyspieszeniu światowej rewolucji proletariatu."

Ażby aktywnie i pilnie prowadzić te przygotowania teraz i znaleźć 1-go Maja drogę do przyspieszenia tego procesu, wymaga się aby odciąć umarłą rękę przeszłości. Rewolucyjne oczy i serca muszą wnieść się ponad marny poziom posuwania się na tyłach każdej walki jaka się nadarza, uświadamiając masy o tym co one już wiedzą i utrzymując duchowy i polityczny związek w ramach swoich narodów. Oszukańczo prosta, a jednocześnie błędna arytmetyka według której, walki - nawet walki rewolucyjne ludu każdego kraju "składają się" na rewolucję światową - muszą też być odrzucone - dla rewolucyjnego rachunku całego Leninizmu. Szczególnie w czasie ostrego kryzysu który będzie globalnym w swoich rozmiarach, proletariatu musi również mieć globalny pogląd i podejście, koordynując swoje siły jako oddziały jednej armii. Zdobyć, nawet w jednym lub kilku krajach prowadzą do osłabienia całego zgniłego gmachu przeciwnika i otwarcie jeszcze szerszych możliwości światowej rewolucji. W tym duchu i w tym kierunku, uświadomione siły klasy muszą koniecznie przetrwać do przodu w celu wspólnego programu, wspólnej strategii i wspólnej organizacji na skalę światową - międzynarodowego rewolucyjnego proletariatu komunistycznego.

Może to wszystko wydaje się snem-marzeniem albo wizją. Niech i tak będzie! Nic mniej niż wizje - wizje które przebijają welon codzienności i tego co wydaje się oczywistym i odsłaniają prawdziwe, ukryte podłoże - są potrzebne w dzisiejszej chwili. Czy w roku 1917-ym nie oskarżano Lenina o to, że był marzycielem? Czy nie był Mao w roku 1966-ym? A czy ich sny i marzenia nie zmieniły oblicza świata i ludzkości i potwierdziły bardziej realnie niż apele wyboru "mniejszego zła", czy aby



May 1st, 1980 Portland, Ore. Student from Turkey at the University of Oregon holds sign which reads "Long Live the First of May—Workers and Oppressed People of all Countries Unite!"

Primero de Mayo, 1980, Portland (Oregon): Un estudiante de Turquía en la Universidad de Oregon alza pancarta que declara: "¡Que Viva el Primero de Mayo—Proletarios de Todos los Países y Naciones Oprimidas Unidos!"

"być realistami"? Rewizjonizm i reforma są "realizmem", którego granice są oznaczone przez ramy imperializmu i stanu "status quo" ... i znów pojawiają się w czasie, kiedy wydarzenia światowe zwala korony do ścieków, otwiera nowe możliwości dla rewolucjonistów. Czy nie powinniśmy również mieć te aspiracje do tych samych poziomów które pokonali Lenin i Mao?

Więc to jest Odezwa Rewolucyjnej Partii Komunistycznej U.S.A.:
Niech 1-y Maj będzie świadkiem w tych Stanach Zjednoczonych - opuszczenia fabryk i szkół i rewolucyjnej politycznej akcji różnego rodzaju w publicznych osiedlach mieszkaniowych, więzieniach, na rogach ulic i w każdym środowisku i bastionie - akcji, sygnalizującej milionom ludzi nie tylko rosnącą część społeczeństwa "przygotowująca umysły i organizująca siły" rewolucyjne w tym bastionie imperializmu.
Niech jeszcze, niech 1-y Maj, 1982 odkryje wizję jedności międzynarodowej proletariackiej, czynnej w połączonym wspólnym działaniu, rozciągającym się od narodów ucimieźzonych przez imperializm aż do twierdz samej stolicy; niech politycznie zapowie, choćby na dzień lub dwa, obszar i obejmie władzę raz tu, raz tam, - odepchnięty na chwilę tylko, aby posunąć się znów naprzód - uwalniać świat, jak tylko to jest możliwym, na kajdanach imperializmu. Niech więc słońce 1-go Maja - zabłyśnie wszędzie z czerwonych sztandarach rewolucji, rozwijające się jak paki róż przez piękniactwo twardego betonu, niedoprzeczytania życie wśród gruzów i rozkładu umierających.

Rewolucyjna Partia Komunistyczna, USA.

To jest apel do Służby. Spodziewamy się, że różni ludzie i różne organizacje rozprowadzą tą odezwę w wielu różnych językach, dokonają zbiorowej krytyki i dadzą swoje sugestie, które przedstawia nam przed końcem marca, tak abyśmy mogli opublikować tą odezwę w jej końcowej formie - wszyscy razem dając swój wkład do jeszcze silniejszej akcji międzynarodowej w dniu 1-go Maja.

RCP, USA, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

Aufruf der Internationalisten zur Ersten Mai Aktion

en alemán

in German

An die Arbeiter, die Unterdrückten und Alle, die für die Zukunft zu kämpfen wagen:

Weltkrieg und Revolution -- der Konflikt zwischen diesen beiden Tendenzen kennzeichnet die Ankunft des Ersten Mai, des Tages der Internationalen Arbeiter. Damit steht die Bühne und der Einsatz für die Aktionen revolutionärer Arbeiter aller Länder.

Der 1. Mai ist der revolutionäre Festtag des internationalen Proletariats, der Klasse die wirklich nur das zu verlieren hat, was sie in den Ketten der weltweiten Sklaverei und des Mordes hält. Dieser Tag hat nur eine echte Bedeutung: der Wille aller, die ausgebeutet und versklavt sind, aller Kräfte die das Neue und Aufsteigende verkörpern, die Revolution gegen diese verdrehte Ordnung auszuführen, der Entschluß vorwärts zu schreiten, alle Sprach-, National- und Rassengrenzen zu überschreiten; zur Abschaffung aller Klassen und Klassenunterschiede, zur Auslöschung der Unterjochung einer Nationalität durch eine andere, und von Männern über Frauen, zur Auslöschung von Kriegen und Nationalstaaten selbst, und der Zerschlagung aller Ketten der Tradition. Es gibt nur einen Weg diesen Tag zu feiern: Kampf und Rebellion, die Rote Fahne in jeder Ecke der Welt zum Himmel zu heben, und uns soweit wir können in die revolutionäre Zukunft vorzukämpfen.

Die Geschichte bewegt sich in ruhelosen Ausbrüchen die aufflammen, sich beruhigen um immer heftiger wieder auszubrechen. Unter den Beben von heute liegt ein Konflikt von tiefen und buchstäblich die Erde erschütternden Ausmaßen.

Auf der einen Seite bereiten sich die imperialistischen Mächte von der U.S.A. und der Sowjetunion geführten Blocks beiden auf Krieg vor und schlagen dabei in dem von ihnen selbst geschaffenen Triebband um sich, um ihre Imperien zusammenzuhalten während sie auf den Atomkrieg hinschlidern. Auf diesen Kurs durch die Verrücktenlogik ihres Systems geschleudert, sind sie aber auch gezwungen ihre "Massen" mit dieser Logik zu infizieren, und sie aufzustelen um sich gegenseitig umzubringen, und das unter dem Banner von "Freiheit und Demokratie" (im Stil des westlichen Imperialismus) oder "Gerechtigkeit und Befreiung" (im Stil des Sowjetimperialismus).

Und gegen sie? Womit sie nie rechnen -- den revolutionären Geist und Kampf der Massen, der sich wie ein Feuer im Untergrund von Gdansk nach El Salvador zu den haitianischen Flüchtlingslagern in Florida ausbreitet. Man hört es in den Schreien der Jugend -- dieselben Akzente erschallen in den Straßen Englands und den Hügeln von Eritrea -- sie weisen trotzdem darauf hin, daß der Kaiser nackt ist und sie bedrohen sein Imperium. Man sieht es in Augen die wieder einmal mit der Vision der Befreiung in den Feuern des nächtlichen Himmels scheinen. Man fühlt es im Herzschlag der wieder zum Rhythmus angreifender Füße pulsiert und zum Echo zerbrechender Ikone. Revolution, eine rote Flamme, die in den Herzen der unterdrückten Nationen der imperialistischen Länder regt -- mit dem entscheidenden Glied der revolutionären Rolle und Führung des Klassenbewußten Proletariats in jedem Land.

Der Zusammenprall, der jetzt zwischen den Kräften des imperialistischen Krieges und der sozialen Revolution heraufzieht, wird die Schmelde sein in der die Zukunft gegossen wird. Am 1. Mai müssen sich die revolutionären zur Vorbe-



First of May, 1980 in Abadan, Iran.

Primero de Mayo en Abadán, Irán, 1980

reitung nach vorne werfen.

An diesem Tag muß eine Vision aufleuchten : der Embryo eines Proletariats, das sich seines internationalen Charakters und seines Antagonismus gegenüber allen Formen der Reaktion bewußt ist, sowie seiner historischen Mission nichts weniger zu tun als die Welt zu erobern. Indem man dem Arbeiter gemeinsame Aktionen in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt einflößt, muß man dazu entschlossen sein, wie Lenin es sagte, davon auszugehen, "nicht vom Standpunkt 'mein Land'...sondern von meinem Anteil in der Vorbereitung, der Propaganda, und der Beschleunigung der proletarischen Weltrevolution."

Um solch Vorbereitungen jetzt tatkräftig und schleunigst auszuführen und am 1. Mai Wege zu finden diesen Prozess besonders Vorwärts zu treiben, verlangt einen Bruch mit dem toten Weg der Vergangenheit. Revolutionäre Augen und Herzen müssen über das miserable Niveau kommen jedem Kampf der entsteht nur nachzulaufen um den Massen zu erzählen was sie schon wissen und sie geistig und politisch innerhalb ihrer Nationen anzubinden. Die täuschend einfache aber völlig falsche Arithmetik in denen die Kämpfe - auch revolutionäre - der Völker jedes Landes sich zu einer Weltrevolution "zusammen addieren" muß auch aus der revolutionären Mathematik des Leninismus hinausgeworfen werden. Besonders in einer scharfen Krise die globale Ausmaße hat, muß das Proletariat auch einen globalen Standpunkt und Herangehen haben, indem es seine Kräfte als Teile einer einzelnen Armee koordiniert. Durchbrüche selbst in einem oder mehreren Ländern führen zur Schwächung des ganzen verfaulten Feindgebäudes und wird noch größere weltrevolutionäre Möglichkeiten erschließen. In diesem Geist und dieser Richtung müssen die Klassenbewußten Kräfte dringend zu einem gemeinsamen Programm, einer gemeinsamen Strategie und einer gemeinsamen Organisation in internationalem Maßstab schreiten, mit revolutionäre Kommunist/proletarische Internationaler Tendenz.

Dies erscheint vielleicht fast alles wie ein Traum... sogar Visionen. Nun gut denn : Nichts geringeres als Visionen -- Visionen, die den Schleier des täglich ausscheinend Offensichtlichen durchbohren, um die wirklich darunter liegende Haupttriebfeder enthüllen, werden heute benötigt. Hat man Lenin 1917 nicht beschuldigt ein Träumer zu sein? Auch nicht Mao 1966? Aber haben ihre Träume nicht das Gesicht der Erde und der Menschheit verändert, und stellten sich als realer heraus als die Aufrufe das "kleinere Übel" zu wählen und "realistisch" zu sein? Dieser Revisionismus und Reformismus ist ein "Realismus", dessen Grenzen innerhalb des Rahmens des Imperialismus und status quo bestimmt werden -- und heute wieder, zu einer Zeit wenn Weltereignisse Throne in die Gosse stürzen werden und günstige Gelegenheiten für die Revolutionären eröffnen werden. Müssen nicht auch wir nach denselben stolzen Höhen streben, die Lenin und Mao erklimmen haben?

Dieser Aufruf dann von der Revolutionäre Kommunistische Partei, U.S.A. : Soll der 1. Mai in den U.S.A. selbst Zeuge sein von Ausbrüchen in Fabriken und Schulen, revolutionärer politischer Aktivität vieler Art in Wohnungsprojekten, Gefängnissen, Straßenecken, und aller heiligen

Bereiche und Bollwerke, die den Millionen nicht nur hier sondern auch um die Welt, daß es in der Tat jetzt ein wachsendes Segment gibt, welches schon jetzt die "Geister vorbereitet und die Kräfte organisiert" zur Revolution in dieser Bastion des Imperialismus.

Doch noch mehr : Der 1. Mai 1982 soll den Traum der Einheit des internationalen Proletariats enthüllen, die aufwacht in vereinten Aktionen, die sich von den vom Imperialismus unterdrückten Nationen bis in die Zitadellen des Kapitals selbst erstrecken. Möge es politisch - wenigsten für ein oder zwei Tage - andeuten, und vorbereiten helfen den Weg zu den Tagen in der nicht zu fern Zukunft, wenn das Proletariat Gebiete befreien und die Macht ergreifen wird, einmal hier, einmal dort; wenn es zurückgedrängt wird, um umso weiter vorwärts zu wagen, und aus den verwickelten Ketten des Imperialismus so viel der Welt wie möglich zu befreien. Laßt so die Sonne des 1. Mai überall auf den Roten Fahnen der Revolution scheinen -- blühend wie Rosen, die das Konkrete, unbesiegbare Leben, inmitten der Trümmer und des Verfalls des Sterbenden durchstoßen.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Dies ist ein Entwurf. Wir hoffen, daß viele verschiedene Personen und Organisationen ihn in verschiedenen Sprachen verbreiten, Kritik und Vorschläge dazu sammeln und sie uns vor Ende März weiterleiten, damit er in Endform veröffentlicht werden kann -- wobei alles zu noch stärkeren internationalen Aktionen am 1. Mai beitragen kann.

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ووقع الطريق ليوم أريب يوم تقدم القوم الصالية الحرة
الحزبية ونسك بقوم التردد التردد هاه هاه
لنجل هذا اليوم يتسمل وينيرم للأفناء العالم تحت السعار
الأحمر
هذا نداء لجميع مستعبد ومهتات وحرمان العباد
في العالم الذي نندم ان يشارككم في اراهم ونداءكم
لنعد هذا اليوم عيداً للعاد وحرمان العالم في العالم
دشنته

RCP, USA P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654

هناك النظام الامبريالي الامريكى والمسيحي، تم تقويض الحرب
 ونشكنا مستنكناهم؟ انما كانت من معة، وانشغالنا بالصراع الذي
 من معة اخرى، قد سببنا شعوبهم الحرة، والذين بقوا طيبين (ومرئيا)
 والدالة، القوي (الاعمال والبنائ) واما معة مستنكناهم الحرة
 وصراع الطبقات منتشرة كما سرسيرة الانجاب من الانساقفور
 منى معتبات - القبيحيين - بنوريبا -
 - نسحمانى صيمات الشباب، ونفس اللعنة في مزارع انفلانزا
 مشيرا للا ميرا ضد التعريب، امراضوية -
 قرأها منى الجون الامة مرمى اخرى، عيون الحرة في لرساء الليل
 القرة متعنة حمارا ناهما من عيون الشعوب المظلمة، من العالم
 وفي القرات وسط القابات

الاصطدام من القوي المبررية والقوات الامريكية والاسد
 الذي وشكناهم المستين
 في ماعب انزل موعنة من الدم في ملكه الرضا، ان تقبل
 ووعى العتمة القتالية ان بنف من الربعية العالمية التي سعت
 ولاشرا من عتمة اسعاد العالم كله
 اتحاد الطبقة القتالية في العالم هو الذي يب علينا ان نمر
 آ عالبا عليه من كل اناء العالم مع الاصرار على المناصرة والادام
 كما نال لينين نفسه - لانه وصحة نظره في ماعب، حرفة نظره في
 في السانكدة، القوية من الاجلح والاسراع في القرة القتالية
 من العالم
 من اجل القوي، العمل على القوي في الاين من اول
 الحصول راجعا، الوسائل من هذه الميم الى الامام بب علينا
 انه نطق اليد القوية العتمة
 الحوزة، القلوب النورية، يجب ان تكون عتمة اعلى مسته
 من مستوى مانتة، بد الصرع في الحلف
 اعلام الجاهل ما يعطون، كتبهم، حيا وسيا ماعب دولهم
 هذا هو منى القوي انصرام، خطمة ميسايي في داخل الصرع
 سنه

البرليانريا عالمية ماعب في سططا الراسيبل
 القرات من اين ركن من ركان العالم دليل على استنقان وتدهور
 الامبريالية العالمية لكل
 يمكن للعارف ان يقول ان هذه الاعمال مرمية، حسنا
 ألم يكن الرقيب لينين قد اقم في 1917 نفسه الاتهام ماعب
 اعلام، وماوند سينونغ في 1926 اقم بنفسه النعمة، لكي اقم نكن
 اعلام هذه قد عتنت، من العالم كله، الاشارة ماعب
 هذا اسداء من الحرب المبررية الامريكى - لنعمل في هذا
 الدم - يوم اشارة الاصل شاهد عيان، داخل امريكا ماعب
 يوم فركات من الماعب والدارس، والاحضان الميسايية
 سمعت اشكالها، العيون، والسواع
 - فمضت العتول، وتنظيم القوي للثورة في وسط الامبريالية
 العالمية

واكثر من هذا العمل ماعب الاصل 1948 - علم الطبقة القتالية
 في العالم كامله كوه معة تفتت، جميع القرات من وطن
 لوطن - لنعملها، معة ولوليسوا، واحد ولنهر انفسنا

نداء عالمي بمناسبة ماعب الاصل
 - ايار الاصل
 en arabe in Arabic
 لكل الضال المضطرب وكل مننا يصل في سبيل المستقبل
 حرب عالمية وثورة عالمية - اصطدام الاصل بالثانية تبينا
 لنا ماعب الاصل الذي يعيننا للقوات القتالية في الامكان
 - ماعب الاصل معلقة نورية للطبقة القتالية من العالم كله
 طبقة لا غشيتي الحنارة لان لا نصحى لغاصي سلاسل
 نظام عالمي اضطرابي قاطع وقاصح - نظام ليجل الطبقة القتالية
 طبقة عتمة تحت شكل ماعب
 - لهذا اليوم ماعب؟ اصل اصرار المضطربين في كل انحاء العالم دليل
 قوي على ذلك - اصرارهم على الاتحاد في نفس هذا اليوم وعلى
 الذلت من انما بالثورة القتالية ضد النظام الامبريالي العالمي -
 اصرارهم على التغطية والقوى في الامام وتم الحقيقتات الناقصة
 افلات اللغات والجنسيات - توفيق الطبقات والقوى
 ينسطر - حيا للاقتلحات من الشعوب، في البداية، الماعب ماعب
 ماعب صلات طرية ماعب لا شغال هذا اليوم وفي الصرع ماعب
 باليد الشعار الاصر في السماء من الاتحاد العالم وفي الارض من اركان
 الكرة الارضية، الماعب ماعب مستقبل الثورة له امعد حدودها
 - الماعب ماعب رويدا لكن تحت القرات التي يبر بها النظام ماعب
 ينسكن الصراع العميق

**Internationalistam
 Extana Mayam Etangigan
 Een internationale Awamngan
 oproep tot 1 Mei Aktie**


**Apèl entènasyonalis pou
 aktivité premyé mé-a**
 MIĘDZYNARODOWA ODEZWA
 do AKCJI PIERWSZO-MAJOWEJ
 Aufruf der Internationalisten zur Ersten Mai Aktion
 國際主義的 Un Appel Internationaliste à l'Action
 號召要在五一節採取行動 le Premier Mai
 نداء عالمي بمناسبة ماعب الاصل
 - ايار الاصل - An Internationalist Call to May First Action

**Apèl entènasyonalis pou
 aktivité premyé mé-a**

en crioulo (haitiano) in Creole
 Apèl sa-a lanse bay tout ouvrye, tout moun yap krazé, ak tout moun ki ozé
 goumen pour demen kab pi bèl.
 Lagé mondyal, Revolisyon ... kolizyon 2 evenman sa yo sé mak fabrik ki mon-
 tré ler Mé pa tro, ke sé jou entènasyonnal tout travayé.
 Sa paré teren epé se tras chemen pou tout travayé revolisyoné son té a kab pasé
 nan aksyon.
 "Premyé Mé" sé ou gro jou fèt fou tout pwolété nan tout péyi, sé klas ke vréman
 pa gen anyen pou-l pèdi sof chenno ki kemb-l prizonye nan sistém esklavay modèn
 ki aksiste toupatou sou tè-a.
 Sèl vré sans you sa-a: Sé détéminasyon tout moun ki eksplwaté ak nan esklavay,
 détéminasyon tout fos ki konpozé nouvo group kap monte-a pou fé on revolisyon
 kont sistém malfété sa a. On détéminasyon pou you vance pi devan. Pou yo krazé tout
 baryé peyi, lang, ak tout distenksyon klas sosyal efase dominasyon on peyi sou on lòt
 peyi, gason sou janm, pou fé tout lagé disparèt nèl, tout fwontyé on peyi ak on lòt
 peyi, pou kraé tout chenn ki maré moun ak tradisyon. Tout bon vré, sé ou sèl fason
 ki gen pou selebre tèt sa-a sé na lit ak nan rebelyon, sé nan leve drapo rouj-la anlé
 nan tout kwen sou tè-a, sé nan batay ak sout fòs nou pou you avni revolisyonè.
 Se nan you eksplozyon san rété listwa donner, eksplozyon ki éklaté, ki bese,
 sèlman poul éklaté anko ak plis fòs. Anba boulvèsman jounen jodia, nou jwenn, ou
 konfli ki fon anpil epi ki gen ou grosé ekstranodiné ki kab sékwé tèa.
 Sou ou bo nou gen klok ké lè Zèta Zini dirijé ak blok ké la Risi diri dirijé ki apé
 préparé lagé, kap fé choc nan prop la bout ké yo fé, kap ésyé kenbé inité nan kan

yo nan lansé ou lagé nikléyé. Jan ké yo kolé nan chémen sa nan logik noun fou sistém
 yo-a, jan ké yo fosé pou pousé lojik sa sou "mas" pa yo, pou yo aliyen yo sou 2 ran
 pou you touyé lot au ba mo dod "libérté ak démokrase" (nan langaj impéryalis
 oksidental) ou byen an ba mo dod "jistia ak libérasyon" (langaj impéryalis sovtyetik).
 Sa ki kont yo? Ou bagay yo pa jamn konté, sou li, sé lespri revolisyoné mas yo
 kap gayé tankou difé anba sann depi Gdansk jous nan Salvador, jous nan kan refijye
 ayisyen yo nan Miyami. Ou kabab tandé sa nan vwa jenés la — eko-a repété jia nan
 lari Langleté ak nan mon Erite — ak tout radyés li ap montre feblés, ap atake
 enpéryalis yo. Ou kapab wè li nan je ou seri moun ki on fwa anko ap klere ak on vi-
 zyon liberasyon, on visyon ki reflechi tankou flann dife kap limen pandan lanwi.
 Ou kap santi li nan batman ké yo nan you rit wa di ou mach anavan oubyen tankou
 estaté kap krazé. Revolisyon — se ou flann rouj kap boulé nan tout peyi, nan zantray
 tout moun y-ap krazé nan lemond antye, epi kap brase nan ké sitadèl lenni-an, nan
 peyi enpéryalis you memn. Ne fo a, se va rol desizil lidé revolisyoné yo nan gide fos
 pwolété konsyantize yo toupatou sou tè-a.
 Confli kap dévlopé ant éclatman ou gè enpérialist épi éclatman revolysion
 sosyal la, sé sa ki moul kap fomé lavni an. Jou prémié mé, fos revolysioné yo dwé fé
 ou bon an avan sou kestion préparasyon-a.
 Jou sa-a gen ou limjè ki gen pou-l kléré: boujon prolétaria nan tout karazè inter-
 nasyonnal li, ki nan on batay amo kont tout fom réaksyon, ki konnen mision istorik li
 sé pou li pran lé mond daso. Sa ki gen pou le bouyi nan aksyon tout travayé sou tout
 tè a sé volonté pou yo aji, tan kou Lénin té di, "non sé pa ak lidé prop péyi moïn ...
 men pito ak lidé patipasyon pa-m nan préparasyon, nan popagand ak nan
 aksélerasyon révolysion pwolétaria-a, nan mond la."
 Pou nou kapab fé préparasyon sa yo konnyé-a ak tout vités, ak tout présizyon sa
 mandé, épi tou, pou nou joven mwayen pou fé prémié mé sa vansé sa mandé ou
 divos ak tou sa ki fèt ki pa bon nan tanpase. Zyé ak ké moun ki révolysioné dwé fiksé
 pi ro ké nivo lit jodi a yo: nou dwé sispan rakonté mas yo sa yo konnen pa ké déja,

فراخوان جهانی برای بزرگاری روز اول ماه
UN LLAMADO INTERNACIONALISTA A LA ACCIÓN EL 1º DE MAYO



I Mayista Uluslararası Dayanışmaya Çağın
Un Appello Internazionale all'Azione per il Primo Maggio
Internationalist Call to May First Action

بخاطر رستگاری که در صوفی‌بندی فراخوان اول ماه می بغدادی دهخنده گذشته روزنامه "کاکر انقلابی" خج داد ، ما مجدداً آنرا این هفته بجای می‌نیم .

فراخوان جهانی برای برگزاری روز اول ماه

In Farsi

en persa

کردی در این توضیح اهمیت می واقعی کندیرکن خود شده آنگاه بکنند
 ... امروز از برای ما بلند . مگر آن کمترین خود که سال ۱۹۱۷ بر بست
 به دزدی سهم شده بعد ؟ مگر ما زنبور که سال ۱۹۲۰ بر همین اثر شکست ؟
 ولی این هم مگر مبادی است چه دنیا و به شریعت را عرض نمیدهند و
 حقیقت آنرا برشته لآن قواست آنرا بست کندند که بر اساس است باید
 به اصطلاح واقع برست بود و آنرا که کند به است برترید ؟
 این روز برترید و برترید است واقعیت است که با عبادت سید
 قالی از اهل اسلام را که با برست ... مضمون نگارنده و امروزه دیگر بار زمان فرا
 میرسد که وقایع دنیا تاج ای فرمانروایان در جریان با مظلوم و
 فرست می بزرگ برای انقلاب برست قوام می آید . پس آیا ما هم
 نباید آن هدف بلند والای که اینست ما را داشته باشد برترید ؟

این فراخوان است از طرف RCP حزب کمونیست
 انقلاب آمریکا :

بگذرد اول ماه در قریب آنجا که گذشت آنجا که با ما در یک
 واقعات مختلف فعالیت امر انقلابی را برای خاندان ساز ، زندان ، ترس ،
 خیا ، دانه و جنگ با ما با اصطلاح فریاد برترید (اگر با ما) باشد و برترید
 از راه ، در تقاضای بگردهای دنیا است و همه که واقعا بخش جهان بشود
 در هر جا که حتی در این زمان "مشغول" آمده است اندیشه برترید
 برای انقلاب است با ما برترید است .

ولی بیشتر از این ، بگذرد اول ماه ۱۹۸۲ را با ما در یک
 بین المللی را که بعید است اقدامات خود سوسیالیستیک را که کند ،
 انقلابی که ملت های سوسیالیست به ترس از ابرایسم برست خود پیوست
 می سوسیالیست شده ، بگذرد اول ماه که اینست ، همانان
 دهه ، از حق فقط برای کمی دهنده ، و در آنجا که با ما در یک
 آن روز حال که گذشت در نیستند ، وقت که برودن را در آنجا که
 و قدرت را در آنجا که می باید ، وقت که برسد به تغییر هاشد از ابرایسم
 از آنجا که گذشت شده است . پس بگذرد اول ماه برترید
 سرخ انقلاب برترید ، مانند کنی در سرخ بکنند ، رنگ رنگ
 در شکست تا پذیرا از میان ذرات دهه از راه برترید

حزب کمونیست انقلاب آمریکا

RCP, USA, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

قدره بجز تصور آسمان فراتر از حد حس کنی . انقلاب ... چقدر
 تغییر کند ، نقش انقلابی در هر یک از این آنگاه هر کشور .
 شده سر می است که است سید به جهان سوسوز ، حتی در آن انقلاب
 نقایع خود کردی برای برترید است .

بر خریدی که کمترین بین زودای جنگ پر ابرایسم و انقلاب
 در گرفته می شود ، برتری خود برترید که اگر برترید . در روز اول ماه ،
 بزدهای انقلاب باید قریب ای تبه نشسته آن بگذرد اول ماه .

در آن روز باید یک تغییر ابرو بدینست : نظیر برترید آنگاه
 از شخصیت از سید برترید خود برترید ، برترید برترید و برترید
 قوی او برای برتری که برترید دنیا . بودن اقدامات برترید
 سیاست کارگران در واقعا نقطه که زمین باید با برترید همراه باشد
 در مظهر کمترین حاشیای برترید : " از ان نقطه نظر کشور من"
 ... بگذرد اول ماه برترید ، در شب ، در شب ، در شب

جهان باشد .
 این زمان ، برای اینکه برترید ، بصورت فعال و مردمی
 برترید برترید ، برترید برای یافتن راهی پیش برترید اول ماه سوسیالیسم
 برترید که گذشت برترید برترید ، چشم و قلبی انقلاب برترید آن
 سطح برترید که برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید
 چیزی را می گویند که آنان از پیش می دانند و آنان را از می دانند و سوسیالیسم
 برترید است برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید
 و می برترید فقط برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید
 که برترید برترید "از راه" می شود با برترید برترید
 برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید
 برترید ، برترید برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 با برترید برترید واحد واحد برترید برترید ، برترید برترید یا
 برترید برترید برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید و برترید
 برترید از آنجا که برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید
 برترید ، برترید برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 برترید ، برترید برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 برترید ، برترید برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید

شاید قریب اینها باشد سید ... وقت برترید برترید
 بسیار خوب : هیچ چیزی که از برترید ... برترید برترید

برترید ، از شکست و تمام کنی در جرات مبارزه برای آینده را دارند .
 جنگ جهانی و انقلاب ... برترید برترید و برترید برترید
 سه روز جهان برترید ... این برترید برای اقدامات انقلابی
 در هر کشوری برترید .

اول ماه یک جشن انقلاب برترید ، برای این است ، طبقی
 که حقیقتا برتری برای از برترید دارن مگر برتری و برترید برترید
 معرجه برترید برترید ، اما این روز یک معنی روشن دارد :
 عزیمت تمام آنانی که استوار شده و برترید برترید ، تمام آن
 نیرویانی که یکس شده بودند و برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 نظم خط ، تغییر برای برترید برترید ... برترید برترید ، برترید
 و برترید ... برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید
 تمام برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 برترید برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 تا آسمانها در نقطه از زمین ، و برترید برترید ، برترید
 انقلاب .

تاریخ برترید و برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 در برترید برترید ، اما قریب برترید برترید ، برترید
 امروز ، برترید برترید ، برترید برترید

از طرفی برترید ای برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 شده ، خود برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 از راه ، برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 سیستم خود برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید
 آنجا که برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 برترید ، برترید برترید ، برترید برترید

و همیشه آنجا که یک مسله که هرگز برترید برترید
 برترید برترید و انقلاب برترید ، برترید برترید
 اس لوانه و آنجا که برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 آزادی برترید و برای جوانان برترید ... برترید برترید
 انقلاب است و قریب اینها برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 نشد برترید برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 یکبار از انقلاب برترید برترید ، برترید برترید
 می زمان آزادی برترید برترید ، برترید برترید

sispann kembé lespri avek aksion politik yo anndan twonnè prop pèyi pa yo. Vyé kalfil ki vlé ké si nou adisyone tout lit ké tout pèp nan mond antyé apè menmen séparéman, nou va gen ou révolisyon mondyal vyé kalkil sa li pa bon. Li lè pou-n réjété li, de fason pou nou anbrase kalkil révolisyonè Lénin té dékouvi. Paské, nan ou kris chen anrajé ki déyo pou devore tout pèp, tout pèyi sou tè a, prolétaria a tou, pèp travayé kap ralé di pou patou sou tèa dwé dévolopé épi dwé aji ak visyon tèt an-anam: chak pèyi dwé tounen détachman ou sèl lamé. Lè pèp youn ou plizyè pèyi ranpoté la viktwa, sa vié di ké lènni an vin pi fèb, sa vié di ké gen posibilité pou réalizé révolisyon mondyal lan. Sé nan espri sag, nan direkyon saq ké los konsyon-tizé yo dwé maché ak tout vitès pou yo sa kreyé ou sèl pwogram, ou sèl estrateji, ou sèl organizasyon sou ou échèl enténasyonnal, pou dévolopé ou sèl tandans, tandans kominia révolisyonè/enténasyonnal prolétaryen.

Gen moun ki di ké sé révé, ké nou gen vizyon. Pa gen anyèn mal nansa! Pas ké sé visyon sa yo menm — visyon ki pasé mask ki caché réalité a pou montral vrè sous kap domi anba-l — sé sa nou bzwen jodia. Eské en 1917 yo pa-t akizé Lénin vizyonè? Eské en 1966, yo pa-t akizé Mao pou menm bagay? Men poutan eské rèv yoa pa changé figi limamité tankou figi lemond menm? Eské rèv yo paté pi pré réalité pase tout ral nou tandé joudi a kap di-n pou chwasi «sa ki pi miyo», kap di nou pou nou réalité? Revizionism ak réformism sa yo sé ou «réalism» ki fixé sèlman nan kad emperyalism ak nan kad estati quo-a . . . Cé menm «réalism» sa ké nou wè jodia anko; ou réalism kap ralé Souvant nan ou mond koté kouran gen po you trennen nan la-bon, ou mond ki gran ouvé pou akayon tout révolisyonè. Eské sa pa té nou anv

souv menm chémen Lénin ak Mao té suivi?
 Alo, sa-a sé apèl Pati Kominis Révolisyonè-USA lansé jodia:
 Ak nan Zeta-Zini menm, sé pou premié mé sa men-nen grèv nan izin ak nan lékol yo, sé pou tout kalité aktivité politik révolisyonè éklaté nan pak ké yo fè pou maléré, nan prizon, nan chak kalfou, nan prop sitadèl ak tabènak lèn-mi an, konsa milyon moun isit la ak toupatou sou tè a va wè ké vèman gen ou seksyon nan mas yo jodia kap «préparé lespri yo é kap oganizé fos yo» pou té révolisyon nan vant emperyalism la menm.

Epi tou, sé pou premié mé 1982 montré ké rèv inité pwolétaria enténasyonnal ap vin tounen ou réalité: fok gen ou menm kouran aksion ki va soti nan peyi kap soufri anba emperyalism la pou-l rivé jous nan sitadèl kapitalis yo; menmi si sé pou ou iou ou 2, kouran-sa va anonsé é liva préparé chemen pou jou sa yo ki pa tro lwen, lè pwolétaria-a va pran pouvwva é va libéré teritwa jodia isit, demen lot bo, koulé ou moman pou remonté pli lewn, poté libérasyon preske toupatou so tè-a de chenn emperyalis la. Sé pou solyé premié mé pléré toupatou sou drapo rouj révolisyon-an kap fleri tankou flé fléri sou béton, tanko la vi ki pa janm fini nan mitan debri lanmo. Pati Kominis Révolisyonè - USA

Sa sé ou bouyon apèl nou an. Nou espéré diféran moun ak organizasyon va siki lè-l nan diféran lang, va ranmasé kritik ak sijesyon sou li épi va ekspédié yo ban nou kontribyé nan akayon enténasyonnal jou premié mé ki va gen plis fason.

RCP, USA, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654



New York, May Day, 1980

New York, Primero de Mayo, 1980

class which truly has nothing to lose but the chains that hold it to a world-wide system of modern day slavery and murder. There is but one authentic meaning to this day: the determination of all who are exploited and enslaved, of all forces embodying the new and rising, to carry out revolution against this twisted order; the determination to leap forward—crossing barriers of language, nation and race—toward the abolition of all classes and class distinctions, the wiping out of the subjugation of one nationality to another and of women to men, toward the extinction of wars and of nation-states themselves, and the shattering of all tradition's chains. And there is but one way to truly celebrate this holiday: in struggle and rebellion, holding the red banner to the skies in every corner of the globe, and fighting as far forward as we can to the revolutionary future.

History moves in restless outbursts that flare up and then subside, only to erupt again, still more intensely. Beneath today's tremors lies a conflict of profound and literally earthshaking dimensions.

On one side the imperialist powers of both the U.S. and the Soviet-led blocs prepare for war, thrashing in quicksand of their own making, trying to hold their empires together while lurching toward nuclear conflict. Impelled on this course by the madman's logic of their system, they are also impelled to further infect "their" masses with that logic and line them up to kill each other off under the banner of "freedom and democracy" (Western imperialist style) or "justice and liberation" (Soviet imperialist style).

And against them? The one thing they never reckon on—the revolutionary spirit and struggle of the masses, spreading like underground fires from Gdansk to El Salvador to the Haitian refugee camps of Florida. You can hear it in the shouts of the youth—the same accents echoing in England's streets and the foothills of Eritrea—defiantly pointing to the emperor's nakedness and challenging his empire. You can see it in the eyes that once again shine with a vision of liberation reflected in the fires of night-time skies. You can feel it in the heartbeats once more pulsing to the rhythm of charging feet and the echos of shattering icons. Revolution—a red flame burning in the oppressed nations of the world and stirring even in the central fortresses of the imperialist countries themselves, with the decisive link being the revolutionary role and leadership of the class-conscious proletariat in every country.

The clash now building between the forces of imperialist war and social revolution will be the forge on which the future is cast. On May 1st, the forces of revolution must make a leap in preparation.

On that day a vision must shine forth: the embryo of a proletariat conscious of its international character and its antagonism to all forms of reaction and of its historic mission to do no less than conquer the world. Infusing the workers' common actions in different quarters of the globe must be the determination to proceed, as Lenin put it, "not from the point of view of 'my' country... but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution."

To actively and urgently carry out such preparations now, and to find the ways on May 1st especially to push this process forward, demands a rupture with the dead hand of the past. Revolutionary eyes and hearts must be set above the miserable level of tailing after whatever struggle comes to

hand, telling the masses what they already know and keeping them spiritually and politically bound within the confines of their nation. The deceptively simple but thoroughly wrong arithmetic in which the struggles—even revolutionary struggles—of the people of each country "add up" to a world revolution must also be thrown off for the revolutionary calculus of Leninism. Especially in an acute crisis that will be global in its dimensions, the proletariat too must be global in its outlook and approach, coordinating its forces as detachments of a single army. Breakthroughs even in one or several countries lead to a weakening of the whole rotten enemy edifice and open up still wider world revolutionary possibilities. In this spirit and direction class-conscious forces must urgently go forward toward a common program, a common strategy and a common organization on an international scale of the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend.

Perhaps all this seems like dreaming... even visions. Well and good! Nothing less than visions—visions that pierce the veil of the everyday and seemingly obvious to reveal the real mainstays lying beneath—are required today. Was not Lenin in 1917 accused of being visionary? Was not Mao in 1966? Yet did not their dreams change the face of the world and humanity, and prove more real than the appeals to choose the "lesser evil" and "be realistic"? This revisionism and reformism is a "realism" whose bounds are determined by the framework of imperialism and the status quo... and again today it comes at a time when world events will set crowns to rolling in the gutters, opening up great opportunities for the revolutionaries. Must not we too aspire to the same lofty heights scaled by Lenin and Mao?

This call then from the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA:

Let May 1st witness, within the U.S. itself, breakouts from factories and schools, and revolutionary political activity of many different kinds in housing projects, prisons, street corners and every sacred sphere and stronghold, signaling to millions not just here but around the world that there is indeed a growing section even now "preparing minds and organizing forces" for revolution in this bastion of imperialism.

But more, let May 1st, 1982 reveal the dream of international proletarian unity coming to life in unified actions stretching from the nations oppressed by imperialism into the very citadels of capital itself; let it politically foreshadow, if only for a day or two, and help prepare the way for, the not-too-distant days when the proletariat will liberate territory and seize power now here, now there, pushed back only to surge further forward, emancipating as much of the world as possible from the twisted chains of imperialism. Let then the May 1st sun shine everywhere on red flags of revolution, blooming like roses pushing up the concrete, unconquerable life amidst the rubble and decay of the dying.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

This call is a first draft. We hope many different people and organizations will circulate it in different languages, make criticisms of it and collect suggestions for it and forward them to us before the end of March so that it can be republished in final form—all contributing to even more powerful internationalist actions on May 1st. RCP, USA, Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654, USA.

Caribbean

Continued from page 6

followed by NATO exercises in the Caribbean, under the code name "Operation Safe Pass," which will include U.S. navy land-based tactical jet fighters, anti-submarine forces, destroyers and other surface warships. On the other side of Central America, a U.S. destroyer has been stationed in the Gulf of Fonseca, between Nicaragua and El Salvador, supposedly spying on possible shipments of weapons to El Salvadoran guerrillas; but in addition to its intelligence-gathering equipment, the ship also carries two 5-inch guns, ship-to-ship missiles and torpedos and two helicopters. And as we go to press, the Salvadoran junta army chief of staff is in Buenos Aires, Argentina, seeking to strengthen "ties between the two armies" while simultaneously, the U.S. army deputy chief of staff is in Paraguay for a meeting with its generalissimo, Alfredo Stroessner, in which Central America will be at the top of the agenda according to the Reuters news agency.

It is no coincidence that Reagan's speech and this military scrambling are going on simultaneously. Faced with a seriously deteriorating situation in El Salvador at a time when its global concerns cannot afford to have things continue in this vein, U.S. imperialism is being forced to the wall. The junta is losing ground militarily and the constituent assembly elections scheduled for March 28 have become an open and acknowledged farce. Turmoil and opposition within the U.S. bloc overall about El Salvador is increasing. What is at stake in all this is not only the continued possession of its Salvadoran neo-colony, but the threat of further turmoil throughout Central America and greater reverberations into Western Europe, and even the United States—all of which could seriously impair the U.S.'s ability to wage world war against its Soviet rivals. And it is those very rivals who are currently taking the most advantage of the Central American crisis to increase their influence in the region. Something is going to have to give here—and soon. But the U.S. is desperately trying to keep its options

open—including military and political weapons.

Liberal Opposition

In this context, bourgeois liberals have been jumping out with all kinds of new plans supposedly in opposition to Reagan's "hard line." All of these involve some version of "negotiations" with the FDR/FMLN—with the current majority favorite being Tip O'Neill's view of continuing military aid to the junta, proceeding with the totally discredited elections and then forcing the winner to negotiate. A related proposal was that endorsed recently by former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert E. White—who creatively called for a cease-fire and, an "international peace force" to enforce negotiations toward a new, more credible election.

The actual difference between these various proposals and the "hard line" boils down to a slightly different mix of the same military and political weapons that the Reagan administration is wielding. There is the view here that "negotiations" would provide the best chance of preserving U.S. interests—and the most important U.S. compradors, like Duarte and his top military accomplices. Also involved is some thinking that once negotiations begin, the U.S. can stick the knife in the opposition to try and pry various forces loose from pro-Soviet revisionist influence; face-smashing can come later, if necessary. This is supposedly in "sharp contrast" to the hard line approach, which leans toward smashing some faces in now, and then sticking the knife in and prying a little later. The fact is, even Secretary of State Haig, the most notorious of the hard-liners around El Salvador, said recently that "We very much favor negotiation which would lead toward a presidential election in Salvador...and which would permit the peoples of Salvador to exercise their right of self determination." Why, he's as "moderate" as the liberals.

And they are just as "hard line" as he, as well. Tip O'Neill, for example, stated after Reagan's Caribbean Basin speech, "I truly believe the president is on the right road. They are our neighbors here in the Western hemisphere." Senator Patrick Leahy, of Vermont, another liberal, told *U.S. News & World Report*,

Very soon we will again print large numbers of the famous May Day poster. We hope many different people will take it up—and get it up—and starting now will donate the money required to print it.

Donate to Print May Day Poster



"We can never really disengage, simply because El Salvador is in this hemisphere and so close by, and we do have real interests in Central America." And the thought behind the policies of both the Reaganites and the liberals was summed up recently by Senator Paul Tsongas, a Kennedy-liberal from Massachusetts: "When you fight a political battle in the Third World, you have to use weapons that are effective politically. Military equipment alone doesn't work."

Another of the scrambling proponents of "negotiations" in the region is Mexican president José Lopez Portillo—who is objectively performing the role of U.S. spearhead among the opposition in Central America at the moment. Lopez Portillo recently visited Managua, Nicaragua, to receive the Order of Sandino (the only other recipient was the founder of the Sandinistas, Carlos Fonseca Amador, who got his award posthumously) and to give a speech outlining his proposals. Offering to "mediate" on the three "knots of tension" in the region—that is, between the

U.S. and Nicaragua, between the U.S. and Cuba, and between the U.S./junta and the FDR/FMLN—Lopez Portillo offered to have Mexico guarantee the results of negotiated solutions to any of the problems in the region. "I can assure my good friends in the U.S. that what happens here in Nicaragua and goes on in El Salvador, and the wind that blows through the whole zone, doesn't represent an intolerable danger for the fundamental interests and the national security of that country." While Lopez Portillo has his own interests to serve in all this, the U.S. is certainly no less concerned with keeping Mexico "stable" than he is and he may yet come in handy as a negotiator for his U.S. bosses.

So the U.S. is still trying to keep its options open as much as possible in El Salvador, and the specific form of new actions it is being driven to take have not fully taken shape yet. Nevertheless, the specific content of all of these options is crystal clear—totally reactionary and further proof of the blood-soaked nature of imperialism. []

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Mi Compañero,

I am a Cuban Brother incarcerated here and have read your paper (Revolutionary Worker) and have found it very interesting and inspiring.

Enclose you will find a check for the sum of Seven (\$7.00) dollars for the purchase of ten weeks' trial subscription (Revolutionary Worker), also, the documents New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA...

A Brother In The Struggle

I received your published literature and party Programme and also your Constitution and wish to thank you personally for making this literature available to me and my brothers inside these prison walls...

If there is anything I can do to show support of your beliefs then just ask, I will be getting out of prison in June of 1988 and be willing to work full-time at anything you wish, but in the meantime if there's anything I can do then I would be more than willing.

I also wish to thank the people whose contributions make this weekly publication possible for it's kept us in tune with our fellow brothers in struggle. Please keep up the good work and I will be working with X on recruiting people who have the same beliefs as us and your party.

Is there anything we can do to support or help Bob Avakian like a hunger strike or anything to tell the world what they are doing is wrong. Then if we are able we will.

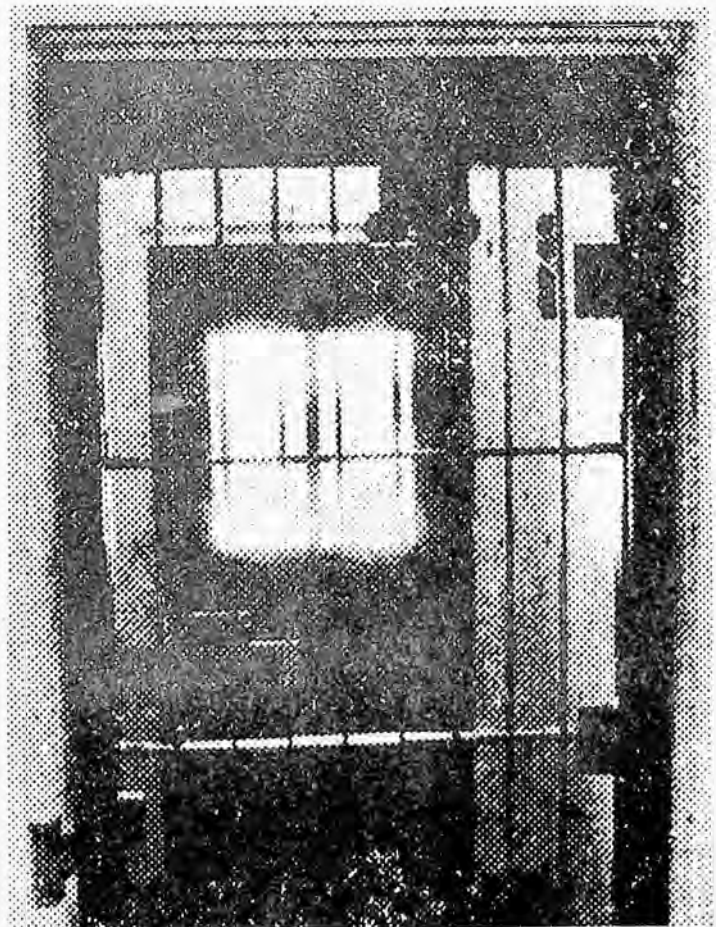
Dear Sir,

I am an inmate at X State Penitentiary and I am previously in the hole for a period of 24 months. I have no way to support myself financially and I'm not receiving any financial support from home. So I would like to know is it possible that I could be donated (Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism). If so it would be highly appreciated.

Very Respectfully Yours,

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

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund Box 3486, Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654



Auto

Continued from page 2

two sides sitting down together and being reasonable." UAW leaders have stressed the same theme, terming the pact a "breakthrough in labor-management cooperation." On the other hand "leftists" inside and outside the union, that is, those whose basic program is moving the imperialists to the "left" through Solidarity Days and so forth, have assailed the new contract as a sellout and attacked UAW President Doug Fraser and the union leadership for not being good trade unionists.

In fact Fraser is being a good imperialist trade unionist. The context in which the UAW is acting is not only economic but political as well. The UAW-Ford cooperative agreement, like Fraser's sitting on the Board of Directors of Chrysler Corp., is reminiscent (in embryonic form) of trade union representation on the War Labor Boards of World Wars I and II, where they helped in the regulation of overall production. This is also the most central meaning in the media campaign around the contract, with its theme that "we're all in the same boat together" — the national boat, which is headed toward the stormy seas of inter-imperialist war. The UAW has played its part in this public opinion campaign for some time, not only stressing a convergence of interests of workers and imperialists, but vigorously championing the imperialist chauvinism which underlies the bourgeoisie's pitch by loudly taking up the "Buy American" campaign and pushing the line that American workers must seek to benefit themselves and "their" country by "stopping the hemorrhaging of our jobs overseas."

Those who try to ignore this real political content, and to pretend that what's at issue is just auto workers hanging on to their jobs, are keeping things in the same ballpark and helping to lead workers into the arms of the imperialists. Now it's quite true — as these "leftists" point out in opposition to Fraser — that these wage cutbacks are not going to preserve auto workers' jobs. Nor are they going to put the companies back on their feet. (The most recent issue of *Business Week*, interestingly, makes both these points, noting that "the pact promises no long-term solution to Ford's underlying problems in the U.S. and abroad" and that "the job-security provisions (of the new contract — RW) are somewhat fuzzily worded and, as one Ford official says, guarantee 'concepts' rather than specifics" — not that written guarantees would fundamentally change the situation either.) And it's also true that there is a bourgeois campaign to get these sorts of cutbacks on a broad scale. It is put forward that the UAW has always been the toughest of bargainers — now if this union is recognizing the need to accept wage and benefit cuts in the interests of the industry, surely it's a portent for the labor movement generally. Before the Ford agreement was reached, newspapers and magazines, pointing to wage concessions by teamsters and meatpackers as well as the auto negotiations, were headlining stories "Labor Seeks Less" and "Does Labor Face a Year of Givebacks?" All this is obviously part of preparing the way for similar agreements in other industries where contracts will be expiring. But the point is that these cutbacks in the wages and benefits of workers are part of a much larger scene, integrally bound up with the whole motion of things toward a revision of the world — which throws much larger issues onto the agenda, as we'll see, and in terms of which a political focus on the fight to retain benefits becomes quite wrong and more than that extremely reactionary.

Auto a Barometer of Crisis

This motion of things is closely related to the economic crisis which has gripped U.S. imperialism and its bloc for much of the 1970s. The auto industry has become one of the focuses of the crisis throughout the bloc, and in the U.S. it's no secret that this industry is in trouble. Industry losses for 1981 are expected to be \$1.6 billion, during a year in which new car sales in the U.S. dipped to the lowest point in twenty years. By the end of the year auto-plant layoffs for 1981 exceeded 260,000. So far this year, car sales are down even further from the depressed levels of 1981. Fur-

ther, this came on top of a previous year, 1980, which had itself seen record losses and plummeting sales. In fact, total new car sales have been falling in the U.S. since 1978, and within this shrinking market, the U.S. companies have seen their share of the market continuously eroded by imported cars. (See graph on p. 2) By UAW calculations, total employment in the auto industry, including in firms that supply components for the automobile companies, has dropped by 600,000 since 1978.

Neither the United States nor the automobile industry is alone in this situation. Auto has joined the list of other industries in deep trouble on a worldwide basis: textiles, shipbuilding and steel, to take the most notable examples. The slump in auto is a barometer of the overall imperialist crisis and the present serious recession which affects all the major imperialists of the U.S. bloc. Taking the bloc as a whole, economic growth stagnated in the second half of 1981, following only a nominal rise in the first half of the year. In both Britain and West Germany it fell over the year as a whole. The total number of unemployed in the imperialist countries of the U.S. bloc rose from 21.4 million persons in 1980 to 25 million in 1981, according to the notoriously understated official figures, and the duration of unemployment rose. By the last part of 1981 the rate of unemployment had reached historic heights in several major countries of the bloc: in West Germany, the highest since the immediate aftermath of World War II; in the U.S. and Britain, the highest since the 1930s; in Canada, close to an historic high. Even in Japan, which was doing somewhat better than its imperialist partners, unemployment surged upward beginning in July, due to deteriorating economic conditions. And the prospects for this year are hardly rosy. The OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the U.S.-bloc economic research and coordination body) predicts that economic growth will pick up slowly, but with unemployment rising. In Europe the unemployment rate is predicted to reach 10% by 1983 (from just under 9% now), while in the U.S. the predicted rate is about 9% for the entire period of 1982 (which would constitute a *sustained* level of joblessness unknown in the U.S. since the 1930s.)

It has become more and more plainly obvious that this recession, like that of 1980, is part of a deep-rooted and pervasive crisis. In fact imperialism worldwide is enmeshed in a crisis of capital accumulation which cannot be escaped through economic policies, but which drives the system toward inter-imperialist world war as the only means of restructuring capital through a revision of the world among the imperialist powers and blocs. This is the context of the crisis in the auto industry.

The auto industry serves as an index of how deeply the crisis has penetrated. As the overall economic crisis of the U.S. bloc has deepened, it has focused in successively on one and then another problem industry. At first it was the textile industry; by 1977 an official European Economic Community paper could speak of a "worldwide structural crisis" in both textiles and steel; now the auto industry would have to be included. This progress from textiles to steel to auto can be seen as an advance of the crisis into industries of greater and greater technological advancement. This is true not only in general, but in the U.S. in particular, which has, for example, modernized its auto industry to a greater extent than steel. This should not be seen as a simultaneous crisis of separated industries in different countries, but as a crisis in industries which have become decisively internationalized, even while they maintain national roots. This means an internationalization of the circuit of capital and the production process, not simply the international circulation of commodities through trade, which is not distinctive of imperialism but has been a feature of capitalism from the beginning.

The U.S. auto industry offers a clear illustration of this crucial aspect. The U.S. companies, in fact, are the most international in their production in the industry compared with the other imperialists, with more than 36% of their production overseas by 1976. Moreover, these foreign operations, especially those in "third world" countries, are more profitable. For several years now, for example,

Ford's huge losses domestically have been supported by its operations abroad. In 1979 this meant that Ford, with 55% of its assets overseas, made \$1.2 billion in profits even though it lost money on its U.S. operations, while in the past two years foreign operations have mitigated its losses as the company went into the red. In another striking illustration, GM's 1980 overseas operations, conducted on the basis of 27% of its total assets, were responsible for a full 90% of its profits that year.

But nonetheless profits overall have been falling drastically, including abroad. In the context of the world crisis of the 1970s, the industry's overseas advantages begin to turn into their opposite as capital runs into its own inherent limits, the very disarticulation and distortions which imperialism introduces in the countries of the "third world" becoming barriers to its further expansion there. At the same time, as the crisis deepens, there is an increasing tendency for each imperialist to protect its home market against other imperialist intruders. Earlier the U.S., as the chief beneficiary of the new division of the world brought about by World War II, upheld "free trade" because it could benefit from knocking down the trade restrictions of its lesser imperialist rivals in Europe and Japan, and even now the U.S. does not principally advocate protectionism. Nonetheless, there are tendencies in this direction and the auto industry, in particular, has recently been pushing for protection against imported cars.

Protectionism and Uneven Development

Not coincidentally, in relation to protectionism the same sequence can be seen in the U.S. as observed above in problem industries internationally. It is not so long ago that the steel industry was pushing for protection against foreign competition (imported steel), and it was the auto industry (along with its loyal lackies in the UAW) which decried these moves and waved the banner of "free trade." Now it is auto which seeks protection against imports. Earlier it had been the textile industry which wanted protection: already by the early 1960s the U.S. had pushed other major trading countries into an agreement to restrain the import of cotton textiles. By the late 1960s, however, imports (especially of synthetic textiles) were once again causing acute problems for this industry, and after several years of pressuring by the U.S., arrangements were worked out with Japan and other suppliers to cut back on the growth of imports into the U.S. Next it was steel's turn to feel the heat, resulting in the U.S. imposition of "trigger prices" in the late 1970s, which effectively set minimum prices to stem the influx of cheaper imported steel.

An important aspect of the problems for the U.S. that made for these protectionist tendencies arose from the uneven development of the different imperialists. Let's take Japan as an example, since the contradictions of uneven development are sharpest in this case and show up pointedly in the auto industry, although the same is true to varying degrees for several other imperialists of the U.S. bloc. Over the course of the present post-WWII economic and political spiral, Japan has developed its national productive forces at a faster pace than the U.S. The U.S. had come out of World War II, of course, as the undisputed king of the imperialist manure pile. In this position it did not face a necessity to sweepingly revamp its industry, for not only did the U.S. have the most powerful and productive industrial base in the world, and one that had come through the war quite unscathed, but in the postwar world the U.S. could rely on the privileges of its kingpin position. For Japan, of course, just the opposite was the case: not only did it face the necessity of rebuilding what had been destroyed during the war — a rebuilding, naturally, taking place on the basis of more modern, 1950s and 1960s, technology — but it had to come from behind as an imperialist power. The more advanced technological base of Japanese industry meant more efficient and productive capital, thereby enabling Japanese capitalists to produce commodities more cheaply and undersell those from the U.S. and other countries. This circumstance, along with some direct fostering by the U.S. for political reasons (see below), enabled Japan to advance at a more rapid rate imperialist power in the context of the

overall expansion experienced by the U.S. bloc during the 1950s and 1960s, including especially the increased opening up of opportunities for deeper imperialist penetration in the "third world."

This is an important aspect of things; but to leave it at this would be quite misleading, making it seem that Japan and the U.S. were developing head-to-head as rival imperialists. But in fact Japan was always within the U.S. bloc throughout the postwar period, and although there has definitely been jockeying and rivalry between them, it has always taken place within this context. This bears directly on the economic sphere in that the U.S. was concerned to build up the defeated imperialist powers which more or less directly confronted the Soviet Union, which meant particularly West Germany and Japan. Unless the overriding international context is kept in mind, with the U.S. marshaling its bloc to confront first the socialist camp and later the newly imperialist Soviet Union, it is impossible to understand the rapid postwar growth of a country like Japan, a growth which was not only permitted but fostered by the U.S. Of course at the same time, the driving force of anarchy inherent in capitalist production was at work toward the same end. For example, given the fact that the U.S. steel industry, say, was relatively stagnant while the Japanese was more dynamic, U.S. finance capital would be attracted — and was — to invest in the Japanese industry. (For example, according to the *Oriental Economist*, U.S. banks had outstanding loans of over a billion dollars to Japanese steel companies in 1977 — with most of the largest banks being big stockholders in U.S. steel companies as well.) Thus the spontaneous dynamics of uneven development, coinciding with the more conscious political imperatives of U.S. imperialism, determined the relatively rapid growth of Japan in this spiral. This "Japanese miracle," as it's been dubbed, is nothing mysterious or magical, nor is it due to some supposed special qualities of the Japanese character, but has been caused by the operation of imperialism internationally in this concrete historical situation.

The time when these dynamics began to come to a head, with Japan beginning to move in on the U.S. in terms of the export of goods and of capital — that is, in the early 1970s — coincided with the onset of the crisis which has continued to grip the U.S. bloc. The interaction of the uneven development within the U.S. bloc and the development of the bloc-wide crisis has had several consequences. Not only has it made things worse for the U.S. as the problems caused by its relatively weakened position are compounded by the deteriorating economic situation of the bloc as a whole, but it also intensifies the need of a country like Japan to penetrate new markets, since the very newness of their plant and equipment means that the investment must be recouped, imposing the need to run at full tilt. All of the imperialists face the need, imposed by the blind forces of capital, to expand — but efforts to expand only intensify the crisis and bring them more into contradiction with each other. This is the general motion of things, but it's important to note that it by no means happens in a straight-line sort of way. Not only are there ups and downs, twists and turns in the economic crisis of the bloc, but in terms of the uneven development of different imperialists in the bloc, the U.S. has again and again in the 1970s used its position of political and military domination to work against the results that would have come from the purely economic operation of things. In addition, and more importantly, the inter-imperialist contradictions within a bloc (such as the contradiction between the U.S. and Japan) are in no way primary, but are subordinate (and subordinated) to the rivalry between the two imperialist blocs headed by the U.S. and the USSR. It is this inter-bloc contention, leading in the direction of world war, which is principally shaping the development of things, including developments within the U.S. bloc. Japan, for example, cannot pursue its own imperialist interests except as a subordinate member of a bloc headed by one of the superpowers, and thus must (and does) recognize U.S. political and military leadership. On the other hand the U.S., as boss of its bloc, must pull it together concretely under its own leadership as rapidly as possible in preparation for war.

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These aspects have come out in the maneuverings and dealings of the two imperialists around the auto question, for example. Thus when Ford Motor Company and the United Auto Workers brought suit in 1980 to get an import quota imposed on foreign-made cars, the U.S. International Trade Commission rejected it, in a concessionary move in relation to Japan designed to tighten the bloc. In the meantime, however, the U.S. continued to put pressure on its junior partner and finally extracted a "voluntary" commitment by Japan to cut auto exports to the U.S. by 7.7% in 1981. (Finally, in fitting conclusion, it has turned out that these voluntary Japanese quotas have not helped the U.S. industry at all so far, for U.S. sales have been so depressed that Japanese cars have been able to continue to hold their share of the market without overstepping the numerical quotas — a situation that will probably continue for most of this year.)

Grandiose Schemes

In this situation the U.S. industry has put forward grandiose plans for a huge investment program of \$80 billion over the next 3 to 5 years, an unprecedented program which, an industry magazine points out, would be "the fastest, most expensive and far-reaching change in industrial history." Now it's true that investments of this magnitude would probably be necessary to restore the competitiveness and profitability of the U.S. industry. But something of this magnitude is hardly in the cards. Chrysler, of course, is still struggling just to keep afloat (and the relatively tiny American Motors has already effectively been absorbed by the French company Renault), while Ford and General Motors had reportedly exhausted their working capital by the end of 1981 and were having to borrow \$3 billion just to keep current programs on track, while GM (the only company which did not report a loss last year) had already had to postpone or cancel some \$8 billion worth of new programs. The combination of the world slump in auto and the high interest rates (which themselves are closely related to the crisis of U.S. imperialism and the necessities it imposes) make it impossible to raise the needed capital. This fact is reflected in a recent Chase Manhattan Bank study of the world auto industry which predicts that the world market will continue to be depressed, with the U.S. market a particular low spot (relative to the past) within it, and that U.S. companies will be unable to make a comeback and regain their former position.

But in fact this study does not represent the actual plans of the imperialists for the future. Rather, these schemes and their impossibility offer another way of seeing how the overarching rivalry of the two blocs and the resulting motion toward war is actually the dynamic which is most shaping things. The floating of grand auto investment plans is very reminiscent of talk of the "reindustrialization of America." This was a watchword not so long ago among capitalists and their spokesmen, who pointed to the need to revamp U.S. industry across the board in order to restore the U.S. competitive position internationally. In fact the U.S. imperialists are spending hundreds of billions of dollars, not on a general program of reinvigorating U.S. industry, but on revamping the U.S. military machine, and on war preparations generally. The contradictions and crisis within the U.S. bloc by itself cannot explain this; neither can the crisis in the Soviet bloc. It is the dialectical relation between the crisis in the U.S. bloc, the crisis in the Soviet bloc, and the rivalry between the two which accounts for the situation in which these imperialists are caught — a situation from which they cannot escape except through winning a world war.

This is the context of the crisis in the U.S. auto industry, and explains what principally shapes the bourgeoisie's response to it. Recall, for example, the bailout of Chrysler Corporation. After a period of sharp debate among the bourgeoisie, it was decided to stage a rescue operation (through government-guaranteed loans) of the auto manufacturer, which was teetering on the edge of bankruptcy. The primary reasons for the bailout were the destabilizing effects which the company's failure would have economically, and its importance in the

U.S. defense structure. The same is true to an even greater extent in relation to the automobile industry as a whole, which now finds itself somewhat closer to the position of Chrysler in 1979.

In this context the question is not one of revamping the auto industry, but of keeping it alive and walking, and here the same factors mentioned above in connection with Chrysler come into play. It is crucial for the bourgeoisie to keep the industry generally viable because, in the first place, it has tremendous ramifications throughout the national economy: about one to six jobs in the U.S., for example, is directly or indirectly related to automobile production. And secondly, the industry is quite militarily significant. This does not arise only from the fact that an auto company may make some particular item of military equipment, for this function could always be incorporated into another company. Chrysler, for instance, has been the manufacturer of the army's main new tank, but the company has just been forced to sell its tank division (its most profitable arm) to General Dynamics. Rather, its military significance lies in the fact that war requires the mobilization of an imperialist country's whole productive capacity, in which this industry plays an important part in terms of its place within the total structure and its ability to organize key resources, skills and technology. This is what was noted by a Department of Transportation study on the auto industry last year, which stressed the need for "this industry's production capacity" as "a vital mobilizing force in our defense capability."

This is the background for the renegotiation of contracts with the auto workers. The companies point to the fact that in order to meet the competition from Japanese companies, they have to cut their costs while massively expanding their investments, and they claim that U.S. workers get almost \$9 more per hour in wages and benefits than their Japanese counterparts. Now as we've seen, the industry's crisis does not arise simply from Japanese competition, and the general scenario for the future is not one of U.S. companies making massive investments and meeting "the Japanese challenge" within the present framework of things. But they do have to keep from going under (which may include some big investments — as much as they can swing). Even staying on their feet and keeping from going under involves cutting the costs of production as much as possible, and where else can the companies concentrate their cost-cutting than in the cost of labor-power.

Economist Chauvinism

With only subtle variations, the unanimous cry of the multifarious opportunist organizations of the U.S. left has been: "Auto workers must fight back against company attacks on the wages and benefits they have won. If Japanese wages are lower, then they should be raised rather than U.S. wages lowered. The companies say they're broke, but they have the money. And if the companies are in crisis, let them bear the costs, not the workers." This line, playing upon the spontaneous tendencies of the workers, is dead wrong. To put it bluntly, from the standpoint of political economy the companies and the UAW have a better case than do these "champions of labor." What is wrong is not the reasoning of the companies and the UAW, but the premise which the assortment of "communists" and other reformists share with them: namely, that the horizon of the workers' interests is bounded by the system of imperialism.

This economist approach and political line attempts to concentrate the attention of workers on the narrowest concerns. Actually it comes down to the view that workers should focus on bread-and-butter issues and leave political concerns to the imperialists. This line is pragmatic and at bottom deeply unrealistic and reactionary, seeking to preserve illusions and cover up the actual issues at stake today. For the question which is in reality facing workers and the masses of people generally in the U.S. today is not that of faring better or worse within the political/economic context that has existed since World War 2. This whole framework is being thrown increasingly into question by the motion of the contradictions of the imperialist system itself, and the real issues being thrown upon the agenda of history are those of a slavemas-

ters' war, the violent redivision of the world, and as part of the same process things being thrown up for grabs politically and the real possibility of an imperialist crisis being turned into a crisis of imperialism in a number of areas of the world. The objective political effect of this is to promote national chauvinism, just as the UAW leaders are so proficient at. In this context, the whole effort to focus the attention of workers and the masses of people exclusively on cutbacks, "givebacks," and the dread spectre of "Reaganomics" is profoundly stultifying and reactionary. How can it be anything but politically stultifying and demoralizing to hold your sights down to the mundane and day-to-day at a time when the tremors of the approaching shake-up of the whole world are beginning to be felt? And how can it be anything but reactionary to attempt to harness workers to the imperialist war machine by urging them to exert every effort to hang on to the gold on their chains?

For auto workers — as well as those in steel, rubber, and a whole section of the working class comprising most of those in the most large-scale and unionized industries in the U.S. — do have gilded chains, in that they occupy a better-off position within the working class and are in fact paid above the value of their labor power. While partly resulting from their struggles over the years, this is principally due to the kingpin position of the U.S. imperialists in the spiral since World War 2 and the fact that they and their agents have been able to consciously buy off this section of workers. Now these same imperialists are losing their ability to do so, and they are definitely worried about the possibility of losing their hold on this important section (although it is not, contrary to typical "Marxist" wisdom, the most important section) of the working class. Further, with regard to auto workers, not only are they often concentrated in the decaying cities which express so well some of the contradictions of imperialism, but there is the fact that this industry, especially in these cities, contains very many Black workers, who may have been thrown a sop in the form of a well-paying job in the last 10 years or so, but

whose consciousness of their national oppression and experience in political struggle make them an explosive element among those who are being thrown out of work.

It may be that auto workers will not move into sharp struggle as a result of these wage cutbacks and layoffs. In fact there is very little sign of a wave of protest now, and in general there is not any necessary or one-to-one correlation between a decline in living standards and militancy or intensity of struggle on the part of those affected. Economic bad times don't necessarily touch off struggle, which has to do rather with factors like the overall conditions in society, the experiences of different sections of the masses, and political conditions overall. But whether or not an immediate struggle is in the offing, the hard reality of the necessities of U.S. imperialism is forcing itself upon sections of the better-paid workers whose buying-off has been a crucial part of the domestic strategy of the U.S. bourgeoisie. The illusions of the "American Dream" which had been fostered in them are being shattered, and many have the possibility of seeing that the whole thing is a dead end.

When the Super Bowl was played this year at the Silverdome in the depressed auto town of Pontiac (unemployment rate 24%) just outside Detroit, an unemployed auto worker was asked by *Newsweek* what he thought of the event: "I love football," says Peter Dunham, who was laid off from his job at the Cadillac plant eighteen months ago, "but this thing ain't for us. It's for people who have everything. I resent the hell out of this. If they don't do something real here and do it fast, there's going to be civil war." Certainly the bourgeoisie fears such spontaneous sentiments, which is why they are attempting to demoralize people and are mounting such a blatant campaign to create public opinion both among auto workers and more broadly that "the era of confrontation is over." And although various "leftists" may insist on the necessity of trade-union confrontations, this is for the same purpose of avoiding political confrontation with imperialism.



Cover of recent United Auto Workers publication "Solidarity" graphically illustrates view propagated by imperialist labor lieutenants and a variety of leftist opportunists: unemployment is portrayed as arising out of a combination of the failure to "buy American" and the evil policies of the administration. Not only does this actively mislead workers as to the real nature of the crisis which is throwing them out of work, but its political effect is to seek to enlist them into the cause of U.S. imperialism as it gears up to fight its equally imperialist rival bloc.

I'm A Warrior

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you can't say, "No, I ain't takin' this pill." So what happened was anyone who had a brain injury, this special tool was implanted into their brain. I never saw it successful. I saw 15 people in the course of a year and a half, who were made into total vegetables trying to perfect Jackson's Shunt. That's military experimentation. That's what Western medicine is about. It doesn't care about people. The only thing it cares about is technology. At the time, I was working in the intensive care unit, I saw a man who had severe anemia, and every 4 hours my assignment was to torture him. His body was decomposing, and we were keeping him alive with machines, because technology was the thing. We didn't care about his life, or the quality of his life, the only thing we cared about was keeping him alive. He had a severe form of anemia, he had been bed-ridden for 7 years. His bones were sticking out of his body from decubitus ulcers (bed sores), from where he had been bed-ridden for so long. I was one of the people who was assigned, practically every day when I went to work, because I was a good soldier. They told me that this is what was needed to be done and I believed them. And every four hours I would go in and I would change his dressings, and I would pour boric acid into his wounds, and hear him ask me to kill him, every four hours, and ask me why was I keeping him alive?

At that point, I started to question Western medicine, and what they were doing with technology that they were using. I saw a lot of people who were saved on that intensive care unit. The criteria for getting into it was that you had to be 50% dead before you ever saw us. There were a lot of people who were able to be kept alive with the technology that was used. But I saw the extent that they took technology to.

We stopped thinking about patients. We didn't call them by their names. We called them by their disease. We totally dehumanized ourselves because we worked with so much death, because that is what we are doing. Well, I want to enter the case of Fred Albright, because one night he was choking to death, and the nurse ordered me to clear his airways: I refused. I was not going to be a part of keeping him alive one moment longer. That was when I first started to get an idea of what Western medicine was really about. I still didn't understand what was going on in the military. I still thought I was getting a good education and that I was going to be able to do something with this training. I still saw it as a way to break through my chains of oppression. Then I was sent to Guam in 1973.

In 1975, I was there when Operation New Life happened. When the Vietnamese were coming back, with the massive boat exodus, when thousands and thousands were sent from Vietnam to Guam. I saw what was going on with the baby market then. Any baby that came in that was healthy and well-fed, was set up with parents and families back in the United States. This was one of the biggest baby markets set up in the '70s. It was then, that I started to look at these people. And I started to understand that the reason I joined the military was so that I could break my chains. And I saw those people after the things they had undergone in Vietnam, and I saw all the propaganda I had undergone: I had believed that all a Vietnamese was, was a gook; I had no idea that they were human beings; and I was trained like that in the military. And the whole way that they were dealt with and the way we talked about them was to make the Vietnamese less than human—they were not human beings, they were something else. And at that time, that's when I decided that I could no longer support the military. Because here were these people who were just like me. These people just wanted a life, some land and a job. They had come to America for the same reason that I had joined the military; and they have seen what had happened to the people on their land: the genocide that went on, the genocide that wiped out three tribes of people, this testimony was given at the San Francisco hearings. Yet they still bought the line, because America was

handing out a lot of sweets and a lot of candy. It was at that time that I decided, I've got to do something, I've got to start making a stand. I became known as a hell-raiser, ended up getting out of the military, but I spent 7 years, looking and understanding what was going on.

When I got out, I didn't know what to do. With all the stuff that I had, I thought, at least I can get a job. So I went out looking for a job. Well, what I'm trained at is combat war medicine. So what I can do is drive an ambulance, or I can work at the minimum wage in an emergency room as an attendant. But I was given no skills. I was given nothing but war; I was trained at war. Well, OK I'm a warrior. Now there were 7,400

On November 11, 1971 I gave my oath of allegiance to the United States of America. On the 10th of August 1981, I revoked all allegiance to the United States of America, and I stand in unity with the people of the world, who are rising up to break down this system. I give that oath right now.

women that served combat time in Vietnam. When they're talking about this draft, they're saying, heck, women have never served combat time. Well, that's garbage! There were 7,400 who served in Vietnam. When I look and see the way the military is going on, they're willing to use women the same way they use men, classically, to fight their war. On this show, "Defense of America," there was a general who came up who was talking about the integrated battlefield, about how they are ready to fight a war that will be composed of conventional, nuclear, and chemical warfare. The question was asked of him: "Well, what are you going to do? Isn't that going to take a lot of people?" He said, "Oh yeah, that's going to take a lot of people." That's when I realized that I was not going to support the military in any way.

I do not believe in the equal rights that says that women can be used in the police force and in the military, to be used as cannonfodder, to carry out the imperialistic gains that they want to. I'm a revolutionary. I'm a founding member of the 11th Hour Battalion of Oakland, California. We are a set of women who are on for revolution, and we believe that that is the only way to deal with imperialism. I'm also a co-conspirator. I'm also a Witch. There are many things that I do. But there is one thing that I have decided. In working with the War Crimes Tribunal in San Francisco it was the first time that I had really understood what was going on. It was the first time that anyone wanted to hear my story of what it was like to be a woman in the military. And I say, that the War Crimes Tribunal is painting a picture. Imperialism likes to diffuse what it is doing, it likes to not let you know what's going on, so you believe it's all good. Well, it's not good.

On November 11, 1971 I gave my oath of allegiance to the United States of America. On the 10th of August, 1981, I revoked all allegiance to the United States of America, and I stand in unity with the people of the world, who are rising up to break down this system. I give that oath right now. One thing in the occult sciences, is that red stands for survival, and I think that raising the red flag is the only way that we're going to survive.

Q: Could you explain more about the baby market?

A: Well, they had a lot of children who were coming back. And when the mass exodus happened, what they did was take all the babies on one plane, and bring them in. As soon as they got there, they would look them over, make sure there was no disease, then immediately ship

them to the United States, where they had a list of people who were willing to take a child, doing it under the guise of wanting to help these Vietnamese children. But it was really just a basic baby market. And no one ever said where these children came from, where they took them from. All of a sudden, there was a plane-load of babies that appeared magically on the island of Guam.

Q: What did they do with the babies that were diseased?

A: They had massive hospital tents, because of the severity of disease that happens to people who have been in a war torn state for many years. A lot of them were simply taken to the relocation camps. If you weren't healthy they left you with your family.

Q: Were there any attempts to find out whether any of these babies had parents or any other family?

A: Not to my knowledge. There was none

consciousness, but I never lost my class consciousness." When they came down in the Mission, one thing they really wanted to show was that they were not going to let people rise up. But exactly the opposite happened. On the spot, a thousand dollars was contributed for bail money for the people who were being taken to jail. Anyone that they saw on the side of the street, who looked like they were in the least bit sympathetic was dragged into the street, and beaten and arrested.

Q: Could you talk a little bit more about what the point of Operation New Life was about. And also some of your own experience with some medical experimentation in the navy that was done on you?

A: Operation New Life was set up for the people who supported the forces in America. So this was their goodie. It was like, ok, you helped us, we know that when the new regime comes in, you'll be executed for the stuff that you did. So we're going to set you up and give you a new life. It was meant as a bribery. And most of the people that I know and talked with (and I wasn't able to talk to all the masses there, so I just talked to those I met) were quite surprised when they came to Guam and were put into relocation centers, that were your basic typical concentration camps. And then they were sent off to other places that were similar to this all over. Their whole idea was that when they came to America, they would get land, they would have a job and they would have equal opportunities.

My own experience in medical experimentation was that in 1973, I was given a special test that was called a radioactive uptake test which is the common test done for people who have thyroid abnormalities. After that happened, my thyroid gland started to grow. And I said, "Hey, what's going on here, I have this mass!" And they said: "Hey, it's within normal limits; the test showed that you have a little bit of a 'hot' spot on one side of your gland, but it's okay. It's all within normal limits." Two years later, I developed rheumatoid arthritis, to the point where I was bed-ridden for three days a week, and could not longer function without lying down for every two hours. They said there was no connection. My neck continued to grow. I was discharged, disabled in 1978. When I got out, I went to the Feminist Women's Health Center, I started hearing about New Age techniques of body cleansing, changing the diet, nutritional ways to heal disease. Within a year, with strict diet regimentation, I have healed myself of all the symptoms of rheumatoid arthritis. But my neck continued to grow. When I came to a point where an investigation started about what was really going on, I found out that cancer, rheumatoid arthritis are all related. They're immune diseases. I believe that experimentation they did by utilizing that test on me with radioactivity was the onset of the growth of a massive tumor within my body. Now, when I go to Western medicine, they say, oh no, that's not how it is. But I've seen that there is a steady progressive change in my body since that test happened, that had never happened to me in my life before. One thing that happened to me was that on International Women's Day, was the first time that I ever came out publicly to speak on my anti-imperialist views, as a representative of the 11th Hour Battalion (IWD 1981—RW). It was one of the most strongest things I've ever done, and I felt it was an incredible purge. What happened to me after I made that political announcement, within four hours, my skin turned yellow, I shitted yellow for the next two weeks and my body stayed yellow, which is a sign of the detoxification of the liver. And my tumor went down by half. No one has ever made the connection between political awareness and healing. Well I'm making it now. □

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CORRECTION

May 1st was proclaimed a worldwide holiday by the founding congress of the Second International in Paris, 1889, and not by the first International workers' association led by Karl Marx as incorrectly stated in last week's RW.

THE MURDER AND MAIMING OF WOMEN,

COURTESY OF U.S. GOV'T

The demented logic of the official representatives of morality, law and public decency, who populate the legislative bodies of this country reached high levels recently in the case of an 18-year-old Black woman and her boyfriend who were recently convicted of the felony charge of "performing an illegal abortion." Lorrie Gray and Nicholas Hamilton of the Chicago suburb of Robbins were both sentenced to two years probation on February 16.

In the past few years, especially since the passage of the notorious "Right to Life" Hyde Amendment banning virtually all federally-funded abortions for the poor, growing numbers of women have been left little choice but to turn to back-alley butchers or to dangerous attempts at self-abortion. Having forced them into this perilous predicament, the bourgeoisie has seized on the desperation of these women to paint them as murderers and criminals bent on stamping out human life. This in turn is used as further ammunition in the current campaign to wipe out legal abortions altogether. The U.S. government is directly responsible for what happened to Lorrie Gray. She was into her second trimester of pregnancy when she decided

to get an abortion. But after visiting several clinics, she learned that Illinois law requires anyone more than three months pregnant to have the abortion performed in a hospital. At a total cost of around \$1,000, this was an impossible sum for Lorrie and her boyfriend to come up with. She also learned that Medicaid would not pay for the abortion. Lorrie became more and more despondent over the situation until finally she borrowed her boyfriend's .22 calibre pistol and shot herself in the abdomen. Her boyfriend rushed her to the hospital where the six-month-old aborted fetus was removed by Caesarean section. Two days later, while she was still recovering in the hospital, criminal charges were brought against both of them.

The Hyde Amendment was enacted on June 30, 1980 when it was upheld by a ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court. The original statute allowed federally-funded abortions for women on welfare only in cases where "the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term; or except for such medical procedures necessary for the victims of rape or incest, where such rape or incest has been reported promptly to a law enforcement agency or public health service."

This cut-off of funds affected 250,000-300,000 women a year. Shortly thereafter, however, the right-to-life hyenas decided that even this wording gave too much latitude to women, or, as Ronald Reagan put it, provided them with a "loophole." Congress soon passed a law barring the use of federal funds for abortions in cases of rape and incest, estimated to affect another 100,000 women a year.

The states, taking their cue from the feds, have put more restrictions on abortions. While a few states like New York have opted to cover the loss in federal funds for abortions with state money, many others like Illinois have passed laws patterned on the Hyde Amendment to ban the use of state funds to pay for abortions.

And Cook County (Illinois) Board President George Dunne has gone both the state and the feds one better. On October 21, 1980 he ruled that no abortions would be performed at Cook County Hospital, Chicago's only public hospital, regardless of whether or not the woman can pay. This touched off a wave of opposition from women who feared a return to the days before abortion was legalized when Cook County Hospital

reserved an entire 40-bed ward, called the Septic Abortion Ward, for women who were victims of botched or self-induced abortions. Since this ruling was enacted, Cook County Hospital reports that the number of women admitted into the emergency room with massive bleeding and internal injuries from attempts at self-abortion has risen from zero to two per week.

A counselor at a local abortion clinic, the Midwest Population Center, also said she has seen enough of an increase in self-induced abortions "to make me nervous." She cited cases of women admitted to the clinic who attempted to abort their pregnancies by covering a tampon with vaseline and dipping it in sulfa powder, by douching with iodine, and another woman who became extremely sick after swallowing several packages of her friend's birth control pills.

This, combined with felony prosecutions, is an excellent example of the current "offerings" of U.S. imperialist society to women, in particular women from the proletariat. □

Creationism,

Continued from page 7
a few things in California.

First, they sowed confusion around the distinction between a "fact" and a "theory." Whatever debate may go on among proponents of the *theory* of evolution as to exactly how and why the process has taken place — and there is no shortage of such debate, which is quite lively, in scientific circles — there is no serious disagreement about the *fact* that such a process has occurred. But the creationists seek to seize on some of the unanswered questions facing evolution *theory* to cast doubt on this scientifically indubitable *fact* and so to open the door for "alternative viewpoints" about what has gone before us — in a word, religion.

Second, they made some preliminary use of the "falsifiability" doctrine, which has now been encoded by Judge Overton. According to the creationists' argument, Darwinism "cannot be falsified" since it deals with many historically remote matters which allegedly do not admit of experimental investigation; therefore, it is not really a science, but rather a religion, "secular humanism," and the one-sided propagation of it rather than "the creation story" in the schools violates the church/state doctrine, or religious freedom, or academic freedom, etc., etc. — all providing a firmer basis on which to argue for "equal time."

Finally, the California decision, coming as it did in the textbook publishers' biggest and trend-setting market, represented a triumph for creationism in its fight to reverse the few concessions that had been made to evolutionary theory in biology texts in the 1960s.

The '60s were a time when the U.S. bourgeoisie faced a different freedom and necessity. There should be no illusion that they have ever had any great enthusiasm for teaching the broad masses very much about evolution, but they have taught it to a certain degree, and in and of itself it is not a threat to the imperialists. After all, Charles Darwin was a bourgeois and believed in the doctrines of Malthus and Adam Smith. However, they have always found certain aspects of evolution theory dangerous. For example, its point that mankind (conscious life) is the product of a long series of transformations undergone by matter (initially inorganic) in motion, with the obvious embarrassments this poses for Christian dogma, stands in contradiction to the overall worldview they seek to instill among the masses. So, while they have had to allow certain developments in evolution (as in other areas of science), they have always tried to keep it within certain bounds, particularly in regards to how it is popularized, hoping to cast it in an idealistic

and metaphysical interpretation and "bring it into harmony" with religion.

Evolution has always been presented in the U.S. public schools — if at all — in piecemeal and superficial fashion. Even though a technical reversal of the Scopes trial had laid the legal basis for its inclusion in the curriculum by 1930, a survey conducted in 1959, on the centennial of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, found that "the teaching of biology in public schools was dominated by 'antiquated religious traditions' and that it barely referred to modern research in population genetics and related areas that increasingly refined and supported the concept of evolution." (Cited in *Scientific American*, April 1976)

But in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's launching of Sputnik in 1957 and the general panic about a "science and technology gap" which hit the U.S. bourgeoisie, the National Science Foundation established an overall program for upgrading school science and math curricula which had as one of its components the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study, which received \$7 million to create modern biology courses for the public schools. Three "model" textbooks were developed, all based on evolutionary ideas, which were described as "the warp and woof of modern biology." Thus, in the 1960s and '70s, if you attended a major urban high school, it was possible to run into at least a few elementary concepts and conclusions of evolution theory.

Cutting Evolution Out of the Textbooks

The bourgeoisie, however, facing the necessity to shore up its reactionary social base for use against progressive movements and ideas generally and to promote backward ideology broadly, was soon to set about the task of systematically unleashing a new "creationist movement." Operating principally through local school boards, taking as their platform the idea that the spread of evolutionary ideas and the associated undermining of religion was responsible for the social upheaval of the '60s, and increasingly donning the mask of the completely phony "creation science," the creationists soon met with some successes. According to one study, between 1974 and 1977, the section on Darwin's life in one text was pared from 1,373 words to 45. Discussion of the origins of life on earth went from 2,023 words to 322. Text devoted to Darwin's view of evolution shrank from 2,750 words to 296. Sections on fossil formation and geological eras were deleted entirely. In addition, there were instances of removing the word "evolution" from the index, consigning it to just one chapter and not developing its implications for all the topics taken up throughout the

text, and so on. Changes of wording were commonplace, all designed to present evolution as "just one of many possible interpretations of the data." (See chart for examples of these under the influence of the 1973 California guidelines.) In Anchorage, Alaska, by 1981 the ridiculous situation existed whereby ninth grade history teachers had been ordered to omit text passages dealing with evolution until the school board could concoct additional material on divine creation. And in the Feb. 11-17 issue of *Nature*, a biologist has written in to protest Overton's rulings about what is "out of the province of evolution" and has pointed out that use of his text, *Evolutionary Biology*, has been restricted in many places because of its prominent discussion of the *origins* of life from an evolutionary standpoint.

All the text changes prior to 1981, it should be noted, took place without the need for one major courtroom showdown. However, emboldened by the general political climate of the last two years, the creationists decided to step up their efforts in court in pursuit of "equal time," thus setting the stage for the court cases in California and Arkansas. Currently, bills are pending in over 20 states which seek to put the stamp of approval on "balanced treatment" — which already exists *de facto* in many places.

In light of this it is easy to see not only the intentional impotence of the Arkansas decision in terms of stopping the crea-

tionists, but that it is a direct attempt to rope in those who are sickened by the open god-family-and-flag types and their crusade for ignorance and devotion to the authorities from the father, to the president, to the Father. The judge and his liberal friends are no doubt turned off by the Moral Majority *et al.* and all their crudities. Why, they give religion such a bad name, just like they give the flag and the country a bad name. In fact, *Discover* magazine, which so vehemently reiterated its "profound respect for religion," added to its summation of the Arkansas decision: "... it was not only evolution that was under attack in Arkansas, but geology, biology, chemistry, cosmology, and, indeed, all of science. And to undermine science, especially when the United States is beginning to lose its leadership in technology and even in some areas of research, is to undermine America..."

Now this is a lofty view of science indeed! In fact one could not find clearer statements of what the bottom line of the bourgeoisie's interest in science is than from these liberals — it should get about meeting the scientific and technological needs of U.S. imperialism (mainly for corporations and the military) and give "the nation" the respect of others for its achievements. But other than that it should not be heard from. Certainly, attempts of science to oust religion in any basic kind of way must be dealt with. This is what the Arkansas decision has attempted to enshrine.

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Intelligence

Continued from page 1

Designed to produce uncontested "scientific" evidence of its findings, the Pentagon spent \$3.5 million on the study which was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago. According to a Pentagon handout, "This marks the first time that a vocational aptitude test has been given to a nationally representative sample." Administered to the 12,000 youth, both men and women from all over the country, the test was the same vocational aptitude (ASAVAB) test administered to armed forces recruits. And while the statistical figures were poked and juggled in a dozen ways, the key figures pushed to the fore were that, on a scale of 0 to 100, the median white score was 59, while Latinos scored 23 and Blacks scored 17. Coupled with this report in most papers were statistics pointing out that Blacks make up one-third of all army recruits—a not-too-subtle message that in the troubled times ahead what might be called for is a "whiter" army—in the interests of good vocational aptitude, of course.

The liberal media of course all wrung their hands with pious concern that the report might be "misinterpreted." Black columnist William Raspberry even jumped into the fray to *defend* the test, claiming that they provided valuable evidence of the need for some more reformist educational schemes. The common theme of the great liberal lament was that while it was the deplorable result of regrettable conditions, alas, everything the tests said were true. Speaking editorially, the *Washington Post* asserted, "The validity of these tests is, unfortunately, beyond dispute... They accurately predict the probability that a person will succeed in a wide-range of kinds of vocational training." The viciousness of this Judas' kiss by the liberal press was revealed by the *Post's* front-page lead headline reading: "Blacks Score Below Whites in Pentagon Test," which in the inside running head became "Young Blacks Score Much Lower Than Whites in Pentagon Test." (Our emphasis—RW)

While the official 90-page report "Profile of American Youth" was handed out liberally, after the story was originally leaked to the *Washington Post* to establish the "tone" of the reportage, a supplementary document was more selectively distributed. This "Executive Summary" of the study was prepared by the NORC, to aid in "correctly" evaluating the statistics of the report. This Executive Summary has been obtained by the RW, and here even more scum oozes out.

Written by Dr. R. Darrell Bock, a professor in the Department of Education and Behavioral Science at the University of Chicago, and by one of his former students, the Executive Summary explains that the poor showing of Blacks and Latinos on the test reflects "the present social separation of these groups... They are to a large extent both reproductively and culturally isolated." For the slower-witted among the media minions, the Executive report goes on to spell it out in large block letters. Admitting that there are cultural influences, it continues:

"The fact that these socio-cultural groups are also in large degree reproductively isolated, however, raises the possibility that the differences in test performance arise from differences in respective gene pools. Although no specific genes have been identified that can be proven to influence directly the types of abilities required by the vocational test, the fact that such test performance has been demonstrated to be broadly hereditary means that genotypic (in the genes—RW) variation having an, at least, indirect influence on test performance *must exist*. It is therefore possible that some of the differences in the performance of these groups could be attributed to differing distributions of the favorable alleles (variations—RW) of such genes." (Our emphasis—RW)

The authors go on to say that of course social and cultural differences play a much larger role—but the seed is firmly planted. And while the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* run the "straight" story, merely reporting the "facts" that

whites scored 3 times as high as Blacks on "unbiased" tests, the *Los Angeles Times* news service syndicated the "deeper" genetic interpretation for broadcast across the country.

So here, after taking previous rubbings as when "race superiority" biologist Arthur Jensen was hooted down and driven off campuses by the righteous indignation of outraged students and faculty, the "scientific" theory of race superiority raises its ugly face again—this time supported by this \$3.5 million government study on 12,000 individuals.

No Scientific Basis

So why are these "scientific" theories of racism necessarily wrong? They are wrong not because of the subjective desires of communists, or of oppressed peoples falsely labeled inferior, or of all justice-loving people to see them exposed as wrong; but rather, they are wrong because they do not correctly sum up the reality of the material world. Much scientific work and evidence has been built up against such theories. Stephen Jay Gould's recently published book *The Mismeasure of Man* goes into this in depth, exposing along the way the outright quackery and forgery of this racist trend.

To begin with, the assertion that Black people in the U.S. constitute a "reproductively isolated" population and, hence have a restricted "gene pool," as the report claims, is patent nonsense. One of the surprising discoveries of modern molecular chemistry is the degree to which there is genetic uniformity among human beings—that is, a wide variety of genetic traits is present throughout the entire human population. Looking beyond the tiny handful of physical traits commonly associated with race to the complexities of blood chemistry, immune reactions, protein structure and so on, *Homo sapiens* display a remarkable lack of genetic differentiation. Skin color, for example, differentiated in the very recent past on evolutionary time scales (in a period measured only in tens of thousands of years, compared with at least 2 million for humans). Every sizeable human population carries with them collectively the whole genetic ball game. This fact was expressed by Harvard biologist Richard Lewontin when he remarked that if the only survivors of a nuclear holocaust were a small tribe deep in the mountains of New Guinea, almost all the genetic variations now displayed among the world's 4 billion people would be preserved.

Even if this were not so, the idea that Black people have somehow become inferior through "reproductive isolation" is historical nonsense. The current U.S. Black population of around 30 million is larger than that of most European countries today, larger than the population of England at the turn of the century, and about the same as the total population of Europe around 2000 years ago (Europe's population sank considerably a few centuries later). Besides, using the statistical methods of the eminent University of Chicago scientists, the white population of the world is today very "reproductively isolated." Within the U.S., contrast to whites who came to the U.S. as settlers and tended to remain in tight-knit communities, millions of Black people were forcibly brought to the U.S. from all over Africa, forced to intermarry with total disregard to their own wishes and origins, repeatedly raped by slave-owners and have migrated in various waves throughout the country. (And yes, dear bourgeoisie, despite your best efforts, Black and white people *do* intermarry!) If one is looking for a *real* model of the bogus idea of "reproductive isolation" you would start with the notoriously feeble-minded, intermarrying royal families of Europe and move on to the imperialist bourgeoisie of the U.S. which is rather notorious for its class-conscious marriage habits.

Peas and Brains

Also subtly lurking here is the common (and commonly promoted) myth that intelligence or mental ability is some single identifiable hereditary trait which those who do their homework, sit up straight in their seat and don't talk in class have, and which those who rebel are deplorably lacking in. Modern genetics has also blown this away as reflected in its understanding of polygenic inheritance—that

Poison Gas from a "Natural Ally"

The Soviet Union, that self-proclaimed "natural ally of the oppressed" which loves to heap its "aid" on liberation struggles, has sent nerve gas to Eritrea.

On Feb. 15, Ethiopian armed forces attacked liberated areas in Eritrea, opening up with mortar shells fitted with chemical gas warheads, including nerve gas, near Tirukruk, a mostly liberated zone near the Sudanese border. This is how the Soviet-backed military junta of Col. Mengistu marked the beginning of its sixth offensive against the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, the sixth "final offensive" since 1978. Mengistu's forces included 90,000 Ethiopian troops, themselves mostly rounded up to fight at gunpoint, joined by South Yemeni soldiers manning tanks and artillery batteries and at least 100 Soviet

military "advisors," with helicopter gunships overhead to complete the picture already made familiar in Vietnam, Afghanistan and El Salvador.

The preparations for this sixth offensive had been disrupted earlier this winter when EPLF forces raided the airport in the occupied Eritrean capital of Asmara, destroying many MiG fighter-bombers and Russian-made Mi24 helicopter gunships. Then from Feb. 8-13, the EPLF launched a new series of preemptive attacks in several areas against massing Ethiopian forces, causing 2000 enemy casualties according to EPLF reports. It was after a sharp two-day battle with EPLF forces that the Ethiopian junta, forced to retreat to the open plains near the Red Sea, resorted to Soviet-supplied chemical warfare at Tirukruk.

is, the fact that most common traits are passed along through a complex interaction of genetic material and not as some simple one-to-one process of trait transfer like Gregor Mendel's tall peas and short peas. The idea, however, that there is this "intelligence gene" which gives you either tall peas or short peas between the ears hangs on doggedly, promoted by bourgeois pseudo-science.

Actually, even the idea of a "gene" in the sense of a specific unit of genetic material on a chromosome which passes on a trait in some one-to-one transfer process is a primitive idea, has never been demonstrated and is coming under increasing scientific challenge. This physical process is clearly more complex, involving broad interaction and variation.

To all this we should add the blatant cultural bias of the tests administered in the Defense Department's study. It is culturally biased because, if nothing else, it contained whole test sections on automotive mechanics and electronics. Now unless you are prepared to argue that certain races have stronger automotive and electronic genes than others, what we are really testing here is the degree to which cultural knowledge has been transmitted and not, as the *Washington Post* would have us believe, "the probability that a person will succeed in a wide-range of kinds of vocational training."

Here the test makers are even caught in a web of their own deceit. In the official DOD (Department of Defense) report Dr. Bock is quoted as assuring us that: "Data from responses of the profile of American Youth Sample to the ASAVAB are free from major effects, such as high levels of guessing or carelessness, inappropriate levels of difficulty, cultural test question bias, and inconsistencies in test administration procedures. They provide a sound basis for the estimation of population attributes..." Yet in the Executive Summary, this same Dr. Bock turns around 180 degrees and admits that: "The information required by the test is drawn from the artifacts of majority culture... This would explain why the white samples, representing primarily the majority culture, perform uniformly best on these tests!"

When bogus interpretations are challenged, the testor habitually falls back on arguments about the mathematical purity of his results. Thus when questioned about the Profile of American Youth Study, a spokesman for the NORC declared their study was "a statistically valid sample of the population" and its methods "more than elegant—it was the best I've ever seen!" Further, Dr. Bock was described as one of the leading "psychometricians" (one who measures psychological properties) in the country. Frankly, Bock strikes us only as a more elegant humbug, differing from his charlatan predecessors who measured skulls and classified "ape-ish" appearances in the service of the ruling class only in his rate of pay.

Women

Given such an approach to Black people in the Pentagon's venture into psychometrics, one might be curious as to why so little was said about one of the

bourgeoisie's favorite subjects, the "actual differences" between men and women. One reason for this is the fact that the tests showed almost no difference between men and women, with women in fact scoring higher in the 18-19-year-old grouping. Given such disappointing results for the bourgeoisie's point of view, we must turn again to the Executive Summary for a deeper explanation, where we are not to be disappointed. While their *composite* scores are the same, Dr. Bock explains, men do much better in those areas requiring visualization of spatial relations, quantitative concepts and technical tasks, while women have a "rather marked advantage... in the fluent production tasks, which are so much a part of clerical work as business machine operation and word processing, (which) makes it easier to understand why women largely displace men in these fields." Or, to put it in simple layman's language, men are better at thinking and women are better at menial repetitive operations like sewing, filing correspondence, and operating small punch presses, so they just drive men out of these jobs through their superior ability. Isn't bourgeois science wonderful?

Yet when we look into the actual statistical tables of the official report, we find that while men far outrank women in acquired knowledge in the field of auto and shop information for electronics, the women actually ranked first in paragraph comprehension and numerical operation, had equal knowledge of vocabulary, and came close to men in general science and arithmetic reasoning.

Historically, this is not the first time the military has produced "psychometric" studies which were wielded as major weapons by the ruling class. The book *The Mismeasure of Man* exposes the classic example of the army intelligence test administered to all U.S. soldiers in World War I by R. M. Yerkes, a pioneer in the IQ testing fraud. This first great testing of a "representative sampling" by the military supposedly measured the inherent ability of those tested with questions such as "Christy Mathewson is famous as a: writer, artist, baseball player, comedian," or "The number of a Kaffir's legs is: two, four, six, eight." ("Kaffir" is a British/South African colonialist version of the word "nigger.") In addition to promoting the false concept that creative and rational capabilities of humans can be reduced to a single numerical quantity, the U.S. Army's "scientific, unbiased" test predictably "proved" that the most intelligent Americans were whites from Northern Europe, that they were trailed by the darker-skinned southern Europeans, and that Blacks came out on the bottom of the Yerkes intelligence scale. At first the bourgeoisie was a little distraught over Yerkes' findings that the mental age of the average American was 13, but they quickly gained their composure and used the Yerkes study brutally as the basis for the immigration quota system imposed by the U.S. after World War I, virtually cutting off immigration to the U.S. for all but British, Germans and Scandinavians.

The real "genetic incapability" exposed by these tests is that of the imperialist system to survive without promoting, justifying and glorifying national oppression—and just plain stupidity. □

More Thoughts on Party Building

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creasingly come to the fore is whether that is going to be in a positive or a negative direction.

I told a story at the '79 Central Committee meeting about a speech I gave in Cleveland. There was an older Black guy who got up and left the meeting early (eventually he came back). People told me that after he left he was out in the hall and when they went up to talk to him and see why he was leaving he was out there crying and he said, "That guy up there is saying everything that I've always wanted to say all my life." Now, I don't believe that speech was a tailist speech. The point was not that I was saying everything, just in a little bit better style or with a little bit clearer formulation, that he had always been trying to say all his life. He saw his own interests reflected but raised to a higher level, which is the role of the vanguard, and, because they had been presented in that way, he saw them in light of the struggle of the whole international proletariat. But in that light, in that broad sense, he saw his own interests and his own felt aspirations concentrated and raised to a higher level. That's the kind of thing I'm talking about. People like that have to be brought forward and not only developed in a qualitatively greater way as the base of support for our party, but have to be brought *into* the party and they have to struggle and work and contribute to revolution in that arena. In the period ahead this is going to sharply pose itself. Either positively or negatively in its principal aspect this is going to react back upon the line of the party. It isn't a quantitative question there either. It isn't a question of numerically where you have more members drawn from at any given point. But it is a question of motion and development. Over a long period of time if there is not motion and development—through ebbs and flows and twists and turns—but development towards increasingly building a base of support for the party among that social base and bringing that social base into the party, then that will tend to react back on the line itself. A line that represents the interests of the international proletariat should find its strongest base of support in the U.S. among that section of the masses whose social position is truly proletarian. Without motion and development in that direction, without that base of support, it is going to be very difficult to maintain and deepen a proletarian internationalist, revolutionary communist line over a period of time.

So that's another aspect of the problem that needs to be grasped. And not just the party leadership, or even membership, needs to grasp it. Even beyond that it should be put out broadly to the masses from all the different strata who are being drawn towards the party, but specifically it should be put forward as a question to be taken up and struggled over among that social base itself. They have to see this as a part of their responsibility and as a challenge to them; this has to be seen in the fullest sense, not narrowly or as a gimmick. We are not tailing; we are not offering some kind of first class and second class citizenship—inverting bourgeois society in the sense that if you come from the least privileged proletarian strata you have more privilege, or a higher status in the party. Line is principal; in a fundamental sense there is only one kind of party member regardless of what strata they are drawn from. That was Lenin's point in *What Is To Be Done?* In particular he was talking about the party's backbone element being professional revolutionaries regardless of whether they are drawn from among the workers or the intellectuals. That's a basic principle in opposition to economism and tailism. And it's true. If you take any given individual or you take the individuals in the party as a whole, the important question is not where they come from, in terms of their social status or origin, but their grasp and application of the line as part of the party as a whole. But at the same time, viewing it more broadly in terms of where the work of our party needs to be concentrated and where its social base has to be mainly built and where over a period of time it has to make the most important efforts, and where it's crucial to make leaps in building the party itself, it is among that social base.

Social Base for the '60s Revolutionary Thrust

In terms of material forces overall in society, the stepping forward of the proletarian social base for revolution around that proletarian revolutionary internationalist line has a tremendous influence in bringing forward the other strata and class forces that can be allies of the proletariat and can be won to the revolutionary banner. Now it's also true, and a very important principle in opposition to economism and narrow thinking, that those proletarian masses are influenced by the movements and ferment among these other strata in society. There's a dialectical relationship. But let's take an example in the movement of the '60s to get at what I mean. What is it that pushed that movement as far as it went? What gave it such a revolutionary current? There was a significant revolutionary current, a revolutionary thrust, within that movement. Even if the majority of the people who were activists in the '60s were not in a basic sense revolutionary, certainly that current had influence among the very broadest ranks and there was a very strong force within that movement that did take a basic revolutionary position with whatever contradictions and weaknesses there were within that. And even if it didn't have a thoroughly proletarian class character to it and was largely influenced

by petty bourgeois tendencies, bourgeois democratic tendencies and so on, still there was a revolutionary kernel and thrust and a revolutionary current that was very powerful. Why was that? Why did that become so powerful?

Of course in the most fundamental and important sense, it was what was happening in the world as a whole, in particular the struggle of the Vietnamese people and the Cultural Revolution in China, which shaped and influenced what was happening in the U.S. including among the forces that were active in the political movements of the time. But within that, as a subordinate part of that, looking at the U.S. itself, in terms of social forces it was the tremendous upsurge and uprising and the revolutionary sentiments and even the revolutionary organization among the Black people that pushed that movement as far as it went and gave as much of the revolutionary thrust and gave as much strength to the revolutionary current as it had.

You can see that by the way the bourgeoisie sums it up. The bourgeoisie in the way it tries to sum up the '60s will always try to downplay or even sometimes outright eliminate that role of the Black masses. To a large degree, of course, they will do that with the international dimension (or else distort it and pervert it), and they will also do the same thing to a very large degree with the whole thrust of the Black people's struggle. For example in that movie "The Big Fix" it was glaringly missing because if they had brought in the whole element of the uprising of the Black masses how could they put over the line that what happened to the movement of the '60s was that it was made up of a bunch of spoiled rich brats with a banquet in front of them who finally got tired of saying "no" when there were all these goodies to be had. That line would look even more outrageous if you tried to bring in the whole role of Black people at the time and then said "and the problem with them was they had all these goodies available and they got tired of being spoiled rich kids saying no—and decided to get all the goodies." Now there is a section, and we'll talk about this more later, of the Black petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie that did reap some benefits from the struggle of that time. That's contradictory too, there is truth to that. But, nevertheless, taking the Black people in the main aspect, that's not what was going on in the '60s. Looking in terms of the U.S. itself, that is the key element that gave that revolutionary thrust and gave as much strength to the revolutionary current as there was.

Now there is a lesson there. It isn't just because those who were rising up were oppressed (although that's very important) but this is also related to and was strengthened by the actual class position of the Black masses, their position as crucial elements among the least privileged and least bourgeoisified sections of the proletariat in the U.S., the real proletariat. Not that the proletariat and the strongest social base for a revolutionary line in the U.S. is all, or even in its majority, Black, but certainly there are millions of Black people whose position in society is proletarian. And *that*, and the way that material class position influenced their struggle, in interpenetration with the national contradiction, their oppression as a people and their resistance to that oppression—it was all that that gave the revolutionary current the thrust and strength it had at the time.

The general principle that I've just been talking about is also going to be true in relation to the party itself, in relation to the most advanced and the most concentrated revolutionary expression that develops within the society, that is, the vanguard party. Without getting narrow or mechanical about it, in an overall sense it's going to be true that the rallying of the strongest social base for the revolutionary line, not only around and in support of our party but into the party, is also going to draw and influence other strata and forces in society toward more support for the party and toward making the leap to joining the party itself.

Q: In "Conquer the World..." you summed up the campaigns around the 100,000 Revolutionary Workers and May Day and the relationship between quantity and quality in that. Overall, you said, quality was key and May Day really made some qualitative leaps but in terms of the quantity we didn't achieve what we wanted to. Certainly there will be people around who say that, now he says that quantity wasn't really that important so therefore the next time when it comes up that we put forward certain goals all we've got to do is reach a certain qualitative level and everything's fine. And I think what you have been saying here is that in terms of the development of the party, with quality being the key link, at a certain point quantity is going to act on the quality. You're saying that if we look at it at this time there's a certain leap that has to be made. As you put it in the '79 CC Report, there's a certain chasm that we have to get across here. Maybe you can focus a little more on that and whether that's actually the way you see it.

BA: Well to start with the last part first for a second: I'm not trying to present it like an *immediate* chasm in the sense that unless we make a certain advance, a certain leap *right now*, we're going to start going backwards or we're going to suffer a tremendous setback. That's not the way I see it. And another dimension to that is I don't think what's called for is some sort of intense campaign of building our party or recruiting into the party. I think we need to sum up more deeply the efforts that were made in the past, including the advances we could have made beyond what was done in efforts like the Mao Tsetung Enrollment into the party; but I also think we need to see things in a little bit dif-

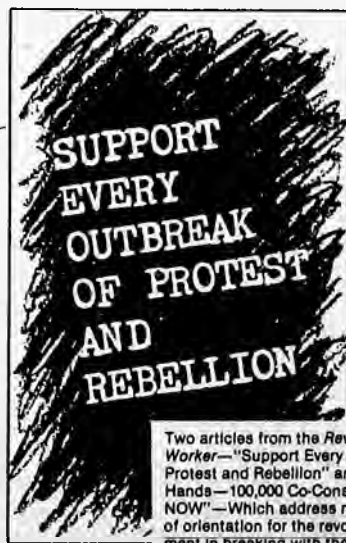
ferent light, especially at this point. What I am trying to stress is precisely the need to give more emphasis to this in an *ongoing* way, rather than like some emergency, intense effort or blast over a short period of time to try to make some leap. I think we need to make leaps, yes, but more we need to give increasing emphasis to this in an ongoing way.

To go back to what you said in the beginning of this question, I didn't say and I don't think that it's the case that quantity didn't matter or was unimportant in the question of May Day or in the question of the RW. As I pointed out in relation to summing up May Day 1980, there is a dialectic between quantity and quality, and if the quantity had been such around May Day that basically there were no advanced forces, beyond let's say a few hundred or something, who had responded to the call for May Day 1980 by taking to the streets, then that would obviously have influenced the quality. If that had been so, then you could not say that there was the kind of leap that there was. What I pointed out then and what I still believe is that even though the quantity fell short of what we called for (and what was possible) it was not such a low quantity that it turned the quality into its opposite—that is, making the demonstrations a setback rather than an advance. If that small a number had come out, it would have represented a setback, no matter if there were some good things that happened secondarily within it.

The same thing with the RW; we've had to consolidate on a lower level than the 100,000 we called for, but we have succeeded in making the paper, the line on central task and the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend the paper represents, a real trend in a qualitatively greater way, but also in a quantitatively greater way than before. That trend, as given concentrated expression in the newspaper, now has *quantitatively* greater impact, if you will, and also qualitatively greater impact. If it didn't make a certain level of quantitative advance in terms of impact, it could not make a qualitative advance and we would have failed. So you could say on the one hand we did fail quantitatively to reach and consolidate on the 100,000 level; we had to consolidate lower than that. But on the other hand, the advances that were made in terms of the quantitative impact were such that when you take the thing as a whole, including the quantitative advances, we say that there was a qualitative leap there. That's the only correct conclusion. It's not that the quantity is unimportant or doesn't figure in, or as long as we do a few good things, as long as there's a few inspiring examples of things and as long as the line in the newspaper is correct, then it doesn't matter if we try to expand regular distribution to 100,000 and end up with a thousand, let's say, which is like only having hundreds on May Day, that's a very extreme example. Obviously we have consolidated on a higher level than a thousand. But, it's not like you could just say the quantity absolutely doesn't matter—that's not the correct method and that's not what I am saying.

The question of the party is a little different than May Day 1980 or than the particular campaign around the 100,000. I think building the party is similar to what we have to do now at this point around the newspaper, which is to build from what we have achieved and consolidated up to this point, and through the course of our work and through the development of things over the period ahead, to advance from that level forward, including making leaps at crucial points in an ongoing way by deepening our grasp of the correct line and our application of it. But in particular what I am singling out here, because I think it's been given too little emphasis, is the question of building the party, including building it quantitatively, recruiting new members into the party while taking quality, that is, *line*, as the key link and the principal aspect of that overall. Just as with the newspaper, that has to be an ongoing struggle which has to be given increasing attention and effort.

(Continued next week)



Two articles from the *Revolutionary Worker*—"Support Every Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion" and "It's In Your Hands—100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW"—which address major questions of orientation for the revolutionary movement in breaking with the influence of reformism and in beginning serious and all around preparation for proletarian revolution.

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From the New Programme of the RCP, USA

Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution

The dominant social relations in this society perfectly mirror the economic relations—exploitative. Not only is there the general oppression of women, but even the working class man, infected with the dominant bourgeois ideology and frustrated with his role in capitalist society, often plays the role of the bourgeois in relation to his wife and children.

The proletarian revolution will change all that, through a prolonged process of struggle involving both men and women and including the children.

Politically the proletariat will seek to unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution. The seizure of power by the proletariat will require this and, as Lenin put it, a measure of the thoroughness (and thus success) of any revolution is the degree to which it mobilizes and emancipates women. Showing his awestruck terror at the powerful role of women in the historic Paris Commune of 1871, the first proletarian revolution, a bourgeois commentator of the time exclaimed, "If the French nation were a nation of women, what a terrible nation it would be." This, the proletariat certainly cannot fail to grasp much more deeply than any bourgeois—and to act upon in a way the bourgeoisie never can or would.

Upon coming to power, the proletariat will carry forward the struggle to break the chains which hold back women from a full role in society, and thereby hold back the proletariat itself from completely transforming society. There will be an immediate ban on discrimination of any kind, including against women, in work and pay as well as every other sphere in society, and at the same time special measures will be taken that take into account the particular problems—such as pregnancy—that affect working women. Birth control will be encouraged, thus combating the tendency for unwanted pregnancy to force women who are struggling to break out of the confines of the home back into it. Attention will be paid to developing other methods of birth control in place of present ones which endanger women. The right to abortion will be guaranteed, and the capitalist policy of forced sterilization, directed against poor women and particularly women of the oppressed nationalities, will be stopped.

In order to further free the women from the narrow confines of household work, men must not only be

struggled with to equally share the burden, but the proletariat will work step by step to establish and involve men and women alike in various institutions like collective laundries, kitchens and child care centers which will promote the gradual socialization of the task of raising children.

As far as the policy toward the family, it will be recognized for what it is: not some holy or sacred institution to be preserved for all time, but on the other hand an institution, that even under socialism, generally corresponds to the level of society, because of the fact that for some time there will still be remnants of capitalism including the need for commodity exchange, wages, etc., and for obtaining the bulk of necessities and many social services through this means. For this reason, the family will still play an important role in raising children. But not only will the family be a secondary form—even more so than under capitalism—for determining their upbringing, but its influence in promoting conservatism among its members, especially the women and children, will be actively combated. Their attention and energy will be focused on the broader questions and movements in society.

The right of divorce will be upheld—not to promote divorce, for in fact divorce will become less common than under capitalism—but to strengthen the free and voluntary character of marriage relations and relations between men and women in general. While the parents will still have significant responsibility for their children, this does not mean they are "theirs" and there will be struggle to prevent parents from imposing old values, and conservative, non-revolutionary thinking generally on the children.

The struggle around the woman question will not be confined to any one sphere, but will go on throughout all of society. Revolution is impossible without the constant breaking with old ideas and old institutions, and the practices and values which promote the oppression of women are a key prop of the old; they must be a key target of the proletariat in destroying the old and creating the new. In any sphere, from employment to literature and art, this question will be raised and will be the source of ongoing struggle in order to ensure the full participation of women in the socialist society and the ongoing proletarian revolution and thereby immensely strengthen that revolution.



**Break the Chains!
Unleash the Fury of Women
As a Mighty Force for Revolution!**

Long Live Chiang Ching!

International Women's Day Poster Dedicated to Comrade Chiang Ching

This vibrant, colorful poster produced last year for International Women's Day is still available and still very relevant for International Women's Day 1982.

Throughout the storms of the Cultural Revolution and the subsequent reactionary coup d'état, Comrade Chiang Ching has provided revolutionary proletarian leadership and inspiration to millions worldwide.

The foreground photo of Chiang Ching was taken as she defiantly entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists sentenced her to death. The background scene is from the revolutionary Peking Opera "Red Detachment of Women" in which Wu Ching-tung, an escaped bondsmaid who joined the Red Army, and her comrades battle the Kuomintang reactionary troops head on in a mountain pass. The opera is one of the most well-known of the model works produced during the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chiang Ching.

All those who want to distribute this poster in various ways and through various channels can contact the RCP in the following cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington D.C. (for phone numbers and addresses see page 2) or can write to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3485, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Those who would like to print this poster can obtain printing negatives from the same locations. Posters are 17" x 22".