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The sense of wonderment, on a national level, seems to begin somewhere near Loose Creek, Missouri. That's where the *New York Times* first discovered the big surprise: "something unusual and unplanned... happening as the Olympic torch makes its way slowly across the nation these days." It could have started at any of a hundred other specially selected representatives of Americana — Jericho, Arkansas; Flat Lick, Kentucky; Muleshoe, Texas; Bliss, Idaho; Moses Lake, Washington; or maybe the place that by name alone deserves to be designated the Official American Small Town of the 1984 Olympics — Dinosaur, Colorado. As the Olympic Torch Relay passed through the provinces, a groundswell of discovery passed through the major U.S. media. Out of the blue (not to mention red and white), it had become apparent that the Olympic Torch Run was bringing forward — *lo and behold... are you sitting down?... You're not going to believe this one* — an emotional outpouring of, of all things, PATRIOTISM. For gosh sakes, who'd ever have thunk that the Olympics would have anything to do with that?

But the evidence is everywhere. Alongside two-lane highways, as the entourage of siren-blaring state police, logistical support trucks and torch runners rambled down the road, reporters have managed to discover any number of loyal Americans with Old Glory waving from their pick-up trucks and tears streaming down their faces. In town after town, mayors clear their throats to say something good about America, while the high-school bands strike up an appropriate tribute — such as "America the Beautiful." Only a cynic would comment that the local power structures of Main Street, USA seem to be engaged in all-out mobilization; in Denver, ABC TV notes the athletic participation of the mayor and the musical accompaniment of the Denver Symphony and declares the flag-waving crowds to be a spontaneous outpouring. The Torch Run is like a 9,000-mile Norman Rockwell painting.

But the best thing about the Olympic Torch Run is the tidal wave of emotion, the throwing of national pride, that has enveloped loyal Americans all across the heartland. No matter whether it's in Centerville, Utah, or out among the amber waves of grain in Kansas, there is always someone who, as the procession rolls by, turns to a reporter and, choking back the tears, cries out, "it makes me proud to be an American." It doesn't take much, does it. Then there are reports of people spending their vacations crisscrossing the path of the Torch Run. Empirical data such as this has convinced a large part of the world that Americans have smaller brains than other homo sapiens. However, it's not brain size but imperialist position in the world that has given birth to the numerous yahoos that inhabit the home of the brave. These are just plain folks, ready and willing to demonstrate their love for America when their nation calls on them to do so... and eager to drop some napalm or a few nukes when that's demanded as well.

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America Turns Out for the Olympic Torch Run

Anti-Candidacy Declared

See page 3

The Chosen People Contest

The unspoken secret of American democracy is that the fundamental interests of U.S. imperialism are to be neither questioned nor debated in the official political arena. "Responsible political figures" do not venture beyond the limits of "responsible debate." Questioning the need for "national defense" is definitely out of bounds, as is publicly questioning the superiority or the justice of the "American system." And among the other such defining articles of faith stands the one which Rev. Louis Farrakhan violated last week: "responsible political figures" never question the sanctity, or the morality, or the permanence of the state of Israel, period.

From a pulpit on the South Side of Chicago, Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, called the creation of Israel an "outlaw act," and asserted that the nations that helped found and now support that Zionist state are "criminals in the sight of Almighty God," adding, "This I want the Jews to know and we want the world to know: that they are not the chosen people of God."

"Now that nation called Israel never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have any peace, because there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter (or 'dirty') — by some accounts — *RW* religion under his holy and righteous name. America and England and the nations, because of their backing of Israel, are being drawn into the heat of the third world war, which is called Armageddon. Oh America, you have blundered so and instead of recognizing the mistake you have made and making amends, you persist in your evil and so the consequences of evil must come.

"You hate us because we dare to say that we are the chosen people of God and can back it up. We are ready to do battle with you wherever you come from in the earth. It is the Black people in America that is the chosen people of Almighty God."

Now this is not unusual. Farrakhan has preached such sermons before. His view echoes that of Elijah Mohammed before him. It is a mix of Islamic mythology, Kaddafy-style anti-Zionism, a messianic chauvinism about the importance of specifically *American* Blacks, with a dose of old-style anti-semitism; and it expresses well the kind of contradictory position and outlook of a section of the Black petty bourgeoisie these days. A kind of "we want in or we want out on a neocolonial basis" program.

But something is new: Farrakhan's position in American political life has changed over the last year. An alliance has been forged. Farrakhan has applied his credentials as the "unrepentant Black nationalist" to help make the electoral arena fashionable among the alienated, in order to better promote Jesse Jackson's campaign among certain sections of the Black masses. And in the process, Far-

rakhan has been anointed "official Black militant of the eighties" and given a slice of the public spotlight along with Jesse Jackson's "presidency of Black America."

It was as a newly *official* somebody that Rev. Farrakhan ran his familiar rap last week. And for the second time in this election campaign his remarks struck nerves. Almost immediately, the entire bourgeois political arena resounded with a deafening flood of answering shrieks, squalls, cawing and chatter, as political figures of all stripes and status sounded off from their various perches. Valuable as it is to draw Black people "into the political process," some political screening was being demanded. In the wake of Farrakhan's remarks, the denizens of American official politics felt called upon to reassert "responsible limits."

Poking around this aroused menagerie is instructive because of what it reveals about the class interests at play, and how the bottom lines of imperialism are asserted.

First of all, to underscore that something sacred had been violated here, the Senate of the United States of America took the unusual step (and "unusual" is putting it mildly!) of voting 98 to 0 for an official resolution calling on the chairmen of both major parties to issue repudiations, *in writing*, of a sermon given by a Black preacher in Chicago's ghetto. Meanwhile, the leading heads of American politics were only too eager to line up at the microphone.

The *New York Times* reported that "without mentioning Mr. Farrakhan by name, President Reagan said that there was no room in the Republican Party for those who preach 'bigotry and ugly rhetoric.'" (This is true — the Republican Party is already crammed completely full of reactionary bigots mouthing ugly rhetoric!)

Right on the firing line, of course, were the forces of Fritz Mondale, whose party was under attack for allowing such "irresponsibility" to lurk on its flanks. Here there was a mixture of agonized worry and an unconfused recognition of duty. The worry was, of course, that the Democrats might accidentally botch things, and kiss off the Black electoral interest they tout as so valuable both to their own presidential ambitions and to the health of the imperialist system. In the face of that danger, they nonetheless did not waver on a question of imperialist principle. Mondale: "Mr. Farrakhan's obscene statements deserve to be condemned." "I have made it clear, in my opinion Farrakhan's statements are such that not only must all of us, including Reverend Jackson, reject what Farrakhan said, but repudiate Farrakhan himself." "The only way to advance the cause of justice in America is to condemn bigotry whenever it appears."

Interestingly, neither Reagan nor Mondale (nor the bourgeois press) ever bothered to refute the charge that Israel's

creation was an "outlaw act" or that its nurturing constitutes a "criminal conspiracy." Officially, we suppose the reason given would be that such charges don't "dignify a response." Instead we are treated to American chieftains supposedly recoiling in horror at the discovery of *bigotry in America*! America, mother lode of national oppression in the world.

Responsible Black Firefighters

Mondale, of course, was not really all that worried that his denunciation of Farrakhan would mean an estrangement from the mainstream of Black bourgeois politics. After all, he and his party have at their beck and call the most jealous defenders or bourgeois political order imaginable: the "responsible Negro leaders."

No sooner did the headlines reveal that there was a danger of Mondale being "embarrassed" by indiscreet remarks than, like firefighters, these loyal operatives came out with hook and ladder to suppress the political fuss and situate "Black political participation" firmly back in the mainstream of imperialist politics.

According to the *New York Times*, Andrew Young "began privately talking to Black mayors of big cities and others in an effort to reach a consensus on how to deal with the Farrakhan problem, according to an aide. One option Mr. Young was exploring, the aide said, was having the mayors explain to Mr. Farrakhan the political impact of his statements and the necessity for him to keep out of the news through the November election."

Muhammad Ali, associated with the crudely patriotic American Muslim Mission of Wallace Deen Muhammed, popped up to hold a news conference, and reportedly attacked the media for implying that all Muslims in the United States shared Farrakhan's anti-Zionist views.

The NAACP creaked onto the scene with a particularly interesting twist. Their executive director, Benjamin L. Hooks, pointed out, "In attacking Israel, Minister Farrakhan overlooks the historical fact that it was Ralph Bunche, a Black American, who led efforts as a United Nations negotiator for Palestine that resulted in bringing peace to the Middle East in the post-World War II period and the establishment of that state." In other words, historically the Black bourgeoisie has played a crucial role as international "broker" for U.S. imperialism, serving to legitimize U.S. imperialist interests. Remarks such as those of Farrakhan cast a cloud on that legacy, and one not quite in tune with the mainstream of Black bourgeois thought on how best to advance their interests in the next world war.

But of all the Black political leaders, the spotlight was, of course, on Jesse Jackson, as the man who brought Far-

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Throw Down in the Streets, Not at the Ballot Box in '84!

On June 28, 1984, Carl Dix, a founding member and a spokesperson for the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, held a press conference in San Francisco to declare his ANTI-CANDIDACY in 1984. Following is the text of his statement at the press conference.

June 28, 1984

In this year of presidential politics, we've been bombarded with appeals to base our activity on getting a Democrat elected president. All who're dissatisfied with the way things are must make dumping Ronald Reagan their main task, we're told. Not surprisingly, ruling-class spokesmen promote this crap. So do many who consider themselves radical or even revolutionary.

In opposition to all this poison, I declare my ANTI-CANDIDACY in 1984, running against the notion that the interests of the oppressed can be advanced through electoral politics in '84. If voting is the way to change things, why are state, local and federal government officials, the media, etc., encouraging us to register and vote? Beneath the cloak of a free choice between political parties and candidates lies the reality that it is their government and it always acts in the best interests of the imperialists.

Their message of lining up at the ballot box in '84, no matter how it gets dressed up, comes down to trying to limit the political activity of the masses to the most favorable arena for the oppressors! What gets decided every 4 years in their elections is which representative of the imperialists will preside over doing whatever is necessary to maintain their worldwide empire. (Remember 1964, when Lyndon Johnson ran against the warmonger, Goldwater? Johnson was elected and soon the U.S. had 1 1/2 million troops in Vietnam and was saturation bombing all of Indochina.) Today, this means feverish preparations for a showdown for world domination between the U.S.- and Soviet-led imperialist war blocs.

I call on all those who are outraged by them dragging the world to the brink of war, by imperialist aggression in many parts of the world, by the brutal oppression of Black people and other minorities, by the degradation of women, by the twisting and mangling of human endeavor to serve god profit... I call on all those outraged at these crimes to join in opposing these attempts to suck our opposition to them and their system onto the dangerous and dead-end path of electoral politics. At this crucial time in history, we must take the path of independent action, focusing our efforts on building uncompromising resistance to what their system means for countless millions here and around the world.

Those who promote this election as shaping up between a Democratic dove and the warmonger, Reagan, have forgotten (or perhaps wish to forget) that the authorization to build the MX and Trident II missiles and the decision to place the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe date from 1979 when Carter was president. Or that it was in the late '70s that the rulers began to publicly float plans for fighting and winning nuclear war. Those

who say that Black progress is tied to which party is in the White House are also ignoring reality. From 1965-83, the conditions of the great majority of Black people have deteriorated on almost every front. Infant mortality rates are higher, 15% more Black families live below the poverty line, income for Blacks remains little more than 1/2 that of whites. This trend has not been reversed by changes in who was in the White House or increased numbers of Black elected officials.

Take a look at the candidates from among whom we're expected to choose a savior. Mondale — vice-president during the Carter administration. Are we supposed to believe that he's changed, or are the late '70s the good old days we're trying to get back to? Hart — the new ideas candidate. His new ideas include the notions that the U.S. is spending the defense budget on the wrong kinds of weapons and that in order to win a war against the Russians, the U.S. must prepare to fight it in a different way. (His favorite models are the German blitzkrieg in WW2 and just about any Israeli campaign.) Obviously, either of these would be a fine representative for a system that has dragged the world to the brink of war.

Many say that the Jesse Jackson campaign is raising progressive positions on many issues and involving a segment of society that had previously been outside the political process and should be supported by progressive people. If Jackson represents such a progressive agenda, then:

(1) Why did he go to Syria to secure the release of Robert Goodman who had

been captured while dropping bombs on the Arab people, but say and do nothing about the imprisonment of Alfred Griffin, the Black marine who refused to go to Lebanon and fight against the Arab people?

(2) Why did the U.S. Army ferry him around their bases in W. Germany last fall to have meetings with the troops and to pose for pictures in a tank wearing a paratrooper's uniform?

(3) Why did he go to the Berlin Wall and say, "...the Wall represents the dividing line between freedom and tyranny."

(4) Why in the 1960s and again in the 1980s was he among the first of those trotted out by the rulers to cool out the masses rising up in rebellion? (Rebellions which must be upheld by everybody who opposes oppression.) And why did he, in response to the acquittal of the Miami cops whose murder of Nevel Johnson in '82 sparked the Overtown rebellion, say, "Turn your outrage into votes for me." He might as well have said, "vote for me and I'll set you free."

(5) Why does he advocate FDR's Good Neighbor Policy towards Central and South America as a model to be followed today when that policy was, in fact, a way for the U.S. to crush rebellion and install pro-U.S. dictators (like Somoza in Nicaragua) throughout the region? And why did he hail Secretary of State Shultz's trip to Nicaragua to lay down the law to the Sandinistas as "a step in the right direction"?

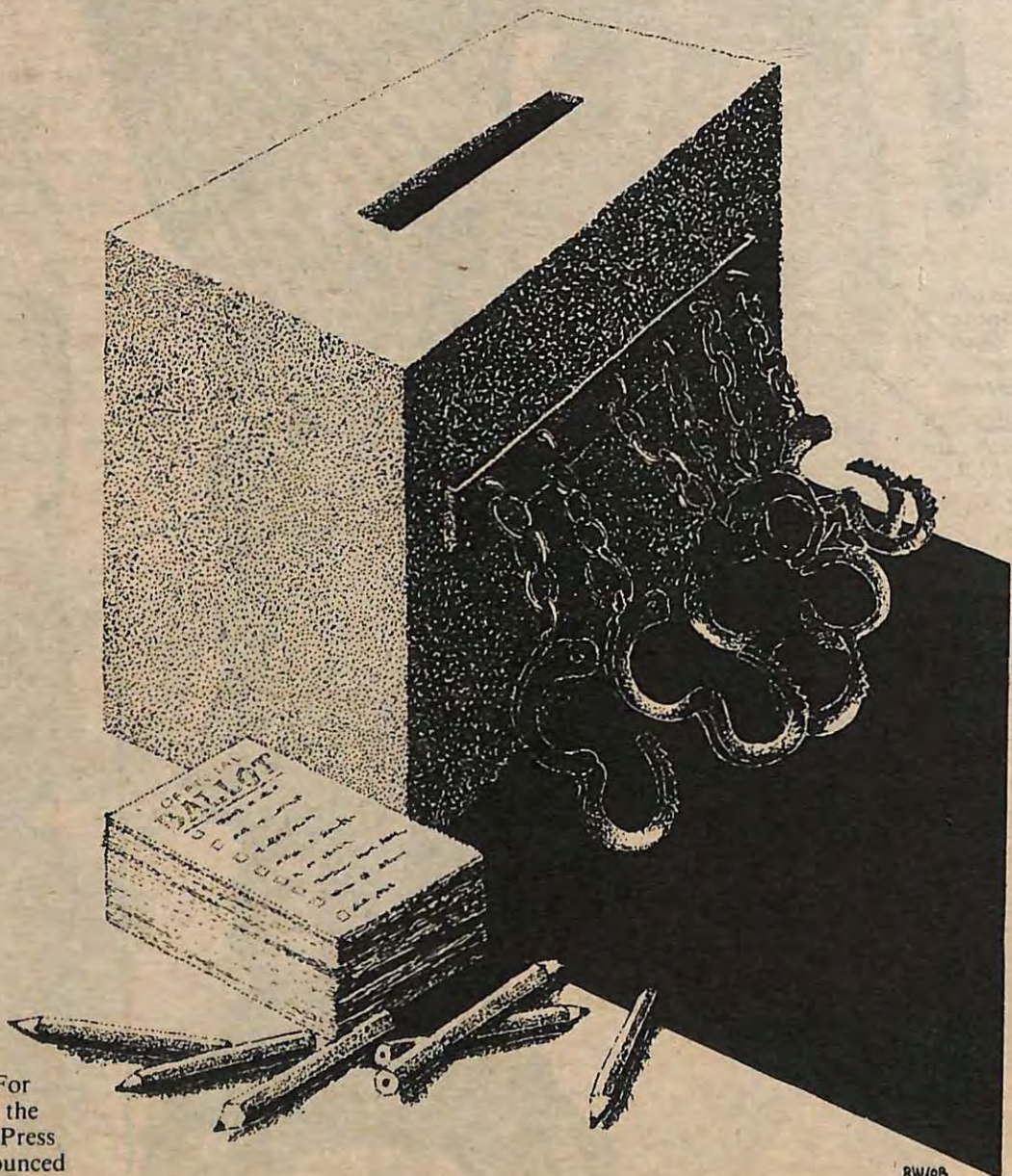
(6) Why did *Time*, *Newsweek*, CBS, ABC, etc., crown him the leader of the Black masses even before he declared himself a candidate?

Jackson's progressive agenda comes down to criticizing certain government policies but staying within the limits of what's best for the "national interests" of U.S. imperialism. In this way it helps to limit the terms of debate and draw the political opposition behind the bourgeoisie and against the people of the world. Such a candidacy is truly the "right stuff" for U.S. imperialism.

The point is that we, the workers and oppressed people living in the U.S., share no interest in the U.S. empire or any of the candidates the rulers want us to give a mandate to in their elections. The only outcome that their system offers the world is war between them and their equally imperialist Soviet rivals, no matter who ends up president. Only revolution, the armed overthrow of imperialism, which the RCP is preparing to help bring about as soon as possible, can stop the threatened terror of WW3 and end once and for all the horror that life under their system means for countless millions worldwide.

Falling for the electoral con game only aids the imperialists. Out in the street going up against the dead-end road is the only place to be. The right to vote has been won. Now we need the political awareness and sophistication not to use it.

By Carl Dix
Anti-Candidate 1984



Carl Dix is the author of the article "Jesse Jackson: The Right Stuff For U.S. Imperialism." He is a founding member and a spokesperson for the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. He participated in a London Press Conference with revolutionary leaders from other countries who announced the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in March 1984. He was one of the Fort Lewis 6, U.S. soldiers who refused orders to Vietnam... sentenced to two years in Leavenworth Prison. He was a revolutionary activist in the Black liberation struggle in the early '70s... from the Black Workers Congress to the African Liberation Support Committee.

HOW TO SPOT A “FREEDOM FIGHTER”

“It is not hard to tell, as we look around the world, who are the terrorists and who are the freedom fighters.”

Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking at a conference on “international terrorism,” June 24th

American advisor attached (where possible)

Microchip brain, software by Pentagon Inc.

Infrared sights (sees only red)

100% polyester uniform (made in the U.S.A.)

Tattoo reads “shoot ‘em all, let God sort them out.”

Yellow Rain detection kit

Autographed photo of George Shultz. Inscription says: “To my fellow freedom fighters”

One-way ticket to Miami (“just in case”)

Democratic shells

Pocketful of piano wire

Legionnaires Survival boot knife (concealed)

Theoretical and educational reading material



Correspondence

A Proper Greeting For The Moral Majority

The following correspondence was sent to the RW from a comrade in San Francisco:

The Moral Majority is coming to Sodom and Gomorrah, otherwise known as San Francisco, for Family Forum III Conference on July 12-13. "If you are concerned with the preservation of the family and traditional values, you must be there": with this cry they are descending into this "den of iniquity" and raising the banner of righteousness against the decay that threatens America and its heaven-sanctioned destiny.

Occurring just days prior to the Democratic Convention, there's undoubtedly no small amount of bourgeois politicking involved here. Certainly the Moral Majority hopes to embarrass the Democratic Party for holding their convention in "such a place," given San Francisco's reputation as a place full of "unruly" people, as well as the reality of its large homosexual community. The "sin" of homosexuality is, after all, one of the big issues of the Family Forum agenda. It is also, in part, a countermove to the Democrats holding their convention within Reagan territory: California is a base of his support and many members of his cabinet are from here.

And from the opposite side of the same stupidity of bourgeois politics this is sure to be used as an occasion to promote a mountain of "practical politics" in the form of, "Get Reagan out no matter what."

All of this heightens the need for a scientific assessment of the Moral Majority, what they represent, where they come from, and how they should be opposed — something that is lacking to a large degree in all the planning to oppose the conference.

The most common answer given to the cause of the rise of the right is Reagan. Bob Avakian almost three years ago spoke to this question in the RW and his analysis remains right on target (RW No. 116 "On Reaganism and the Rise of the Right"): "Of course there is some relationship between the 'rise of the right' phenomenon and the fact that Reagan is in the White House, that the U.S. is frantically increasing its war budget and assuming a more openly belligerent role in the world, that attacks on the oppressed masses in the U.S. are being intensified at the same time as attempts to suppress revolutionary uprisings in other countries are more flagrantly carried out and that the air is heavy with the atmosphere of suppression and suffocation, with dark ages ignorance (such as attacks on the scientific fact of evolution and the promotion of 'creationism') officially endorsed and encouraged from the highest levels of government. But it is not that the 'rise of the right,' as some kind of popular groundswell representing the expressed interest of the majority of society, is the cause of all this. Nor, for that matter, is Reagan and entourage the cause. They are all symptoms, reflections and expressions of not only the will but the sharpening necessity of the ruling class of the imperialists to deal with the decline of their position in the world, the heightening of the contradictions of their system and the growing challenges both from the rival bloc of imperialists and from the once-again rising revolutionary struggles in many parts of the world. To deal with this they must call forth the worst in society (and in individuals), stomp on (if not stomp out) resistance and revolutionary stirrings, and even questioning in the critical spirit. Patriotism, blind loyalty to country and government (and 'God on its side'), the willingness to do and die to 'make America No. 1 again' — all this must not only be brought back in style but made the commanding principle."

As the RW has been pointing out a great deal as of late, Reagan's difference with his Democratic predecessor is his open espousal of the need to wage World War 3 and openly furthering the all-

around preparations to do so. In this sense Reagan was needed because of, not despite, his crude cowboyism.

The question isn't do we oppose and expose the Moral Majority and this rise of the right. Do we oppose and expose them because of their hypocrisy, their so called lack of morals? Or because they are truly fitting representatives of America and the American Way of Life and that their call to restore the rights of men god and country over women, critical thought and all those other "countries," is a serious call not just to a fringe of fanatics, but has its base in the more privileged sections of U.S. society? It is only in the second manner that one can make sense of the seeming inconsistency of their program, i.e., the Right to Life on the one hand, and on the other hand Phyllis Schlafly calling nuclear weapons "a gift from god."

First off, morality is not an absolute category. It is dependent on one's position in society, most notably what class you belong to and what corresponds to and aids the interests of that class. In the case of the Jerry Falwells and Phyllis Schlaflys, they're conscious agents of the imperialists' interests. However, their program has a base among sections of society which have received substantial privileges from U.S. domination of the world — notably sections of the petty bourgeoisie, the labor aristocracy and somewhat more bourgeoisified and upper sections of the working class. These are also largely the sections who voted for Reagan.

Another way of getting at the morals of this section is by asking, where did Ozzie & Harriet come from anyway? And the answer is — from the U.S. winning World War 2 and consolidating a vast U.S.-led empire in its wake. (If you say this is reason enough to prevent another such war from happening again, you're right!)

I think it is safe to say the "50s family" was a particularly American phenomenon. At the close of World War 2, women were pushed out of work and pushed into the home in droves, a function of the needs of U.S. capital at the time. Further, because of the neocolonial empire and the blood money from that passed on to large sections of the U.S. population (listed above), two incomes were not needed to support a family in a degree of comfort. Thus begins the era of the Boy Scouts, three kids and a wagon, and "keeping up with the Joneses." In fact, one could say in a certain sense, the ability to park a wife permanently in the home alongside two cars in the garage became a sign of really making it in America!

Here the hypocrisy (and outright lies) of the Moral Majority do enter. Because, despite their rosey pictures of godly harmony, the reality of all this for many women in these strata has been brutal. Incest, wife-beating, marriage rape, prostitution, to say nothing of widespread alcoholism and valium addiction among women — all this lies underneath the long flowing white-chiffon gowns seen on Jerry Falwell's stage.

But this is most definitely the '80s and not the '50s. While this letter is not the place to track this development in detail — suffice it to say the erosion of the World War 2 ideal family was very bound up with the erosion of U.S. imperialism as a whole. The Vietnam War and its rippling political, economic and military effects, the rise and challenge of Soviet imperialism and the development of economic crisis in the U.S. empire — have all contributed to the changing position of women and the family. These forces have both pulled women into the work force in unprecedented numbers — into the burgeoning bureaucracy, service industry and the bottom of the industrial work force in key industries like electronics; and then unleashed women along with others into the political struggle both against the oppression of women, but more broadly into society and political life as a whole. Sixty percent of Black families and twenty percent of white are headed by women. These statistics give only a hint of the profound changes

underfoot in the family presently.

The point of all this is twofold — first, the Moral Majority is speaking to some very real developments going on in the "decline of the traditional American family values." These "family values" were only possible on the basis of the top-dog domination of the U.S. and their decay is rooted in the overall decline of the U.S. And it is here one can see how the call to "restore the rights of the family" is integrally bound up with restoring the rights of America. And this finds expression in the political programme of these forces where the most backward position on women is coupled with open espousal of winning and waging World War 3 to restore America.

Granted all of this is cloaked in piousness — god's grand plan and other medieval obscurantism. And while many of these idiots actually believe in these myths, the overall promotion of this ideology by the imperialists is more due to an effort to lend some grandeur and divine design, some loftiness, no matter how low, to the programme of America as No. 1. The shabbiness of this is a reflection not principally on the ideologues of the Moral Majority and Reagan, but more on the position of U.S. imperialism and its serious need for some new lies to buttress the old reactionary values and systems they serve — a problem not easily solved.

What constitutes Reagan's upbeat America is his vision for a joyful march to Armageddon, for, "This is not a return to the 1950s and the 'Cold War', but the act of preparation for the real, hot war with the rival imperialist Soviet bloc the U.S. imperialists have of necessity as their programme." (RW No. 116) This is not in contradiction to the "right to life." For the key unsaid word is the right to the American Way of Life — and for this, world war is an absolute necessity.

There is another reason for the Moral Majority coming to San Francisco, however, besides just simply embarrassing the Democrats. Of course, one can't speak of the Moral Majority coming to San Francisco without the inevitable clash between it and San Francisco's prominent male homosexual population. Several weeks ago I attended the annual Gay Pride march held here in the city. Several things struck me. First was the most obvious woman-hating expressed in the leather/S&M aspects of the overwhelmingly male march. But also (and in fact more predominant) was a broad

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A visitor at Chicago's O'Hare Airport on the week of May 21-24 might have thought World War 3 had begun. The military half of the airport was buzzing with activity. Military aircraft periodically landed, unloading a strange cargo: hundreds of "war casualties" who rapidly filled the waiting area on stretchers and chairs. Splints and blood-red gauze indicated massive burns of flesh and eyes, broken backs and pelvises, internal injuries without open wounds, i.e., the type of blast and thermal injuries that might occur in a nuclear blast or in tank warfare. Medical teams hurriedly moved among the moaning patients assessing injuries and administering initial treatment. This information was fed to the Emergency Medical Services Commission, a coordinating center with liaison to Chicago-area fire and rescue services, mass transit service, communications centers and others. From here ambulances and fire department vehicles were assigned to transport these victims to a network of 80 hospitals which, if necessary, could have made a possible 7,000 beds available to war casualties.

This exercise was a war game, one of the first major drills in the country of the Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System (CMCHS). Mandated by the Secretary of Defense in 1980, CMCHS was supposed to have this kind of yearly practice session at participating hospitals. But the initial attempt to sign up hospitals stirred up widespread opposition among doctors and there has been a several year lull in further attempts to push these plans forward, including very few previous drills (we know of only one). This trial run involving all hospitals in a major metropolitan area represents a significant escalation by the ruling class in its attempt to piece together some semblance of a health care system for world war and to enlist doctors in their efforts.

This drill was countered by a protest of doctors at Cook County Hospital, Chicago's largest public hospital. On May 8 the Medical Executive Committee voted 8-6 against joining the CMCHS. Despite the fact that this is a policy-setting board, the hospital administration overruled them, saying, "we have a contract with the Department of Defense." The hospital administration argued that this was not preparations for war but merely an effort to make sure the hospital was prepared for any disaster. Some doctors agreed with this position and didn't see this drill as particularly geared to war. Others downplayed the drill as nothing out of the ordinary. After all, for certification all hospitals are required to have two emergency drills a year. But many doctors felt that this drill was part of preparations for nuclear war. On the first day of the drill 75-100 doctors set up a picket line outside the hospital and many refused to participate in the drill. As one doctor put it, "By supporting such a plan we would be supporting general preparations for nuclear war and if you support preparations for nuclear war then you are essentially supporting nuclear war. That's what the issues have been. It blew up at this point because this was the first time it required more than theoretical agreement or disagreement. There was an actual drill and you either had to participate or not participate. . . . You can't say on the one hand you don't believe in nuclear war and on the other hand participate in medical preparations."

Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System

The U.S. Department of Defense has been wrestling with the contradiction of how to provide medical care to military personnel in a world war situation since the mid-1970s. A Pentagon "Fact Sheet" on the Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System, published in January 1982, poses the problem in historical terms: "Within the past seventy-five years, the United States has been engaged in four armed conflicts abroad.* Each has required various levels of medical support for U.S. military forces. In all four conflicts, there was sufficient time for the peacetime military medical sup-

*This is an obviously ridiculous underestimation of U.S. involvement in armed conflicts abroad. Here they are referring, for their own purposes, to major wars — the inter-imperialist wars WWI and WWII and the U.S. wars of aggression in Vietnam and Korea.

Medical "Readiness" for World War 3?!



"Casualties" waiting at O'Hare airport. Tags tied to their arms describe their "injuries."

port system to be expanded to meet emerging needs. In the future, however, should an overseas conflict begin quickly, it might not be possible to expand the existing peacetime military medical system in time to provide care for all the casualties returning to the United States during the early stages."

Saving Lives Together in Combat in the Community, the 1981 U.S. Department of Defense 40-page pamphlet detailing CMCHS, sheds further light on the medical problems and the type of war they are preparing for. "Because of technical advances in weaponry and the great mobility of armies today, a future large-scale war overseas will probably begin and end very rapidly and produce casualties at a higher rate than any other war in history. The quickened pace and high intensity may not allow time to build the necessary military medical support base here in the United States to care for all the casualties returning in the early stages of the conflict."

In case there is any question who the enemy will be in this war an article in *The New England Journal of Medicine* on March 25, 1982, signed by several Pentagon doctors planning the CMCHS, states: "Crisis and conflict may occur in

almost any area of the world and may take place simultaneously in geographically separate places. For example, NATO forces face a formidable threat from the Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe." This article then goes on to detail the Warsaw Pact weapons threatening the West.

The Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System is proposed as an important medical component in this kind of war. The Department of Defense requests that all 200-bed or larger civilian hospitals in 34 designated areas of the U.S. provide 50 or more beds each to augment the military capability during times of "large-scale future conflict" in which military hospitals and the Veterans Administration are swamped with casualties. The initial national goal set was 50,000 civilian hospital beds to be made ready for evacuation in case of national emergency. If war broke out the civilian patients occupying these beds would presumably be discharged to be on their own to make room for the large numbers of military casualties flown back to the U.S. Why flown back to the U.S.? The Pentagon states that field hospitals, such as those used extensively in the Vietnam War and World War 2,

would be a practical impossibility in the initial stages of the war given the fast moving, fluid battle lines. In "normal" wars these MASH-type hospitals are set up 5-10 miles behind the frontlines, but in the war they are now talking about it might not be possible to establish where the frontline actually is until several days or weeks into the war. Also, although the Pentagon doesn't mention this in its literature on CMCHS, in all likelihood large areas of the battle zone would be contaminated with radiation.

What this CMCHS plan would mean in a 200-bed hospital is the following: If the hospital normally runs at 80 percent capacity with 160 beds occupied, the military would be assigned 50 of these normally occupied 160 beds with an option to usurp the normally unoccupied 40 beds as well. The hospital might, therefore, suddenly find itself with 90 out of 200 beds occupied by severely injured military personnel.

In addition the Pentagon is clearly talking about major injuries, any one of which might tax a hospital's capabilities. This is clear from a "notional profile" of 100 casualties listed in *Saving Lives Together*. A draft position paper by the Physicians for Social Responsibility analyzes these potential victims: "About half of these are severe trauma and burn cases. The other half are not battle casualties by any definition and would not usually in times of peace or war... need hospitalization at all, let alone urgent transoceanic transport to beds hastily evacuated by civilians with inpatient health care requirements. One plausible explanation is that in addition to the described medical conditions of these patients they have suffered from high doses of radiation exposure and therefore are appropriately categorized as high risk battle casualties in need of immediate hospitalization."

Let's see how many hints we have about the kind of war they are talking about. So far we have a large-scale war that could be fought simultaneously in several areas of the world against the Warsaw Pact. We have a war producing casualties at a rate that "would very quickly exceed the capability of both the VA and military systems" (1978 estimate, a total of 120,000 beds), and might within "48 hours" require the use of another 50,000 beds from the civilian health care sector, or a total of at least 170,000 beds with a high percentage of victims with severe burns and trauma and the other half possibly suffering from a high dose of radiation exposure. And these plans are only for military survivors in the first two days. Of course the Pentagon scrupulously avoids the use of the words "world war" — and as far as the phrase "nuclear war," the thought never even crossed its mind. In fact the words they chose to describe the CMCHS plan evoke the image of a sunny day with safety patrols helping first graders across the street. Everything sounds feasible, reassuring, positive in tone. Every once in a while there is an undertone that a little muscle *could* be applied, but that shouldn't be necessary. After all, they imply, the medical profession is made up of reasonable men and women dealing with a common problem. "Through emergency war legislation, civil sector hospitals might be required to support the war effort in a declared national emergency," states *Saving Lives Together*. "Our concern, however, is that without advanced planning the integration of civilian hospital support will be disorganized and may unnecessarily disrupt many civilian communities. It is our firm conviction that a voluntary collaborative planning effort now will be of significant benefit to both military and civilian systems later."

In other words, the Pentagon is only concerned about efficiency and rational organization. This is a war they describe as the most destructive and deadly in world history — and this is rational and efficient! A war very likely to escalate quickly if not immediately to use of nuclear weapons, including a strategic nuclear exchange — and their concern is not to create an "unnecessary disruption of U.S. civilian communities." A war producing "casualties at a higher rate than any other war in history" and their utmost concern is to provide medical care, especially to the very troops they have just wasted as cannonfodder. Clearly nothing here to get a reasonable doctor upset.

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Declaration of Independence, Equal Opportunity and Bourgeois Right

by Bob Avakian

With the "sound and fury" of the upcoming Democratic Convention dominating the airwaves, we thought it was quite appropriate to reprint this article by Bob Avakian which was first published in RW No. 230 — RW.

Have those democrats who really love the Declaration of Independence — and here I'm talking about people genuinely opposed to tyranny and injustice, not bourgeois hypocrites — have they really read it and paid attention to what it says? I recently re-read it as background for a book I'm hoping to write fairly soon (tentatively titled *Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?*). Having just re-read the Declaration of Independence I am moved to ask such people to explain how something they regard as an enduring manifesto against oppression can contain such passages as the following complaint against the King of England:

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions."

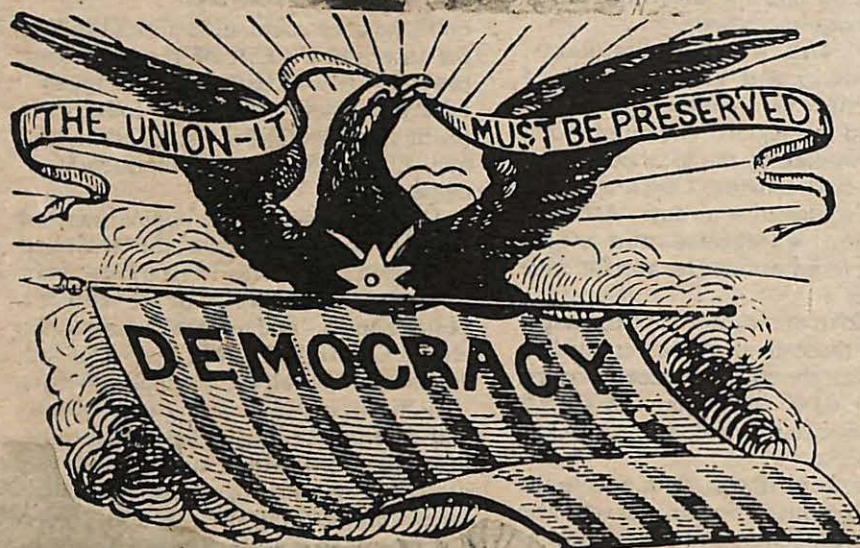
It would be hard to imagine a more blatant and complete reversal of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong, of victim and criminal, of just and unjust warfare, than is contained in this description — yes, in the Declaration of Independence — of the relations between the Indians and the Europeans who founded the United States of America on territory they stole from the Indians through murder and plunder. And this passage, this perversion of history and fact, is not an aberration from but is consistent with the whole thrust of the Declaration of Independence. To get an all-around understanding of this it is necessary to examine the Declaration of Independence in some detail and more fundamentally to examine it in its historical context and in its social and class content.

Let's begin with the title. This document is precisely a declaration of independence of one country from another, it is not a declaration calling for the abolition of all oppressive and exploitative relations, specifically not within the country that is declaring its independence. This is more particularly the declaration of the propertied and politically dominant classes within the emerging United States. All this is clearly indicated in the content of what grievances are enumerated — and what evils are glaringly *not* mentioned, most prominent among them slavery (about this, more shortly). When the authors of this declaration list among the "abuses and usurpations" that have moved them to break free of the control of the English monarchy the fact that the latter is guilty of "imposing taxes on us without our consent" and "cutting off our trade with all parts of the world," they are giving expression to the outrage of classes which are restricted in their accumulation of wealth and capital by these measures imposed by the ruling classes of a foreign power. Here it should be pointed out that a very significant part of that trade involved the trading in slaves and that even after this was abolished the trade in goods produced with slave labor, in particular cotton, was an integral and indispensable element in building up the economy of the U.S., including in the northern states where for a considerable period before the Civil War a large part of investment in manufacturing came from the profits of the textile industry in England, which in turn utilized to a large degree the cotton grown in the slave states in the southern U.S. And in the manufacturing establishments and manufacturing towns of the north the conditions of the working class attested to the most heartless exploitation and pitiless political oppression.

All this begins to put into perspective the fine and famous words of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Obviously, this did not apply to the slaves, nor to the "merciless Indian savages," nor to women — in the eyes of the framers of this Declaration it was literally men and specifically not women to whom this applied, which is demonstrated by the fact that they did not even grant women the right to vote when they framed their Constitution a few years later. The essential point, however, is not that the authors of this Declaration and the Declaration itself are hypocritical but that they represent definite class interests — exploiting class interests — and reflect a definite class outlook and bias.

This is also revealed in the introductory passages of the Declaration, which are probably the best known. The basic case made in the Declaration for why it is justified to separate from England, beyond the specific grievances that are enumerated afterward in the Declaration, is that "the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle" each people to an independent and equal status among nations. Further, the "inalienable rights" of man derive from (are "endowed by") god and it is to secure these rights that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . ." This is an idealist inversion of reality, and more specifically corresponds in basic terms to the theories of such bourgeois political thinkers as the seventeenth century Englishman John Locke and the eighteenth century French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (whose main political doctrine, *The Social Contract*, I have analyzed, in terms of class content, in chapter 1, part 4 of my book, *For A Harvest of Dragons*). Beyond the fact that there is nothing in "the laws of nature" that "entitles" people or nations to anything (and beyond the fact that there is no god at all), it should be clear by now that governments are not instituted to secure "all men" the "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," nor do they derive their powers, just or otherwise, "from the consent of the governed," without regard to social class. This has never been true, or possible, in the history of the U.S. or any other country. Governments — or more precisely, states, meaning an apparatus of repression — arose with the emergence of class antagonisms when the development of the forces of production made possible the accumulation of surplus and therefore of private property, leading to the dissolution of primitive classless society. The state apparatus, of whatever kind and in whatever form, represents and enforces the

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Jean-Claude Duvalier and the U.S. fleet

From The Haitian Intern It's Against

The following is the text of a pamphlet written and distributed by the Haitian International Revolutionary Group (GRIA) analyzing the May rebellions in Haiti and the response of various class forces to these events. The pamphlet was translated from French by the RW.

After the riots of April 23 and 24 in the Dominican Republic which left more than 60 dead, it was Haiti's turn. On May 21, the city of Gonaïves rose in rebellion against the brutalities of the local forces of repression and the dizzying cost of common consumer goods.

A city with 45,000 inhabitants, Gonaïves is located 150 km. north of Port-au-Prince. There is an extreme food shortage in this region. The murder of a pregnant woman by the local police was the apparent detonator. The riots, which were violent, lasted four days. A CARE Foundation warehouse and stores belonging to notorious Duvalierists were ransacked.

On the 29th of the same month, hunger riots like those in Gonaïves erupted in Cap-Haïtien, the country's second largest city with 50,000 inhabitants. A CARE warehouse was stormed and ransacked there also.

On June 1 in Hinche, right next to the Haitian-Dominican border, a warehouse was attacked, seized and looted. Meanwhile, in Port-de-Paix, one Colonel Gracia Jean had his car "literally torn to pieces" while trying to arrest a citizen, and he barely escaped himself.

Everywhere, the response of the dictatorship was the same: intervention of troops from Port-au-Prince (including the so-called Leopards elite corps), machine-gunnings, bludgeonings, curfew, imprisonments, and finally... promises of help.

In Gonaïves, the army was not able to penetrate the Raboteau district and had to settle for cutting it off. The curfew is still in force. In Cap-Haïtien, a traditionally revolutionary city, a "steamroller" confronted the police and army in the poor districts of La Fossette and Nan Bannan. The looting in Hinche was the work of students, a particularly immiserated and oppressed stratum in Haiti.

It should be noted, however, that the goods stored by CARE, supposedly a "gift" to the Haitian people, have always been sold at a high price, profiting the prefects, mayors, officers and other Macoutes. And this is not a recent thing: at the time of hurricane Hazel in 1954, under the government of General Paul Eugene Magloire, boxes of powdered

milk and cheese and sacks of rice bearing the inscription "Gift of the American people — Not to be sold or exchanged" were being sold around the country to profit the General-President and his clique of "defenders of representative democracy."

The open revolt of the popular masses of our country against the Duvalier government, the instrument of bureaucratic capitalism, feudal obscurantism, and of the compradors and lackeys of U.S., West European and Japanese imperialism, is completely just.

It shows us what we must overthrow and destroy for good, that which must not exist in the future, and it reveals the prescriptions and programmes, as well as the positions of the different class forces and groups in motion. The events of the month of May are extremely important for class-conscious proletarians, in that they're an opportunity for the revolutionary communists to present their programme to the masses. That's why we uphold this escalation of popular struggle and urge all revolutionaries to work steadily and get prepared for taking leadership of even bigger struggles against the enemies of the Haitian people and of the peoples of the entire world — imperialism and its flunkies. It's in this context that we support the struggles of the oppressed masses and revolutionary elements against the reactionary system.

"IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL" (Mao Tsetung)

The Haitian people have a long tradition of revolts: from the antislavery struggle to the struggle against feudal despotism and foreign intervention; the day to day struggle against land monopolists, "commodity speculators" and merchants; and the struggle against the local agents of the successive dictatorships, from Vincent to Duvalier Jr. — with Lescot, Estimé, Magloire and Papa Doc in between. Yet, despite the crucial importance of these struggles in the history of our people, many times

throughout this history the revolts of the Haitian people have been appropriated by sections of the ruling classes to their own benefit.

That's why it's important to really understand this last wave of rebellion if we want to see it change from "the means of deception it has been until now, into an instrument of emancipation." (Marx) We must therefore study the programmes of all classes and groups of Haitian society and present our own programme.

The May uprisings in Haiti have the freshness of the first days of spring after a long painful winter. The exploited popular masses have awakened from a long hibernation to take to the streets and confront the reactionary order that exists in Haiti, stressing the slogans: "Down with hunger!, Down with dictatorship!, Down with repression!" These revolts are the prelude to other, more important events to come. They constitute a hope for the people and a challenge for the revolutionary elements. They are a challenge to all the enemies of imperialist domination and the reactionary ruling classes in its service, a challenge to seize the time and take the necessary measures to lead the struggles and revolts of the people toward the overthrow of the dictatorship of the imperialists and reactionaries over the country — this dictatorship which is starving the people and seeking every day to intensify its system of exploitation and misery.

The Attitude of the Reactionaries Toward the Popular Demands

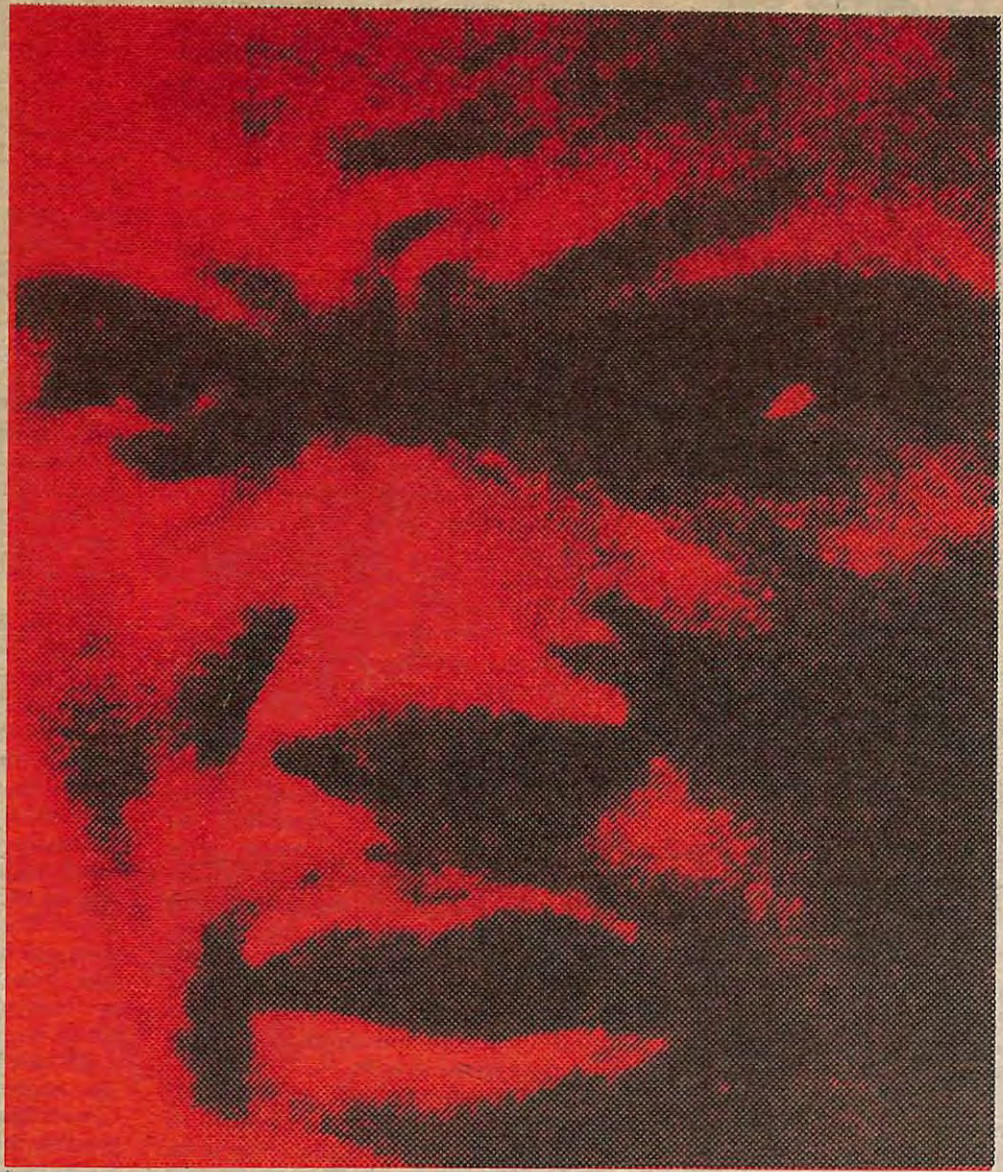
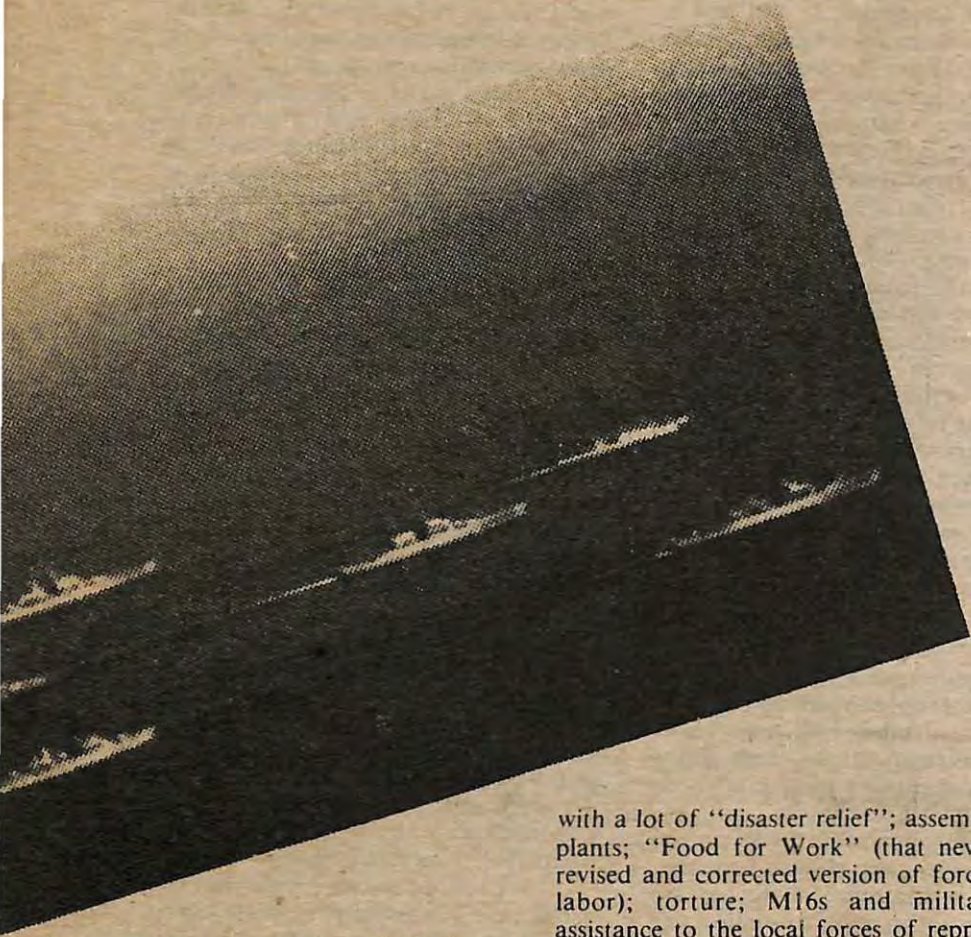
The struggles of the masses, although

spontaneous and sporadic, terrify the reactionaries. The Haitian ruling classes, the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and the Duvalier regime took turns trying persuasion and massive repression to try to bring them to an end. After the exhortations of the Duvalierist ministers Cinéas and Achilles in Gonaïves came the generalized assault by all the forces of the regime: the army and navy (coast guard), Tonton-Macoutes and Leopards armed to the teeth, firemen and ambulances. The government then announced "administrative measures," which would be funny if not for the calculated cynicism and contempt for the people that prompted them: asphaltting a street in Gonaïves, creating 200 road maintenance "jobs" and funding primary schooling for 75 students in Gonaïves. In addition to these important "reforms," the government transferred several officials of the Gonaïves administration, including the head of the garrison and the head of the Tonton-Macoutes, the justice of the peace, etc. Five ministers were excluded from the cabinet, one of them, apparently, for having suggested some "reforms" to ameliorate the deplorable conditions of the people. And to top it all off, two rah-rah bands were hired to amuse the people of Gonaïves, who gave the cold shoulder to this crude maneuver. The same scenario transpired in all the other cities where the population had revolted.

Meanwhile, the government recalled its ambassador to Washington for "consultation" and sent its minister of finance to the American capital to request a little more money in order to deal with the crisis. The American imperialists were begged to set up more "sweatshops" — those centers of uncleanness and

ational Revolutionary Group

Right to Rebel Reactionaries



superexploitation paying \$2.65 for a day's work — and for more arms to smash the slave rebellion.

Despite these measures, the government remains atop a barrel of gunpowder which could explode at any moment. And that's what makes them tremble with fear and fret over this "terrible situation." But tell us, if they are trembling with fear today and lamenting this "terrible" situation, what will they say when the people take up arms to get rid of them once and for all? The imperialists, the real masters of this "plantation," must also be trembling. They sent Admiral Ralph Hedgeb, chief of air, naval and ground operations in the Caribbean zone, to Port-au-Prince to decide or to communicate to Haiti's General Namphy and to the Haitian government what measures to take. The American ambassador to Port-au-Prince was meanwhile recalled to Washington for consultation. No doubt the instructions were to unleash the repressive apparatus against the people if they dared get out of hand, i.e., struggle to overthrow the imperialists and the Haitian reactionaries, whose role as good "commanders" is, as with other reactionaries around the world, to keep the imperialist "plantations" in good working order. Haiti and the entire surrounding region occupies a strategically important place in the war preparations of the imperialists for a new division of the world; and it is known that moves are underway for the concession of an American military base at Môle St. Nicholas, facing Cuba.

Shortly after these events, the American imperialists sunk a Haitian boat off the coast of Haiti, and of the 90 persons on board, 23 were reported disappeared and 7 dead. The message thus flung at the Haitian masses is that there is no escape from misery to the U.S. "You are in a trap, so accept it!" But the people will not accept it.

Of course, the imperialists, just like the reactionaries, have attempted and will attempt to lure the people with aid, that is,

with a lot of "disaster relief"; assembly plants; "Food for Work" (that newly revised and corrected version of forced labor); torture; M16s and military assistance to the local forces of repression. The imperialists — the U.S., France and Germany in particular — have already announced their intention to loan more money to the Haitian government. And we will see them do all they can to avoid new uprisings. But try as they may, once the people learn to identify the author of their miseries, the sky will inevitably fall on the head of the imperialists.

The Response of the Opposition

The attitude of "the opposition" toward the struggles of the masses is interesting and revealing.

The rightist "opposition," which groups all those wanting to take the place of Duvalier, has multiplied its traditional maneuvers: putsch, coups d'état, invasions, plots, constitutional struggles, etc. Thus, last month, American and French police dragnets caught two paramilitary groups preparing an "invasion." According to an FBI agent's report on the group arrested in New Orleans, the group's spokesman, one Raymond Ramirez, stated: "I'm looking for money, and when that works out, you can go into any bank and sign, I'll be a millionaire. . . . We're doing business, OK Ernie? We aren't politicians and never will be. Besides, the politicians will receive their instructions from us, because we will be the mafia. You need an organization which is a government in itself to direct this filthy government. . . . You name a president when you're ready. The people of this country have no right to name a filthy president. . . ."

And how will they go about establishing this mafia? Again, according to Ramirez: "They (his cohorts) will go to Port-au-Prince. Then, these guys over there die. They will not escape! You'll remember that I told you that. That's how we do things."

In fact, for Ramirez and the reactionaries of his ilk, the enemy is not only Duvalier. The main enemy is especially the exploited masses. It's thus obvious that for these swine, popular struggles are

a terrible and totally undesirable thing. We should expect to see a sharp increase in their reactionary activity.

But this is not the only sector to propose solutions for saving the boat in distress, the system that the masses want to "sink." Consider, for example, the sector struggling around and for a constitutional front. According to Constantin Pognon, the president of PADRAMA, an "opposition" party in Haiti:

"There is opposition and opposition, fake opposition and genuine opposition. The former is narrow, egoistic, jealous and blind, because it's only looking out for its own interests, only looking for personal satisfaction. The latter is generous, altruistic, humanist, because it sees the higher interests, not of a man or a group of men, but of the common fatherland, of the entire national collectivity which is scattered in foreign lands as well as inside the country. Conducting a battle of ideas and principles, this genuine opposition of necessity does not intend to combat those in power with the view of wanting to substitute itself, as in 'Move aside for me'; this opposition, we say, instead intends to help the government do right by means of objective, intelligent, constructive criticisms, in the service, not of this government, but of the higher interests of the common fatherland." And, continues Pognon: "Caution! A real and constructive opposition must be the most vigilant; and as watchman, it looks out first for the good as well as the bad actions by the government to call attention to. Acting in this way, it asserts itself as a 'good collaborator.' It is thus incumbent on the government to understand it, and hence to recognize it, not for its own narrow cause, but for that of the common fatherland. Such an opposition, according to circumstances arising from the development of things, will always be ready, now or in the future, to serve the country, this common fatherland. . . ."

In presenting the programme of the Haitian constitutionalists in Haiti and in diaspora, Constantin Pognon instructs us that "there is opposition and opposition." But, while Pognon and his fellow travelers play "good collaborators," while they fly to the aid of the government in "the common interest" of the imperialists and the ruling classes — or the "common fatherland" in good constitutionalist language — we see the people, the advanced elements and the revolutionaries struggling and preparing to destroy this "government" that Pognon and those he represents want to preserve in the name of a "common fatherland" so dear to them. After such statements, is it possible to doubt that the May events in Haiti

could be anything in their eyes other than a violent and anarchic phenomenon, and thus a terrible and undesirable thing in their "democracy"?

As for the independent press, it is necessary to listen to Pierre Robert Auguste, director of the magazine *Information*, to learn how it intends to confront this dilemma: "It will be some time before we are out of the Gonaïvien impasse. Gonaïves remains a city to be reconquered through big social projects, a sustained policy of full employment, and the socio-cultural integration of the youth. Moreover, it has a hard head and a hard-to-tame determination. Uncertainty obscures the horizon." That's what the independent press in Haiti proposes to the reactionaries in power and to the ruling classes in general. For its part, the independent press in exile pontificates: "We cannot indulge in a new folklorism of popular combat. We are at a major historic crossroads, with our books and our follies, while our great witness is the people of the cities, the shanty-towns, etc. . . . Yes, for these independents the opposition is a band of "squabblers," and under the pretext of "ideological struggle, an important (and qualified) sector of the opposition spends its time shooting itself in the feet and harping on a discourse which no longer has any connection to the experience of the people." Well then, it's time to stop these family squabbles in order to please these noble partisans of universal understanding and fraternity; it is necessary to have done with "the dissension of Trotsky, of Titoism, the denunciations of Stalinism by Khrushchev, the Sino-Soviet schism and the sad war between Vietnam and China." The question for the independents, as for the revisionists of PUCH whose praises they sing, is "to learn how to bring support to the popular opposition forces in Haiti."

We must say right out to the independents of *Haiti-Demain* and to all those who share their ideas, that the ideological struggles and splits they so detest, and this "squabble" which they declare foreign to the "experience of the people," are truly indispensable and vital for the forces really struggling to overthrow the presently existing system in Haiti and elsewhere in the world. We understand very well why these ideological struggles are disturbing to all those who hope to take the place of the Duvalier clique without touching the neocolonial structures that have led to the present crisis. But for us who want to overthrow this system in order to erect a communist system in its place, all these "dissensions" and all this "squabbling" have not reached their limit.

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It's Right to Rebel

Continued from page 9

And what is to be said of the revisionists who have also presented their programme, in particular the Unified Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH), whose Secretary René Théodore declared the present period a "period of awakening." An awakening which aspires for "a struggle directed towards the Duvalier dictatorship and a struggle bent on bringing an end to misery. Thus a programme of transformation must be considered in order to be able to respond to the exigencies of the hour." The Secretary General of PUCH continues with his lecture and informs us that: "... the Unified Party of Haitian Communists has a programme of political action. Some members of the party live inside the country, others are abroad to change society. This party's responses are directed toward the country, where it is necessary to contemplate how to help advance the struggle so that it gains ground." He continues: "I can tell you that PUCH has always linked its actions with the Haitian people..."

One wishes that PUCH were to recount this nonsense to the hundreds of comrades and people who were killed in the course of the '60s while PUCH was carrying out a focoist struggle in the country, as well as to all the members of this organization who were exterminated in the cells of the Duvaliers, including some who were turned in to the police by members of the organization. What a short memory PUCH has! Théodore also tells us that "Our objectives are too important. What interests the people now is nourishment and democracy, the end of the Duvalier dictatorship, and protection against economic annexation which is engendering the loss of national sovereignty."

This twaddle leaves us convinced of the importance of this "objective" of the revisionists which in reality consist in extracting Haiti from the economic and political domination of American-imperialism in order to place it under Soviet tutelage. For to listen to them, only Soviet social-imperialism is capable of protecting Haiti from "the economic annexation which is engendering the loss of national sovereignty." Such demagogic phrase-mongering poorly hides the sole objective of PUCH which is to transform Haiti into a neocolony of the Soviet camp. Yet, again according to Théodore's speech, the only means of attaining this objective in the present period is a policy of reform and historic compromise, utilized by Soviet imperialism in the countries dominated by American imperialism. And as the spokesman of PUCH said: "We are for cooperation, we agree that it is necessary to sit at a table with the representatives of all the other political parties to define an overall programme for advancing the popular struggle..."

Haiti-Progrès. A recent editorial by this newspaper published in New York complains of "this cruelly ironical and paradoxical situation in which we are helpless spectators of mass actions that we have been incapable up to now of guiding and organizing in order to raise them to a higher level of struggle." The editor continues: "However, the masses, for the most part politically unorganized, are ahead of us, and we who should be in the vanguard remain in their wake..." This shows us, says *Haiti-Progrès*, "the vital necessity of a common organization linking democratic and revolutionary forces inside and outside the country in order to reclaim their leadership role at a level other than verbal." This editorial also talks about the unity which is the order of the day; not an "incoherent," "catch-all" unity, but a unity "of the revolutionary movement whose aim boils down to three slogans opening the doors to a new society: a democratic, popular and anti-imperialist revolution."

The programme of *Haiti-Progrès* is a frontist plan which unites the programme of the revisionists and the social-democrats being applied in several countries of Latin America and elsewhere in the Third World. It's a programme which ignores or liquidates the role of the Marxist-Leninists and the advanced elements among the masses, as well as the role of the party which must lead this front. History shows that the type of

front envisioned by *Haiti-Progrès* always ends up utilizing the masses as a pedestal and that sooner or later these fronts become appropriated by one group of imperialists or another. And if one acknowledges that the aim of the revisionists is to utilize the masses for their own ends, it is then easy to understand why the rallying of the masses in large numbers is such a horror for them. Thus we see *Haiti-Progrès* make anti-Macoute propaganda, in particular their campaign against the radio program Eddy Publicité, the priority of the hour. In this there exists a big contrast between the struggles and rebellions of the masses in Haiti and the revisionist activities of *Haiti-Progrès* which serve to lower the sights of the masses instead of enlarging and enlightening them.

En Avant!, a Marxist-Leninist organization. Following the events of May 23 in Gonaïves, En Avant! raised the slogan: "Firmly support the struggles of the Haitian people." For, according to this organization: "This conjuncture offers an advantageous situation to revolutionary organizations. We of En Avant! are conscious of the limitations of the spontaneous struggles of the masses, but in no way is it a question of underestimating them. However, it is most incorrect to think like the opportunists that the unity of the revolutionary left can be achieved outside the country, far from the struggles of the masses. This indispensable unity must come about on the national territory, on the basis of frank discussions and common actions in the midst of the masses..."

The "revolutionaries" of En Avant! have discovered a new law of metaphysics, a new scientific formula according to which revolutionary unity can only operate on the national territory. We squarely reject this erroneous line and affirm that revolutionary unity can function wherever there are revolutionaries, that is, as far as Haitian revolutionaries are concerned, in Haiti as well as in diaspora. And this unity cannot only be accomplished "on the basis of frank discussions and common actions in the midst of the masses." Unity between Marxist-Leninists cannot and will not come about in this manner. It requires above all a conscious effort on the part of the revolutionaries to organize themselves around a Marxist-Leninist line and programme based on the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science and the concrete analysis of the concrete situation. To maintain that the revolutionaries cannot unite themselves outside of the country amounts to an act of demobilization, to an exhortation of passivity among the revolutionaries. And as for the Haitian revolutionaries in diaspora who want to return to Haiti, if they do so impulsively, outside of an organized framework, if they return to the country without political training and without a correct line, they will never attain any degree of effectiveness and will not be able to contribute to revolutionary unity, which is an important step in the formation of the party that will lead the revolution. It is important to understand why En Avant! says it's convinced that: "the struggle of the popular masses against Yankee imperialism and its local flunkies demands the militant support of every patriot, of every progressive and of every logical revolutionary living abroad." "In this sense," it states, "we salute the initiative of the comrades of l'Heure haitienne in New York (demonstrations, picket line...) and call on progressives to multiply their actions of this sort."

But a close look at these actions that the "Marxist-Leninist" organization En Avant! encourages the revolutionaries to support shows that they amount to tailism and that they are clearly to the right of the slogans and the struggle of the masses. It is necessary to point out that while the slogans of the masses in Haiti proclaimed "Down with dictatorship," and whereas l'Heure haitienne says it's opposed to imperialism and the Haitian regime, these sentiments are not at all reflected in the slogans which avoided even the traditional "Down with Duvalier." In a Creole/English leaflet distributed by l'Heure haitienne we read: "Down with repression in Haiti!", "Raise the curfew in Gonaïves and in Cap!", "Down with the moves toward intervention by American imperialism!", and "Long live the people of Gonaïves who remind us of 1804!" in the Creole version; whereas the English version says

"Down with American imperialism's support of the dictatorship of the Duvaliers!"

As we stated above, the measures advocated by l'Heure haitienne are reformist measures. And besides, it speaks of American imperialism, the main enemy of the Haitian people and the principal author of the present crisis — the result of a merciless domination and dictatorship over the country and the people — as if the imperialists were not already present in the country, as if they were only just landing. What an absurdity! We have already seen how the "anti-imperialism" of the "Marxist-Leninists" of l'Heure haitienne inspired the slogan "Down with American imperialism's support of the dictatorship of the Duvaliers!", an anti-Leninist slogan inspired by a Kautskyite line, according to which imperialism is a given policy and not the last stage of capitalism which monopolizes all the means of production and exchange and the raw materials in the world, which seeks to extend its domination to all countries of the globe, which impedes development and progress, and which, through the exportation of capital under various forms, keeps the peoples living in these countries in the darkest misery. This erroneous line regarding imperialism always ends up in reformist practices, the actions of l'Heure haitienne and of En Avant! These types of activity are not and must not be confused with the principal task of the present conjuncture, and will not lead to the formation of the party which is more and more urgently felt.

All revolutionaries who are filled with the necessity of a Haitian Marxist-Leninist party must abandon as soon as possible these reformist activities. Not to do so is a crime and a treason. As the singer Manno Charlemagne says:

Lè ou di mwen ann-avan
Sa te dwe fè kè mwen knotan
Poutan se trayizon
Mwen pwan sant fondanman*

Indeed, all these so-called "opponents" only aim to get rid of the Duvalier clique in order to preserve the economic, political and ideological structure of the feudal and neocolonial system, christened, for the needs of the cause, "representative democracy" or "socialism."

It is therefore important in this context that the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, the advanced elements and the patriots who really want to make revolution and not simply to talk about it or to hide behind "revolutionary" phraseology and feudal practice, understand the profound nature of the crisis of Haitian society, itself an integral part of the decline of the world imperialist system which is increasingly preparing for a third world war in order once again to divide and reorganize the globe in the interest of the winning bloc.

In the context of this world crisis, we realize that the so-called aid of the USA (\$54 million for fiscal year 1984-85), France (\$30 million) and West Germany (\$20 million) to the hereditary dictatorship cannot pull Haiti out of the rut. Indeed, it's not a question of a simple "food crisis," but of a structural crisis (inadequate relations of production in the very interior of our social formation) and of a world crisis, at the political as well as economic level.

The imperialist solution to this crisis, as in 1914 and 1939, is imperialist war. All the rest is nothing but demagoguery.

The proletarian solution is revolutionary struggle. This must be based on the application of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist and Maoist science to the problems of Haitian society, in the context of the international anti-imperialist struggle for the liberation of humanity.

We believe that as far as our country, Haiti, is concerned:

1. Our revolution must pass through what we call a "new democratic revolution" before the stage of transition to socialism.

2. The classes that must make this revolution are: the working class, the poor peasantry, the reserve army of the working class (that is, our innumerable unemployed), the impoverished wing of the middle peasantry, the sub-proletarians (i.e., the superexploited,

*When you tell me, march forward
I should feel very good
Yet it is treason
I smell something very foul

nonorganized strata — *tr.*), the revolutionary wing of the petty bourgeoisie, and all other patriots eager to struggle against feudalism and imperialism.

3. This revolution can only be successful and reach socialism if the leadership of the revolutionary process is firmly held by the working class and its party.

4. At the present stage the fundamental task of Haitian Marxist-Leninists is the creation of the party of the working class in Haiti. The recent developments show the necessity of this.

5. Upon its formation this party must elaborate a precise programme for all the stages of our revolution and, in all its practice, prepare the armed struggle for the seizure of power and the establishment of a peoples democratic dictatorship, followed by, at the stage of transition to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6. From the beginning the party must apply the mass line and respect mass democracy in all its practice.

7. The final goal of our struggle is communism, and communism can only be a world system. In this context, a socialist Haiti will be one of the base areas of the world proletarian revolution.

8. In this context, it is indispensable that the Haitian and Dominican revolutionaries collaborate as closely as possible at every level of struggle with the aim of restoring the unity of the Quisqueya island while respecting national particularities.

9. The Haitian and Dominican revolutionaries must resolutely assume leadership of the spontaneous revolts of the masses of the two countries against the local ruling classes and imperialism, and give them a proletarian orientation. Only in this way will the appropriation of these spontaneous struggles by one reactionary clique or another be rendered impossible. It is not a question of passively following the revolts of the masses; it is necessary to organize and orient them, and lead them toward the seizure of power.

10. The unity of Marxist-Leninists cannot be based on the struggle against dictatorship. This is only a tactical step in the struggle for communism. The unity of Marxist-Leninists is based on the struggle for proletarian revolution and the advent of communism, founded on the dialectical materialist world outlook and the materialist conception of history.

11. As communism can only be a world system, the revolutionaries must carry out their struggle on a world scale, in an internationalist manner. Faced with the international of reaction, we must organize the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement formed by 16 parties and organizations from different countries. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has now begun to elaborate a general line whose basic features appeared in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* (published in 22 languages, including Creole).

We call on all revolutionaries to work even more furiously for the formation of a Haitian revolutionary communist party, in order to make revolution in our country. This is an urgent, vital task which we must take up immediately. We likewise call on our revolutionary compatriots to participate in the elaboration of the general line of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and in the organization of a new International, in order to prepare to bury world imperialism once and for all.

Down with imperialism and its local flunkies!

Resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the popular masses!

Work furiously and undemagogically to create the party of the working class!

Organize and develop the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

HAITIAN INTERNATIONAL
REVOLUTIONARY GROUP (GRIA)

N.B. We invite all those filled with the urgency of the tasks described in this text to participate in the preparation, to read and to discuss a text that the GRIA will soon publish and in which we will develop our position on the revolutionary struggle in Haiti and on a world scale.

Also read: *Deklarasyon Mouvmant Revolisyonè Intenasyonalis La.**

*Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

LA Rally Brings Out The Essence Of Simpson-Mazzoli

For weeks the Simpson-Mazzoli law has been the subject of widespread discussion, outrage, fear and uncertainty among the immigrant population of Los Angeles. On June 22, *La Opinión* the local Spanish daily, ran an article with the headline "The House of Representatives Only Approved the Simpson-Mazzoli Plan" and the kicker "Immigration Laws Still Have Not Changed." This article featured a detailed explanation of the fact that Simpson-Mazzoli has not been enacted into law yet, coupled with quotes from different Hispanic congressmen telling people to remain calm and not do anything. This was coupled with a front-page note, "To our readers," which said, in part: "Our recommendation is that calm be preserved. The immigration laws of the country still have not changed. Therefore your personal situation has not changed either."

The tense political climate was further emphasized by an incident at a fish packing plant in the L.A. Harbor area at the same time the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill was being debated in Congress. Here the plant management fired some 20 workers — some of whom had worked as many as 17 years for the company — after calling in all Spanish-speaking workers to the personnel office and asking them for proof of their immigration status. All those who didn't provide what the company considered adequate proof, either because they couldn't or because they refused to do so on principle, were fired. Demonstrations were held outside the plant and the incident was widely publicized in the Spanish-language media. The company cited an announcement a few months earlier that the INS would be stepping up raids in L.A. area factories as a reason for the firing. A week after the firings began to attract publicity the company announced it was rehiring the fired workers. According to one press report, "Ryan (the company's vice-president) indicated that those workers would possibly qualify for amnesty in case the new immigration law is ratified and therefore it was not right to leave them without work." Whatever the considerations behind the company's decision in this case, the implication in the public accounts of the incident — that one should either go along with Simpson-Mazzoli, or else — seems obvious. And, in fact, there has been some effort in the media to impress on the Spanish-speaking masses that registering for amnesty is the only way out of the provisions of the Simpson-Mazzoli law.

Among the more politically advanced proletarian immigrants there has been a widespread recognition and outrage at various attacks contained in the Simpson-Mazzoli law, but there has also been some confusion as to exactly what the reasons are behind this law and what the imperialists are aiming to accomplish with it. There were many who were looking to the party for deeper analysis of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, what it represented and the ways to take up political action against it.

On Sunday, July 1, the RCP called a rally in Damían Garcia Park under the slogans "Oppose this preparation for counterinsurgency!" and "We are all illegals!" A revolutionary, speaking to the crowd gathered near the Seventh and Alvarado entrance to the park, reviewed the provisions of the Simpson-Mazzoli law, pointing to how they represented an attempt to tighten the political control on the immigrant proletarians in this country, a force which the imperialists know full well represents a disloyal, and potentially revolutionary, section concentrated in the very belly of their empire. In the context of the worldwide crisis of imperialism and preparations for war, the nature of the Simpson-Mazzoli "immigration reforms" as a program for counterinsurgency was revealed. In addition the speaker emphasized the importance of taking out the analysis of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill contained in the pages of the *RW* and working to make this revolutionary analysis known broad-

ly among the proletariat. The speaker also emphasized the importance of U.S.-born people stepping forward to oppose this attack on immigrants, and a Chicano proletarian and a white woman who attended the rally spoke to the crowd. The Chicano made an important point, reviewing the history of the U.S. clamping down on immigrants before and during the last two world wars. A statement from a Central American immigrant, which he had written for the rally, was read and a tape recorded statement from a Salvadoran proletarian was played at the rally. Following this, several of those attending the rally staged a short, spirited march through the park, carrying a banner denouncing the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill and chanting "We're all illegals! Our flag is red, not red, white and blue!"

Police Demonstrate Essence of Simpson-Mazzoli

The police were, however, determined not to let this be the final word heard on this subject that afternoon. Class-conscious action against the U.S. imperialists' attacks on the foreign-born has always been a serious concern to the authorities. In 1982, for instance, a demonstration against the "Operation Jobs" immigration raids which was held in L.A. shortly before May 1st was the occasion of a brutal police attack, and serious felony charges from this attack are still pending in the courts. Further, the L.A. police have been maneuvering to ban revolutionary internationalist activity from the park area for some time. Since March a number of arrests have been made and citations have been issued in the park for "crimes" such as selling the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. The result, though, has been far from what the police have wanted; outrage at these blatant political attacks has been widespread and a court case, which the ACLU was involved in, was initiated against the city which has resulted in a temporary injunction being issued prohibiting the police from enforcing the law which was used to attempt to ban literature sales.

When police entered the park late Sunday afternoon, they initially demanded that the bullhorn being used by the speakers be turned off, a blatant political attack since one of the groups of evangelist bible-thumpers that infest the park on Sundays had just ended their rally in the same area, which featured amplified guitars, microphones and so forth. The police, who had obviously been waiting until the evangelists left to make their move, arrived on the scene while these people were still in the process

of packing up their sound equipment! The bullhorn was not turned off and instead speakers at the rally exposed what was going on to the crowd, drawing the obvious link between what the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill was intended to do and the attempt to suppress this rally. Indeed, the Los Angeles Police Department should be commended for giving a concrete demonstration of just what Simpson-Mazzoli is intended, in part, to do — to control and suppress revolutionary political activity — not to mention providing a living example of the "freedom to demonstrate" and other such classless drivel.

Within minutes two more police cars had arrived on the scene. The crowd, which by now numbered 200 and was still growing, was becoming more angry as it became obvious what the police were doing. The speaker's exposure of the police, Simpson-Mazzoli and American "freedom and democracy" was punctuated by shouts of approval or catcalls at the police from the crowd. The speaker, however, did not stop there, pointing out that it is not enough to simply try to stop attacks like Simpson-Mazzoli, what is needed is to analyze and understand world events in order to prepare for revolution. This drew shouts of approval from the crowd, and a round of applause when it was translated into Spanish. Perhaps the police decided that simply making a few arrests would not be enough to make the point they wanted to impress on the hundreds of largely proletarian immigrants who were watching. In any case, what they did was far more than simply that.

A short distance away yet another police car drove over the curb and

sidewalk and into the park, towards the rally. This pig then ran over an immigrant in the park! According to people who were near the scene and witnessed this, the man was sitting on the grass when police ran over him with their front wheels and then — while part of his body was under the car between the two wheels — proceeded to back up, running over the person a second time. The crowd surged towards the police and the injured man who was now lying alongside of the car. The other police rushed to their buddies who had run over the man and the whole group of them were surrounded by an angry crowd that grew to at least 400. Shouts were traded back and forth and the police attempted to push the crowd back.

Within a few minutes an ambulance and a fire truck were on the scene. Meanwhile revolutionaries exposed this latest wanton act of police terror. An immigrant who had been present throughout much of the rally approached the woman speaking on the bullhorn. Tell the crowd, he said, that this was no accident — this is exactly what Simpson-Mazzoli is all about, to terrorize the people into submission. Say it in English, too, he said, because some of the crowd — and the police — speak English. The police understood a few other things as well — like that they'd better get out of this situation in a hurry. But they wanted to make sure that they left on their terms, with the message they intended to deliver to those present still intact. Five revolutionaries were arrested, some were beaten briefly by the police in full view of the crowd, they were all handcuffed and quickly put into police cars. And the

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New York Actions

Solidarity With Haitian, Dominican Uprisings

On Wednesday, June 22, a day of concentrated political actions in solidarity with the uprisings in the Dominican Republic and Haiti took place in New York City. "Hail the heroic uprisings of the Dominican and Haitian masses!" headlined the leaflet in Spanish, French and English issued by the RCP in New York (see last week's *RW* for a full text of the leaflet). This was a day marked by broad sentiments of support and the participation of different sections of the people. 15,000 leaflets were distributed in key areas: mid-Manhattan's garment district with its concentration of immigrant proletarians including a large number of Dominicans; in an industrial area in Brooklyn, also a concentration of immigrant workers; and on street corners and subway lines in communities with concentrations of Dominicans and Haitians as well as other immigrants. There were newsstand owners and small shopkeepers who put out stacks of leaflets, red armbands and donation cans. Cab drivers in Brooklyn took stacks of leaflets for their customers. One man took a bunch to pass out at his church. Proletarians and youth of all nationalities took stacks of leaflets to distribute in their communities and factories. A young white homeless couple who had started out the day looking for work instead spent it distributing the leaflets in the garment district.

At an industrial area in Brooklyn a bright red banner was unfurled with the slogans in Creole, French, Spanish and English. It had been made for this occasion by some Haitian women. Thirty-three proletarians, including some from Haiti and a number of Spanish-speaking countries, signed the banner. Red armbands went out, some proletarians proudly wearing them into the shop. Over one-half of those who signed the banner

were immigrant women; about one-third were Haitian workers. Two Haitian proletarians made pledges to the fund drive for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The response among the Haitian masses here and elsewhere was particularly significant. One way in which their revolutionary energies are kept in check is the fear of swift retaliation, not so much against themselves, but against families back in Haiti. And a leading Haitian newspaper in New York City which raised the question "Will Haiti be the next Grenada?" has also had somewhat of an intended, chilling effect.

Youth of all nationalities were definitely in the forefront. Young Black proletarians in the garment district put down their carts and racks to sign the banner and to tie red armbands onto each other. Two young white workers who began working in garment only three months ago added their names to the banner and took leaflets to find out more about the rebellions. In one Dominican neighborhood people on the top floors of apartment buildings came to their windows to hear the agitation and to find out what was going on as Dominican youth hit the staircases bringing leaflets up to them. Dominican youth clustered around the banner stretched out on the sidewalk eager to sign. In garment one wrote "From a Dominican communist teenager."

The response from the Black proletarian youth in garment was a new and welcome development. The sowing of divisions between U.S.-born and immigrant proletarians is very concentrated in garment. The union has its ongoing "Buy America" campaign. During Operation Jobs two years ago shops here were raided. The recent passage of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill signaled new attacks on the foreign-born. In one shop,

two older Black proletarians were grumbling that Haitians (who also work in the same shop) should be kicked out of the country. In stark contrast to this backward outlook, the fact that a number of Black youth, some of them newcomers to the garment district, took a stand on the side of the rebellions in the Dominican Republic and Haiti was indeed important, showing the fertile soil for proletarian internationalism to take root.

For some Dominicans it was the first time that they had heard about the rebellions in Haiti. For some Haitians it was the first time that they had heard about the uprisings in the Dominican Republic. This itself was a stark exposure of the hand of the U.S. and the tight lid it has kept on news of these rebellions which, after all, erupted within one month of each other on the very same island which Haiti and the Dominican Republic share! Much discussion and debate went on, focused on the situation in these two countries: Are the particular conditions inside these two countries — Haiti with its open dictatorship and the Dominican Republic with its thin veil of social democracy — unbreachable; can revolutionary unity be forged and on what basis. Linked to this were questions and discussions over what political impact actions taken in the U.S. could have on revolutionary developments in Haiti and the Dominican Republic and conversely how revolutionary developments there can affect the developments towards revolution in the U.S. A good basis has been laid to go still further into the worldwide process of revolution and the significance of the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, including that the Haitian International Revolutionary Group, the Revolutionary Communist Union of the

Dominican Republic and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA are part of this movement.

As Wednesday evening drew near two banners were filled with over 500 signatures. Diverse messages had been inscribed on them by people from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Chile, El Salvador, Palestine, Jamaica, Guinea, Grenada and from the oppressed born in the U.S. These banners, an expression of solidarity with the uprisings, are now destined for the rebellious masses of the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

Medical "Readiness"

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From 1980-82 the CMCHS stirred up a lot of controversy. It was immediately endorsed by the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association and the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals. The American Medical Association statement of support was typical, expressing its "cooperation and support" to the Pentagon and expressing the hope that through this plan there would be a "return of the patients to active duty as soon as possible."

However, as the Pentagon toured the country trying to sign hospitals up a storm of protest erupted among doctors, centered especially in the San Francisco Bay, Boston and New York City areas. Many well-known hospitals, including those of the University of California, Stanford University, the NYC Health and Hospital Association, the Associated Medical Colleges in New York City and the University of Massachusetts Medical Center, elected not to participate. The American Public Health Association also issued a formal statement of opposition. Some religious orders also protested and many Catholic hospitals refused to participate. While the Pentagon eventually announced it had fulfilled its initial goal of hospital beds, it was unable to carry out the yearly drills mandated by the plan and opted to let things cool down since 1982.

Some chapters of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) played a particularly active role in criticizing the plan. Although PSR nationally didn't come out in opposition to the plan, urging more discussion, several local chapters did and played a significant role in getting

many hospitals to reject it. An example of this sentiment was a letter distributed by the San Diego chapter of PSR which stated opposition to the CMCHS for these reasons:

- "One cannot distinguish the conflict described from a limited nuclear war."

- A limited nuclear war most likely would escalate to an entire continent or the world.

- At present 50,000 nuclear warheads exist, and 15,000 of them are "poised to cross the oceans or continents to annihilate cities."

"In the global holocaust that would result, medical help would be of little consequence," the letter states. "For the medical community to cooperate with CMCHS would give tacit approval to preparations for a limited nuclear war and the all-out nuclear war that will most certainly follow."

The Pentagon's response to PSR's argument was twofold. On the one hand, they argued that CMCHS was only preparing for a conventional war, not a nuclear war. "The projected casualty workload is based on a conventional-warfare scenario," stated the Pentagon in the March 25, 1982 issue of *The New England Journal of Medicine*. "It is extremely important to recognize that there is a basic agreement between PSR and the Department of Defense that nuclear war is an abhorrent prospect." In other words they completely downplayed the question of nuclear war with the argument, "nukes, what nukes?" On the other hand, they lambasted those doctors who refused to participate in CMCHS, to quote John Beary III, Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs, for "jeopardizing the care of wounded soldiers" and for not applying "the same standards of intellectual rigor to this issue that they apply to their professional work." Obviously the kind of intellectual rigor Dr. Beary is describing is the kind

required to blindly and obediently fall in line behind keeping the U.S. No. 1, whatever horrible crimes against the people of the world are required.

National Disaster Medical System

The recent major drill in Chicago is not the only indication the Pentagon is pressing ahead publicly with active preparations for world war on the medical front. In the spring of 1984, the National Disaster Medical System (NDMS) was initiated. This newest medical plan incorporates the previously existing Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System and expands on it. In addition to providing medical support for casualties from overseas military conflicts, the NDMS takes on the additional function of assisting state and local authorities in dealing with the medical and public health effects of major disasters in the U.S. The number of organizations participating has been greatly expanded. The NDMS joins together the Department of Defense, Health and Human Services, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and other federal departments with state agencies and major national professional societies, voluntary agencies and the private sector. The number of metropolitan areas included in this new system is expanded from 34 to 71 and the number of hospital beds expected to be made available is raised from 50,000 to 100,000. In addition, over the next 2-3 years this new plan calls for the development of Disaster Medical Assistance Teams with supplies and equipment which can be dispatched into disaster sites within the U.S. The kind of disaster being prepared for is indicated by the two kinds of teams to be assembled: a 215-person Mobile Surgical Unit to provide initial medical treatment and a 103-person Casualty Clearing Unit to triage and stabilize victims for transport via military cargo planes to scattered hospital sites throughout unaffected areas of the U.S.

The National Disaster Medical System is an attempt not only to draw even broader sections of the medical profession into these war preparations but also set the stage for the entire gamut of the medical profession to be militarized, including not only civilian doctors but agencies such as the Red Cross. Under this new plan all movement of casualties — both at home and abroad — will be regulated by the Armed Services Medical Regulating Office. And in case the point is missed, the NDMS plan recommends that tests of the system be coordinated with national defense exercises such as Nifty Nugget. And with these new levels of preparation have come new levels of lying hypocrisy and American humanitarianism. It is now argued that drills like the recent one in Chicago are necessary because what if... there was a major earthquake in California?! Clearly anyone who actually accepts this line of argument is a fool or a criminal. But it is instructive that the government resorts to such fairy stories because it is further proof of just what they are planning for and just what they have in store. Not only are they coldly and calculatingly planning a war which will bring unprecedented death and destruction, but they are actually planning now how to win and rig up their imperialist system amidst the ashes. And a very important part of these plans is precisely the kind of political training which teaches good Americans how to follow orders and how to accept any excuse for World War 3.

A Proper Greeting

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identification with Americana and its heyday going on in the march — there were marching bands and cheerleaders (complete with transvestite Prom Queens), high-tech fraternity organizations, rodeo and square-dancing groups (!) and all largely without (evil of evils) women. Male homosexuality is no doubt a generalized symptom of decay in society and particularly of the breakdown of the family. But so, for that matter, is the Moral Majority. And common to both is their misogyny and open promotion of the good old days of America.

Further, San Francisco is known for its unconventionality, including about the family. It has been a place where people broadly did and do experiment with lives outside the nuclear family, collectives, women living alone, etc. The *New York*

Times estimates 50 percent of San Francisco is not married. A particularly important part of this has been the role of women — and the women's movement. And more generally it is the case here that many, many women are out of the house and home and into the thick of political and social life.

In this light it is interesting to take a look at the Moral Majority's reference to San Francisco as Sodom and Gomorrah. This is a Biblical story of two towns — Sodom and Gomorrah — which were morally running amuck (this is where we get the word sodomy). God warned Lot and his family that they should get out because he is going to destroy the cities for their sins. The condition was that as they leave, no one could look back. But you'll never guess who did look back? The woman, and she was promptly turned into a pile of salt.

And here we have it. Women are the cause of what's preventing us from getting out of this degradation we are in. This puts the Moral Majority's trip to San Francisco in somewhat sharper relief. For anyone who thinks this

Biblical analogy is just doubletalk, I would urge you to look at Falwell's, et al., "work" around abortion, or otherwise known as their war on uppity women. This has included the Army of God's war on women, their firebombing of the Everett, Washington abortion clinic three times in the last year, the general harassment of patients entering feminist clinics around the country, and much more.

Certainly the moral ranks will be mobilized to come to San Francisco to raise the banner of righteousness in the midst of all that's terrible. Laughable as this may seem, it would nonetheless be a serious error to dismiss this as merely ridiculous. In the face of the breakdown of U.S. empire and the morals that go with it, the question does get posed, what stand to take towards all of this?

The rise of the Right is a product of and a creation by U.S. imperialism in the '80s which in and of itself is an incredibly revealing point to come to grips with. Its call to go back, restore the rights of men, god and country, is not only reactionary but in many ways also impossible.

However such a program and this clash between the new and the old will be a part of the terms on which civil war will be fought. I would advise anyone who still thinks revolution will be "us against the government" to rethink this position a bit — in fact it will come down to civil war.

But also in the face of such profound world events shaping up, jumping into the laps of the Democrats out of desperation or loss of hope, or debating over who really is the majority or the most fitting representatives of America — all this also stands out as an absolute waste, if not a crime.

What's needed is to recognize and welcome this breakdown of "family morals," god and country, grasp the underlying forces responsible for it and prepare for revolution as part of the internationalist proletariat. The massive changes going on in society will only lead to breaking the chains on women and ending the lopsided development in the world as a whole if joined with a most conscious struggle for revolution and for ushering in new social relations.

A comrade from the Bay Area

Olympic Torch Run

Continued from page 1

And the Torch Relay has given them the opportunity to show just what they're made of.

What a surprise all this has been to everyone. As the *L.A. Times* put it, "...most stunningly of all, the flame that is supposed to represent international harmony has instead bound together Americans in an exultant patriotic hurrah." How stunning! And how unexpected! Undoubtedly, the advance teams that went out through every inch of the route to pave the way and work out all the necessary arrangements with local officials had no idea that all this U-S-A All The Way stuff was going to turn up. Why, if only they had known they surely would have lectured the locals on the subject of international harmony — and made them take down all their "Support the Home Team" billboards, too. Somehow, one gets the feeling that this wasn't a complete surprise to Olympic planners. In addition to working out all the procedures with local officials well in advance of the procession's arrival, they carefully selected the sites to provide as much vintage Americana as possible. For example, the Torch Run was programmed to go right past the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, and also through more scenic wonders, such as the Golden Gate Bridge and the Kansas wheat fields — the kind of thing that goes well with the symphonic version of "America the Beautiful" playing in the background. (Or the local version. The press informs us that among the throngs alongside America's byways, someone in the rear invariably starts singing, what must by

now be the official Olympic theme song: "Oh beautiful, for spacious skies...") The planners also tried to time the relay so that its arrival at various locations would coincide with traditional local celebrations — celebrations that also seem to bring out a plethora of flags, marching bands and so forth. Examples include the Indianapolis 500 auto race, a firefighters parade in New Jersey and that noted festival of international good will, Armed Forces Day at West Point.

Not that everything has gone smoothly for the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) and its Torch Run. It was originally planned to sell 10,000 kilometers at \$3,000 each (with proceeds going to the boys clubs, girls clubs and family YMCAs — youth sports programs useful for mobilizing millions of youth for the Olympic effort...for now) and send the relay through all 50 states. However, lack of interest (and investment) forced the committee to scale down the plans, settling for 33 states and about 4,000 kilometers sold — and the route was revamped to try and keep in the areas where there was the most support. Precious little was said about the relay and its patriotic accoutrements as it went through the major urban areas of the east and midwest; its ability to create goose bumps seems to flower in areas such as Vernal, Utah, where a man said it was the biggest thing "since the K-Mart opened," and Lake Texoma, Texas, where a woman said it was the biggest thing ever, seeing as how "it's usually just wrecks and stuff." The LAOOC also ran into a little difficulty with the lighting of the torch in Greece, as Greek social democrats and revisionists united against the "commercialism" of the Torch Relay for awhile before finally agreeing (under International Olympic Committee pressure) to go along with the plan if kilometer sales were cut off at an early date. And then there was the Soviet

withdrawal from the Olympics which managed to occur at the very start of the Torch Run, thereby knocking the hoopla right off the front pages...for a while, anyway.

Another difficulty for the LAOOC came from scheduling problems. About 80 runners were assigned kilometers that were more than 50 miles from their home communities. While everyone is, of course, dedicated to the greater good, some of the patriots were nevertheless up in arms. One man, a resident of northern San Diego County who was assigned a kilometer all the way up in central California, filed a criminal complaint against the LAOOC. Another runner is threatening a sit-in at LAOOC headquarters unless her assignment is changed. Some of these people went door-to-door in their communities to raise the \$3,000 to run — and all of them have visions of being the biggest local hero in their neighborhood; indeed, there must be several who have real leadership abilities and who, through the local publicity generated by their patriotic efforts, could possibly have taken important future positions in their communities — maybe even Civil Defense captain — if the LAOOC had not screwed up the works. However, a Burbank man assigned to run in Utah found a way to fulfill his assignment and generate local publicity at the same time; just before he started his run, he threw down a handful of dirt given him by the city fathers so that his first step would be on Burbank soil. The breadth of vision represented by such community spirit is what makes this country worth fighting and dying for.

Amid all the hymns to American chauvinism that the Torch Relay has brought forth, little has been said about the inspiration for the event. The U.S. Olympic Torch Relay is modeled after, but surpasses, the initial Olympic Torch Relay which dates back not to ancient

Greece but to the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The 1936 Torch Relay was run from Greece through Bulgaria, Austria, Czechoslovakia (pulling Nazi supporters all along the way) until it hit Germany; it was then sent through every major German city. Along with a huge Olympic bell that was cast for the occasion ("a symbol of the staunch will which now characterizes the German nation," according to the president of the German Olympic Committee), the Torch Relay was met by huge rallies, church bells clanging, drum rolls and fanfares, and in some locales, brass bands and patriotic speeches by local officials. It was all part of spreading Olympic fever to the broadest number possible, drawing them into the identification of the Olympic ideals with German national chauvinism and invaluable preparation for the coming war mobilization.

Ah, but this was precisely the kind of rabid and malevolent national chauvinism (especially since it served a rival imperialist) that such sophisticated likes of the free press as the liberal *New York Times* abhor. Thus, it has nothing in common with the glories of the 1984 version of the Olympic Torch Relay. As the *Times* editorialized: "Though usually buried by reason, the urge to celebrate the nation, and to display our patriotism, runs deep and, invariably, finds its own course of expression. When it bursts forth on such benign occasions (as the Torch Relay), we relish it." Yes, one couldn't help noticing the delight that the *Times* et al., have discovered in the Torch Relay. For their normally reasoned discourse on missile deployments, weapons procurements and troop movements can stand the accompaniment of some good old benign American patriotism — so very important to the time when the missiles, weapons and troops will burst forth in their own course of benign expression: world war. □



Essence of Simpson-Mazzoli

Continued from page 11

police left very quickly. Only a few short minutes after they had begun their assault on the rally every police car in the area was gone, along with the fire truck and ambulance.

The masses in the park were not about to disperse so rapidly. Those with copies of the *RW* quickly found themselves surrounded by several dozens of people. Large numbers of *RW*s were sold, and a number of bundles were taken by proletarians at the scene. Hands reached out and grabbed up stickers announcing the worldwide fund drive of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and soon stickers began to be seen at strategic spots throughout the park — walls, trees,

park benches. Political discussion ranged over a wide variety of topics, including questions of strategy for revolution in a country like this, and of the nature of society after a revolution, and questions were raised about how to respond to attacks like that from the police.

Meanwhile the police were continuing to give an object lesson in the nature of freedom in the home of Yankee imperialism to those arrested. Some cops on the way to the station broke into a brief rendition of "God Bless America," and later, on the way to jail, delivered death threats to the effect that troublemakers should be "taken out and shot." There also remained the sticky problem of now, once the five had been arrested, figuring out what they could be charged with. Initially the police had told those arrested that they would be charged with "inciting to riot." At the station the cops had a long discussion of this, during which it was pointed out that nothing that had been said over the bullhorn really fit into the legal definition of "inciting to riot." (In other cases, of course, the cops could have simply made something up, but in this case, there was the problem of having several hundred witnesses to the whole affair.) There was some discussion of charging those arrested for some kind of

violation dealing with the bullhorn, but the police felt that the blatant discrimination in enforcing this and the fact that the ordinance probably didn't apply to the situation anyway made that charge problematic as well. The police went on to moan about the ACLU and the injunction which prevented them from arresting people for simply selling the *RW* in the park, as they used to. Finally, the police hit on "unlawful assembly," and they decided that the crowd in the park had been an "unlawful assembly" and those arrested could be charged with that. Here we have yet another case of the wonders of American justice, where the police can pick through a mass of oh-so-democratically enacted laws until they find one they can pin on whoever it is they have already arrested!

On the way down to the police station some of those arrested heard a conversation over the police radio. The dispatcher asked, "What about the T.A.? (traffic accident) An answer came over the radio: "We have the victim. The victim says there was no T.A." In the background police could be heard laughing. It seems the "justice system" in this country is capable of medical miracles as well. After someone is run over by the police it takes only a few minutes — presto! — and the

"accident" never happened at all. This despite the fact that the person run over by the police appeared at the scene to be quite seriously injured, perhaps in shock, as he lay on the ground virtually motionless for several minutes. The police, of course, would not allow anyone in the crowd to get close enough to actually see his condition or talk to him. One can hardly imagine the gall of the police who now are apparently trying to cover up their assault, with a deadly weapon, carried out in the presence of hundreds of witnesses! One can only imagine what kind of threats were necessary before the police managed to convince him that he had never really been run over at all. What actually happened to this victim of the cops' crazed attack, and the seriousness of his injuries, is at this time still unknown.

But if the day was a brutal lesson in the way the imperialists intend to clamp down on revolutionary political activity, particularly activity among immigrant proletarians, it is also a telling exposure of just how serious they take the contradictions they face in this regard. From another angle, it is a dramatic indication of the decisive effect the revolutionary proletariat can have as it steps onto the political stage.

Declaration of Independence

Continued from page 3

rule of the dominant social class (or classes), in particular those that dominate ownership of the most important means of production. And in general the forms of ownership and economic and social relations overall, as well as their corresponding superstructure of politics and ideology, will correspond to the level of development of the productive forces. This has certainly been the case throughout the history of the U.S.: the state first represented the interests of the northern capitalists and the southern slaveowners and then after the Civil War it has represented the interests of the victorious capitalist class and capitalist wage-slavery. This state has derived its power not from the consent of the governed — in particular the slaves and the wage workers — but from the monopoly these ruling classes have had on the major means of production (which included the slaves during slavery) and on that basis their monopoly of armed force. And, again, this has always and everywhere been the case where governments have been "instituted among men."

What is more, just as every government (with a state apparatus of repression) has a definite class character, so for that matter do notions such as "liberty" and "the pursuit of happiness" — that is, different classes will have different, even opposing views of what such things as "liberty" and "the pursuit of happiness" mean. For a slave, liberty and the pursuit of happiness would almost certainly begin with freedom from slavery. But for slaveowners — including those who signed the Declaration of Independence (and shortly after that ratified the U.S. Constitution) — the abolition of slavery represents ruin and misery, unless they can get in on some other form of accumulating commensurate wealth and power, another form of exploitation and oppression, such as capitalism. Similarly, for the proletariat the abolition of wage labor represents complete liberation from capitalist exploitation and beyond that the opening up of a new era in human society, without class distinctions, social inequalities and their bases — which certainly would qualitatively expand the horizons of liberty and of the pursuit of happiness, or rather would replace the notion of the individual quest for happiness with far loftier visions and goals. To the bourgeoisie this represents anathema, nothing less than the destruction of civilization, certainly of liberty and the pursuit of happiness as they conceive it; it is something which must be prevented at all costs and every serious movement toward it must be met with the most sanguinary suppression — this has not only been illuminated by Marxist theory, it has also been graphically illustrated by historical experience.

It is not that the Declaration of Independence (and the U.S. Constitution along with it) represent the interests and outlook of the bourgeoisie (with the historical influence of the southern slaveowning aristocracy) only in the most narrow sense. These documents do contain grievances and provisions that are not directly and immediately reducible to how the members of the ruling classes can accumulate more wealth and power for themselves. Rather they represent these class interests in the broadest sense — and it is precisely in this way that their class content and historical limitations are most profoundly demonstrated.

In this light it is important to take up a common argument that is made in response to the obvious historical fact that the fine and famous words in the Declaration of Independence were not universally applied even by its framers and that the practice of the government in the U.S. has historically fallen short of the principles proclaimed in that Declaration. The argument is that at least the Declaration of Independence provides a standard, a goal to aim for, and the objective must be to strive to see that to the greatest degree possible its principles are applied. Thus, for example, the following apologia:

"Though it did not immediately result in the emancipation of slaves or in universal suffrage, advocates of both abolition of slavery and suffrage extension in latter generations effectively used the equalitarian principles of the Declaration to advance their causes. In our own day it is a prod to the consciences of the American people to improve the conditions of minority groups." (Smith, Edward Conrad, ed., "The Origins of the Constitution," an introductory essay in *The Constitution of the United States*, [Barnes & Noble], Eleventh edition, p. 3.)

As a matter of fact, slavery was not abolished in the U.S. until the interests of the capitalists in the north — which had come into antagonism with those of the southern slavocracy — demanded it. It was only then that the government of the United States (the Union government) haltingly and hesitatingly declared the emancipation of the slaves (at first only in the Confederate states and not even in other states where there was slavery but which did not join the Con-

federacy) and then amended the U.S. Constitution to reflect that. And those freed slaves who attempted to carry forward the fight against their oppression in new forms were brutally suppressed, with the backing of the federal government and often the direct use of federal troops. More generally, every change of the type referred to in the above apologia has come about in response to mass struggle and has been adopted (and co-opted) by the ruling class in order to preserve its ruling position overall and maintain its exploitation and oppression of the masses of people — in short to protect and serve its own class interests, within the U.S. and internationally. But it might be argued: even if all this is so, doesn't it still remain true that the Declaration of Independence provides a standard whose realization is the goal to be striven for and that as a standard it continues to serve the struggle against oppression? To give a thorough response to — and refutation of — this requires addressing it on two different levels.

First, the Declaration of Independence is not anything anybody wants to make out of it: it was written in a very definite historical context and has a very definite social and class content, as already demonstrated. That is why, for example, it contains the statement it does about the "merciless Indian savages." The general declarations it contains about the equality of all men, their inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and so on assume their meaning according to this actual and overall content — otherwise they have no real, concrete meaning. But what if people who do not represent slaveowning and capitalist class interests (as the authors of the Declaration indisputably did), what if they want to take these general principles in the Declaration and give a different meaning to them? Well, try as they may, if they really stick to the basic principles actually set forth there, they will not be able to give them any fundamentally different content than they have been given historically, including by their authors. The answer to the question, what if the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence were really applied?, is that they have been, in the U.S. itself and generally in all bourgeois societies; and the time is long since past when *that* is the best and highest that humanity is capable of achieving.

On another level, let us take the bourgeois ideal expressed in that Declaration and examine what its fullest realization would mean, and whether that after all is the highest goal that can or should be striven for. If we were to sum up in a phrase what the bourgeois concept and content of freedom and equality is — what is the highest meaning it gives to "liberty" and "the pursuit of happiness" — that phrase would be "equal opportunity for all." Let us assume, then, a situation where this principle is not only the guiding principle in society but is actually consistently applied. Note, first off, that the equality involved here, the ideal, is equal *opportunity*, and specifically not equal station in life: according to this ideal and the bourgeois outlook in general, the absence of social inequality is neither possible nor desirable. Well, with the fullest, most consistent application of this principle, the result would be that some, a minority, would one way or the other utilize this opportunity to establish themselves as the exploiters of the majority, an exploitation they would have to enforce through the use of direct force (with hired enforcers) and deception (divide and conquer schemes included). *There could be no other result*, precisely if this principle, equal opportunity for all, were fully and consistently applied. In other words, we could get nothing but the bourgeois society we already have, including its social inequalities along with its basic exploitation of the proletariat. To get some other result, one which would abolish social inequality, along with the elimination of exploitation, it is necessary to overthrow and transcend the ideals and principles of bourgeois society and the material conditions of which they are an expression. It is necessary to overthrow bourgeois rule and advance entirely beyond what Marx termed "the narrow horizon of bourgeois right" (equal opportunity for all) and all the economic and other social relations of which it is a reflection and extension.

When communists speak of abolishing social inequality we mean first and as the foundation the abolition of classes. But beyond that we mean the abolition of social conditions where such concepts as equal opportunity for all and their reflection in law and politics — equality before the law and democracy generally — have lost their meaning, *because the individual struggle for existence will have been eliminated together with the abolition of class distinctions* and the members of society will consciously contribute what they can to society's overall advancement, taking back from it what they need in order to continue to develop in an all-around way and make a still greater contribution. It is this ideal whose time has now come — or rather the reverse, it is the development of the material conditions in society up to this point that have now brought forth this ideal and demand its realization.

Support The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

The Revolutionary Worker calls for a special effort to build support for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement so that this new movement may launch its historic work in the most powerful way possible. We call for:

- Broad circulation of the **Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement**. Readers are especially encouraged to put the **Declaration** in the hands of proletarians and others from countries around the world and to send it to their friends, relatives and contacts internationally.
- Correspondence, statements and messages of support for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. (These can be sent via the RW, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654)
- **Full support for the launching of a worldwide fund drive called for by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement by pledging and gathering funds.**

Support For Worldwide Fund Drive

Comrades,

The news of the Second Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations and the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is spreading fast all around the world. It seems that the same historical conjuncture that gave birth to Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is also responsible for its growth and strengthening.

The astounding news of the May Day 1984 celebrations under the united banner of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has laid the foundations of proletarian internationalism in practice. Although the celebrations were different in form in different countries due to the particularities of struggle, the overall impact of May Day '84 has brought a new quality and height to the struggle of the international working class and oppressed people.

Comrades,

May Day '84 was symbolic and its influence went far beyond the countries of the celebrating forces. The echoes of "Long Live proletarian internationalism" chanted in one country added strength to the struggles of people in other continents. May Day '84 brought warmth and hope to the hearts of all who live and struggle for a prosperous life that is possible only in a world free from imperialism, reaction and oppression.

With this goal, despite the fact that the war-stricken people of Afghanistan and the Afghan revolutionaries desperately need financial and material support to continue on with their just struggle (those in Afghanistan lucky enough to work make a mere \$5/month which must support the whole family), we — a group of Afghans living in the USA — would like to participate in the fund raising program of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. We pledge to contribute monies that are earned by hard labor for the future activities of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. We also call on all those who hate imperialism and support the struggles of the oppressed to make whatever sacrifices necessary to contribute and make the fund drive a success.

Down with Soviet social-imperialism!
Down with U.S. imperialism!

Down with international imperialism!
Long Live Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!
Victory to the struggle of oppressed people!

A group of revolutionary Afghans
living in the USA
In Struggle!

REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT — ANTI-IMPERIALIST WAR DREAMS

In order to pierce the bourgeoisies' stranglehold on our world, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement needs our money. Our money, as we well know, that is trickling down to us from the very exploitation by these same imperialists who are laying waste to whole countries and peoples, and who are now preparing for yet another war to end all wars, though this time that may be literally true.

Where do our responsibilities and aspirations lie? Where is our future? My old man is one of the "instant people" — a day laborer. I, myself, with an injured hand, have been off work for a month, with at least 5 more weeks to go before a paycheck is in sight (assuming I still have my job, of course). The screws are tightening. I have a daughter. Her fate is rapidly being sealed by imperialist war dreams.

To me the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement holds out a candle, a fragile light against the darkening skies. And if it is money that will strengthen that light; money, that will transform that candle into a torch, spread and deepen it into a raging fire — then that is alright by me. Because I can't stop the U.S. in El Salvador, or Lebanon, or Miami, et al., but I can give some of my slave wages to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

So, I am contributing to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, more if I can come up with it. And I urge any others who have survived, with any aspirations, in this sordid world to contribute, too.

—An angry wage slave (Portland)

The participating organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement are:

Central Reorganisation Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
Ceylon Communist Party
Communist Collective of Agit / Prop Italy
Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist)
Mao Tsetung Regional Committee
Communist Party of Peru
Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist
Haitian International Revolutionary Group
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups Britain
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla Bangladesh
Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
Revolutionary Communist Party, India
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Revolutionary Communist Union Dominican Republic
Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

Chosen People

Continued from page 2

rakhan into the golden circle of official "public life," and as the figure presently setting the political tone for Black participation in bourgeois politics. It was up to the "President of Black America" to publicly take his stand on a sacred principle of U.S. imperialist statecraft. We suggest that those forces who genuinely wish to oppose U.S. imperialism, and yet have been swept up into supporting Jackson's bid (and there are unfortunately quite a few such people) examine his remarks closely:

"My staff in Washington has now briefed me on Minister Farrakhan's comments in his most recent speech. I refer specifically to his comments describing the creation of Israel as an 'outlaw act' and his assertion that nations that helped found and now support Israel are 'criminals in the sight of Almighty God.' I find such statements or comments to be reprehensible and morally indefensible. I disavow such comments and thoughts. ... Such statements and thoughts have no place in my own thinking or in this campaign and I call upon all of my supporters to join me in speaking out in support of my stand. ... I will not permit Minister Farrakhan's words, wittingly or

unwittingly, to divide the Democratic Party." His remarks went on to raise up again the need to "heal the wounds" and defend "the very fabric of our national civility."

Exactly what Farrakhan's intentions were ("wittingly or unwittingly") in continuing his attacks on Judaism and Zionism is not clear — he has his own social base and a political agenda which deserves further analysis in the future. It is quite possible that he is less enthusiastic about cementing Blacks to Mondale's backside than the rest of the Black political figures we've mentioned. But whatever his intentions, in the resulting political storm Jackson (once again) was quick to point out which unity *he* cherishes, and which interests define that unity. This rescuer of bombardiers, CIA agents and cocaine smugglers from Third World prisons, Jesse Jackson, is a creature of U.S. imperialism, lovingly nurtured and nudged along by a sophisticated media, and ever mindful of his master's voice. When Farrakhan chose to contest Israel for the mantle of "God's chosen people," it became clear in the fallout that on one important (in fact, crucial) point, there is unity between Reagan, Mondale, and yes, Jesse Jackson: it is U.S. imperialism that is *really* sacred in god's divine schemes, and this is one article of faith they intend to make sure that no one is allowed to forget, or deviate from.

NOW AVAILABLE!

REVOLUTION

SUMMER 1984

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