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Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party want people to learn from all that is exposed and revealed in this newspaper? Mainly, three things:

1) The whole system we now live under is based on exploitation—here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic change for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2) Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains: The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to act to bring about a completely new and better world: Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

**International Women's Day 1992
Break the Chains!
Unleash the Fury of Women
as a Mighty Force for Revolution!**

**Brothers! Don't Be Dominators!
Rise Up with Sisters, Strong, Proud,
and with Equality!
Fight the Power, Bury the System!**

**Abortion on Demand and Without Apology!
No Forced Reproduction! No Forced Sterilization!**



Painting by Samnaion

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The People of the World Still Demand: U.S. Out of El Salvador!

By Jack Gardener

This is the second in a series of articles by RW correspondent Jack Gardener on the new "peace" agreement in El Salvador. The first article, "El Salvador: The Land Has Not Been Liberated," in #643, concentrated on the agrarian question—what the agreement means to the peasants in the countryside. This article goes into the role of the U.S. in El Salvador. A note to our readers: The first article should have been credited to Jack Gardener, but the byline was omitted by mistake.

The agreement between the Salvadoran government and the leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Movement (FMLN) to end El Salvador's twelve-year-long civil war has had a dramatic impact on everyone concerned with the struggle for liberation in Latin America. For a large number of young activists and students (and many older folks as well), the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and support for armed struggle against the brutal U.S.-backed Salvadoran government throughout those years has been the one thing that has most defined their political stance.

Now the FMLN leadership has agreed to end its armed struggle, dismantle its military apparatus and become a political party running for office in Salvadoran elections. This deal is being hailed by FMLN followers as a "negotiated revolution" and "a new model for Third World revolution." But what has been negotiated is far from a revolution. In fact, it is counter to a revolution.

Many Central American activists who

have fought against the U.S.-sponsored war, including many who supported the FMLN leadership in the past, have grave doubts about this agreement. They wonder how a deal that leaves the brutal Salvadoran military with a virtual monopoly on armed force in the country can be a good thing for the people. They wonder how it can be a "revolution" when it leaves 60 percent of the people in the Salvadoran countryside landless and in abject poverty, while semi-feudal landlords continue to control the land and the export crops on which the country's agriculture is based. (See *RW* #643, February 16, 1992 for more on the land question.)

And there are big questions about what the agreement says about U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and the future role of the U.S. in that country. Should U.S. military advisers remain in El Salvador to help achieve "peace," or should they get out? Will U.S. "aid" help the people of El Salvador, or is it part of the Yankee imperialist domination of this oppressed country?

Given the bloody history of U.S. intervention in a region the *gringo* oppressors so arrogantly call their "own backyard," it might seem that the answers to these questions would be obvious. The U.S. should get the hell out of El Salvador; and stay out! But the FMLN leadership has apparently decided it is in its interest to "forget" those lessons.

We now have the spectacle of the leaders of the former armed opposition requesting U.S. intervention! There have been reports in a number of publications that the FMLN

wants U.S. military advisers to stay in El Salvador to help implement the agreement. In a *New York Times Magazine* article entitled "Out of the Jungle" (featuring a cover photo of the five FMLN commanders in business suits), we find the following:

"While some Americans still sport bumper stickers demanding 'U.S. Out of El Salvador,' senior rebel officials say they now want the United States embassy, and especially American military advisers, to remain in El Salvador.

"Our attitude has changed," admits Ana Guadalupe Martinez, a rebel official. "We think the U.S. military group can help in the transition to peace."

"The rebels say their fear is that they will be killed, which is one of several reasons why they say they are anxious for better relations with the United States. They argue that only Washington can guarantee that the peace accord will be implemented, and that American military advisers are needed to keep the Salvadoran military in line."

U.S. in El Salvador—A History of Bloody Intervention

The FMLN leaders seem to think the U.S. can be a force for "peace" in El Salvador. But people will never forget the bloody role the U.S. intervention has played in that country.

• **Death squads**—U.S. advisers set up the spy apparatus of the Salvadoran "security forces," computerized the records of potential and actual political activists, and linked it to similar operations throughout Central America. Starting with the so-called Alliance for Progress under U.S. President John F. Kennedy in the early 1960s, these advisers trained butchers like Roberto D'Aubuisson in the U.S. doctrine of "counterterror." The advisers helped organize the first official death squad (ORDEN) in the 1960s and brought together and expanded the forces that became the death squads of the 1980s and '90s. These were not random, independent operations but regular activities of the "security forces." U.S. advisers supplied spy information on individuals later assassinated, kept key security force officials known to be death-squad leaders on the CIA payroll and trained them in torture methods, explosives, combat weapons use, etc. All this is widely known in El Salvador.

• **Massacres of civilians (especially peasants)**—The most vicious and blood-drenched massacres of entire peasant populations during the Salvadoran civil war were carried out by battalions trained by U.S. advisers. According to the Catholic Church, it has now been discovered

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Salvadoran troops in training at Ft. Benning, Georgia, 1982.



Photo: Natchwey

El Salvador, 1984—Wounded civilians, government troops.

U.S. Out of El Salvador

Continued from page 3

that the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion committed the infamous 1982 massacre in Mozote in central Morazán that murdered nearly 800 people (nearly all civilians), over half of them under fourteen years of age. In another notorious incident, the Ramón Bellosó Battalion returned from four months and \$8 million worth of training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and immediately launched an offensive into eastern Chalatenango, murdering hundreds of civilians and forcing 5,000 refugees to flee their homes. In both cases, reports indicate that FMLN regulars had already left the areas when the U.S.-trained battalions began murdering hundreds of people suspected of being supporters of the guerrillas. The 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests and their housekeepers was also carried out by the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion. In fact, one U.S. adviser admitted that he knew ahead of time of the unit's plans to murder the Jesuits but didn't try to stop it. The adviser later changed his story after being "briefed" for several days by his superiors.

Direct military operations—U.S. military advisers ran the war against the Salvadoran masses. U.S. advisers directly led numerous military operations, including calling in air strikes that killed hundreds of civilians. U.S. advisers were filmed by TV news crews carrying combat weapons in combat zones. Journalists in El Salvador picked up radio transmissions on several occasions where U.S. advisers were overheard giving direct orders to Salvadoran commanders and telling the Salvadoran air force where to drop their U.S.-supplied bombs.

U.S. military aid—The U.S. spent \$4.5 billion in "aid" to the Salvadoran government during the civil war. One billion dollars of this was direct military aid, including 500-lb. bombs, helicopter gunships, fighter-bomber aircraft, heavy artillery, etc. The rest of the "aid" went for



Protesters erect street barricades during Salvadoran elections, 1989.

programs to support the regime, free up its funds for military use and otherwise crush all opposition to the U.S. and its Salvadoran junior partners.

Does anyone, including FMLN leaders, believe that the El Salvador regime would have been able to carry out its mass murder, or even have *survived*, without U.S. military support? The FMLN leaders say they will be killed by right-wing forces if they don't get protection from the U.S. military. But aren't the very forces that the FMLN fears the same ones that have been selected, assisted, trained and led by the U.S.? Has the U.S. military suddenly changed its nature, becoming a protector of the people?

With the peace agreement, the FMLN leaders seek to become legitimate politicians of a legitimate political party in El Salvador. Perhaps they feel that there may be some protection for *themselves* under the U.S. military umbrella (although U.S. practice in El Salvador and elsewhere argues against even this—there are numerous U.S. "friends" who have been rubbed out when they no longer proved useful). But what about the masses of people—in the countryside and the shantytowns and the schools and universities—especially those who find it difficult to go along with the phony land reform and other aspects of the agreement? What kind of "protection" will they get from the U.S. military's continued presence in El Salvador?

U.S. "Aid" Means U.S. Domination

The FMLN request for U.S. military assistance is connected to the fact that their so-called "negotiated revolution" does not break at all with domination of El Salvador by imperialism, especially the U.S. In fact, the FMLN seeks *more* economic penetration by the U.S.

The agreement envisions El Salvador's "reconstruction" as a product of foreign

(that is, imperialist) investment and "aid." Not only is the Salvadoran government expected to seek out such investment, but so are the organizations run by the FMLN. The agreement gives these organizations the ability to go after foreign investment from both government and non-government sources.

During the civil war FMLN supporters lobbied the U.S. Congress to cut off all support to the Salvadoran government. Now they are demanding that the Congress *increase* it—but they want to make sure that this "aid" is funneled through the United Nations rather than directly to the Salvadoran government. They claim that this will somehow improve the conditions of the masses. They hope that the UN will give FMLN leaders an opportunity to administer this "aid" directly and strengthen their position against the current governing forces. The UN is the same oppressors' setup that approved the U.S.-orchestrated war which killed hundreds of thousands of Iraqi people and has continued to back U.S. attacks against Iraq. The FMLN supporters now want this reactionary body to help the Salvadoran people.

The FMLN supporters also promote this as a "model" for others around the world. The January 1992 issue of CISPES's publication *ALERT!* says, "The solidarity movement will need to work to ensure that U.S. funds go through negotiated channels and not to strengthen ARENA. This would set a new precedent for U.S. economic aid in the Third World, which has traditionally gone to promote counterinsurgency and U.S. domination rather than to promote real development."

The big question for the Salvadoran people is *how* U.S. "aid" comes to El Salvador. Imperialist "aid"—whether it goes through the UN or comes directly from the U.S. government—and all other types of U.S. investment are nothing but means of increasing the U.S.'s hold over El Salvador. The purpose of such investment is not to "rebuild" a devastated country—at least, not in any way that would benefit the people of that country. It is to intensify the superexploitation of the masses and increase the superprofits stolen by fat-cats based in the U.S. and the other big powers. U.S. "aid" and investment will further ensnare that country's economy in the global imperialist system and deepen its dependence on the Yankee imperialists. It has nothing to do with liberation and everything to do with the further enslavement of the Salvadoran masses.

All over the world, the imperialists use "aid" to put their hooks into oppressed countries. But people don't have to look in other parts of the world to know the truth—El Salvador is a good example of how such "aid" works.

Salvadorans have been through periods of major leaps in foreign "aid" and investment before, most notably in the period of the 1960s and early '70s beginning with John F. Kennedy's so-called Alliance for Progress. In one year the U.S. doubled the amount of "aid" to El Salvador for the previous 15 years combined. U.S. private investment jumped to 65 percent of all foreign investment in El Salvador. Suddenly, there was an explosion of agricultural processing plants, industries producing for the world market, new export-crop plantations, roads, bridges, dams and com-

munications facilities. With foreign investment driving it, El Salvador's economy experienced one of the highest growth rates in the world and was considered the model for all of Latin America.

But all this model "development" only benefited the imperialists and the small class of rich and powerful in El Salvador connected to the imperialists.

What did it mean for the masses? Hundreds of thousands of peasants were thrown off the land, and many more were reduced to much less land than could support their families. Between 1961 and 1975, the percentage of Salvadoran rural families that were completely landless jumped from 12 percent to 41 percent. Today over 60 percent are landless. Many of these peasants were fed promises of jobs in the new manufacturing sector in San Salvador. But while manufacturing grew 24 percent in the '60s, *employment* grew only 6 percent. *Tugurios* or shantytowns sprung up all over San Salvador. The poverty and the repression of the death-squad regime forced tens of thousands of Salvadorans to leave the country, spread out all over Central America looking for work and the means to live.

Extreme poverty and misery for the Salvadoran masses were the direct result of U.S. (and other) foreign "aid," and these conditions had everything to do with the mass upheavals that led to the Salvadoran civil war. Given the current state of the U.S. and global economy, it's highly unlikely that U.S. investment would flow in at the levels they did before. But even if "aid" did come in as the FMLN wants, it would only produce more misery for the masses.

A question for the FMLN leadership and its followers: Do they think the slogan "U.S. Out of El Salvador" should be replaced with "U.S.—Help Yourself to El Salvador"?

The Real Road to Liberation

In countries like El Salvador, talk of liberation is meaningless unless the struggle is aimed at breaking the hold of foreign imperialism and the local ruling classes who are hooked into the big-power ripoff of the country. The real strategy for doing this—the "new democratic revolution"—was developed by Mao Tsetung, who led the liberation of China. In its first stage, the target of the new democratic revolution, with the worker-peasant alliance at the core, is foreign imperialism and the classes that are closely linked to it—the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists and the big (semi)feudal landlords. With the victory of the first stage, the new democratic revolution leads directly to the socialist revolution. Mao also developed the military strategy of people's war—a revolutionary war that relies fundamentally on the initiative of the masses. An inspiring example of a new democratic revolution can be found today in Peru, where the Communist Party of Peru is leading an advancing people's war and aiming for countrywide seizure of power.

The FMLN leaders claim that they are being "realistic." What kind of "realism" is it that tells the masses that laying down their weapons and relying on their Number One oppressor and exploiter for "help" will somehow be a step toward liberation?



U.S. special forces flee Hotel Salvador during FMLN offensive, 1989.

From *El Diario*

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo

Part 3: Applying Maoism to the Conditions in Peru

This is the third in a series of excerpts from a new English translation of the historic interview with Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Communist Party of Peru. Previous excerpts can be found in RW #643 and #645. The interview originally appeared in July 1988 in the Peruvian newspaper *El Diario*. The interview, conducted by *El Diario* editors Luis Arce Borja and Janet Talavera, was a big blow against the reactionary Peruvian government. Two editions of the interview—100,000 copies—quickly sold out. The government retaliated by confiscating the third edition, destroying *El Diario's* press and arresting Talavera and other staff.

Since 1988 there have been some important changes in the situation in Peru. The revolution has further advanced and is winning greater victories. The APRA regime of Alan García Pérez was replaced by a government headed by Alberto Fujimori. The U.S. has stepped up its military intervention against the people's war. But the interview with Chairman Gonzalo continues to be a very relevant and important document for a greater understanding of the revolution in Peru. The new English edition is available in pamphlet form from the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru.

EL DIARIO: What are some of the particularities of the people's war in Peru, and how does it differ from other struggles in the world, in Latin America, and from the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA)?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: That's a good question. I thank you for asking it, because it gives us a chance to look at the Party's so-called "dogmatism" a bit more. There are even those who say that we incorrectly try to apply Chairman Mao in an era where he is no longer applicable. In short, they babble on so much that we feel perfectly justified asking whether they have any idea what they are talking about. This includes the much-decorated senator who is a specialist in violence.

People's war is universally applicable, in accordance with the character of the revolution and adapted to the specific con-

ditions of each country. Otherwise, it cannot be carried out. In our case, the particularities are very clear. It is a struggle that is waged in the countryside and in the city, as was established as far back as 1968 in the plan for the people's war. Here we have a difference, a particularity: it is waged in the countryside and the city. This, we believe, has to do with our own specific conditions. Latin America, for instance, has cities which are proportionately larger than those on other continents. It is a reality of Latin America that can't be ignored. Just look at the capital of Peru, for example, which has a high percentage of the country's population. So, for us, the city could not be left aside, and the war had to be developed there as well. But the struggle in the countryside is principal, the struggle in the city a necessary complement. This is one particularity, there's another.

In the beginning of the people's war we confronted the police. That was the reality because only in December 1982 did the armed forces enter the war. This is not to say that they had not been used in a support role before then. They had, in addition to their studying the process of our development. It is a particularity because we created a power vacuum in the countryside and we had to establish the New Power without having defeated large armed forces—because they hadn't come into the war. And when they did, when they came in, it was because we had established People's Power. That was the concrete political situation in the country. If we had applied the letter and not the spirit of Mao we would not have established the New Power and we would have been sitting, waiting for the armed forces to come in. We would have gotten bogged down. Another particularity was the structure of the army which I've already talked about.

All these are particularities. We have already spoken to the countryside and city, to how to carry out the war, to the army, to how the New Power arose; and the militarization of the Party itself is another particularity. These are specific things that correspond to our reality, to the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, of Chair-



Street fighting in a shantytown near Lima.

man Mao's theory on people's war, to the conditions in our country. Does this make us different from other struggles? Yes.

Why do we differ from others? Because we carry out people's war, this makes us different from other struggles in Latin America. In Cuba, people's war was not carried out, but they also had their own particularities which they have intentionally forgotten. Before, they said Cuba was an exceptional case—Guevara said this—the fact that U.S. imperialism didn't take part. Later they forgot this. Aside from this, there was no Communist Party there to give leadership. These are questions of Cubanism and its five characteristics: an insufficient class differentiation which demanded that saviors save the oppressed; socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution; united front but without the national bourgeoisie; no need for Base Areas; and as noted, no need for a Party. What we

are seeing in Latin America today is just the development of these same positions, only more and more at the service of social-imperialism and its contention with Yankee imperialism for world hegemony. We can see this clearly in Central America. The MRTA, the little that we know of it, falls into the same category.

Finally, another issue that makes us different—and forgive me if I'm insistent—concerns independence, self-reliance, and making our own decisions. Because others do not have these characteristics they are used as pawns, while we are not. And one far-reaching difference: we take Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as our guide, others do not. In sum, the greatest difference, the fundamental difference, is in the point of departure; ours is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, applied to the specific conditions of our country, and I insist here again, that this is with clear particularities which show the falsehood of the so-called dogmatism they accuse us of—which they do at the behest of their masters.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, would you say then that the MRTA is playing a counterrevolutionary role in this country?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The MRTA has positions that should make one think. For example, the truce they granted to APRA until, as they said, APRA attacked the people. But we all know that the same day that García Pérez assumed the presidency, he repressed the masses in the very capital of the republic. In October 1985 there was genocide at Lurigancho prison¹. Were the people being attacked or not? And how long did they wait to put an end to their truce? These are things one must ask oneself.



Guerrilla fighters led by the Communist Party of Peru.

¹ Lurigancho was one of the prisons where political prisoners, including those accused of being guerrillas fighting under Communist Party of Peru leadership, were held. In June of 1986 the García regime attacked three different prisons—Lurigancho, El Frontón and the women's prison at Callao—and massacred many revolutionary prisoners.

Outlawing Abortion Was — And IS — A Nazi Program

THE NAZIS on the Family and the Role of Women:

"The mission of woman is to be beautiful and to bring children into the world. This is not at all as rude and unmodern as it sounds. The female bird pretties herself for her mate and hatches the eggs for him. In exchange, the mate takes care of gathering the food, and stands guard and wards off the enemy."

"We grant the rest of the world the ideal type of woman that it wishes for itself, but the rest of the world should kindly grant us the woman which is most suitable to us... a woman who is capable of intellectually standing at her husband's side in his interests, in his struggle for existence, who makes the world more beautiful and richer in content for him. This is the ideal woman of the German man of today. She is a woman who, above all, is also able to be a mother."

Joseph Goebbels, head of propaganda for the Nazis

"If today a female jurist accomplishes ever so much and next door there lives a mother with five, six, seven children, who are all healthy and well-brought up, then I would like to say: From the standpoint of the eternal value of our people the woman who has given birth to children and raised them and who thereby has given back our people life for the future has accomplished more and does more!"

Adolf Hitler, from a 1936 speech to the National Socialist women's organization

"The so-called granting of equal rights to women, which Marxism demands, in reality does not grant equal rights but constitutes a deprivation of rights, since it draws the woman into an area in which she will necessarily be inferior."

Adolf Hitler, from a 1935 speech to the National Socialist Women's Congress

"The family is the most important cell of the state. Whoever disturbs the family acts against the well-being of the state. National Socialism has restored the family to its rightful place. We do not want any petit-bourgeois ideal in the family, with its plush-sofa psychology and walking mannequins, with its contempt for and degradation of the woman and the effeminization of the children."

Hanns Anderlahn, from a 1937 book about his experiences as a Nazi stormtrooper

"In free love, in which the mutual impulse to union is contained exclusively in erotic feelings, the confluence of the germ-plasma endowments of both parents is left exclusively to chance, whereas monogamy, through the elaboration of perceptible biological hereditary stocks, enables human reason to bring together high-grade hereditary stocks for human breeding and to exterminate hereditary stocks of inferior grade..."

"Thus the family is the most important instrument of eugenics. It will become even more clear later that the eugenic concept of 'family' in its deepest essence is synonymous with the Christian concept of a 'religious-moral family,' which rests upon the twin pillars of 'premarital chastity' and 'conjugal fidelity.'"

Hermann Paull, from a 1934 Nazi book on "German Race Hygiene"

In Germany, on May 26, 1933, two pieces of penal legislation prohibited the availability of abortion facilities and services. A stricter handling of the anti-abortion law resulted in a 65 percent increase in yearly convictions between 1932 and 1938, when their number reached almost 7,000. In 1936 Heinrich Himmler, head of all police forces and the SS (militarized Nazi units), established the Reich's Central Agency for the Struggle Against Homosexuality and Abortion, and in 1943, after three years of preparation by the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice, the law entitled Protection of Marriage, Family and Motherhood called for the death penalty in "extreme cases."

THE CHRISTIAN FASCISTS AND OPERATION RESCUE on the Family and the Role of Women:

"Never before has the cause you espouse been more important to the future of our country. The critical values of the family and the sanctity of human life that you advocate are being increasingly accepted by our citizens as essential to reestablishing the moral strength of our nation."

Ronald Reagan, from a letter sent to the Eighth Annual National Right to Life Convention in 1980

"We are totally opposed to abortion under any circumstances. We are also opposed to abortifacient drugs and chemicals like the Pill and the IUD, and we are also opposed to all forms of birth control with the exception of natural family planning."

Judie Brown, President, American Life League

"We plan to restore moral sanity to this country and bring everyone back to the Judeo-Christian ethic. That is going to involve the entertainment world, medicine, the college, politics, the judicial system, the prison system, the whole nine yards."

"We have to thank the feminists for all the crime that young people are involved in. Because of them, these children didn't have a stable home to grow up in."

Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, quoted in *Crusaders: Voices From the Abortion Front* by Marian Faux

"A woman can be a spiritual leader, but biblically, she should be under a man's authority. There's nothing we can do about the Truth. God made men responsible for women. It could be a boss or a husband. If a woman is married, it is always her husband."

"Moira Bentson," an Operation Rescue "foot soldier," quoted in *Crusaders: Voices From the Abortion Front* by Marian Faux

"We see the anti-family movement as an attempt to prevent soul from reaching eternal salvation, and as such we feel not just a political commitment to change the situation, but a moral and, if you will, a religious commitment to battle these forces.... Among the anti-family forces are hardcore socialists who see it as a means by which they can attain greater state control.... Then there are people who want a different political order, who are not necessarily Marxists. Symbolized by the women's liberation movement, they believe that the future for their political power lies in the restructuring of the traditional family, and particularly in the downgrading of the male or father role in the traditional family."

Paul Weyrich, right-wing conservative theoretician

"It is they who are doing violence to our beloved nation by their systematic undermining of the basic unit of our society, the family. They do violence by their so-called sex education which is encouraging sexual promiscuity in our children and leading to more and more abortions. They do violence to us by driving wedges, barriers, and suspicion between teenagers and parents. They do violence to marriage by helping to remove the right of a husband to protect the life of the child he has fathered in his wife's womb."

Dr. J.C. Willke, president of the National Right to Life Committee, in response to accusations about firebombings and the harassment of abortion clinics.

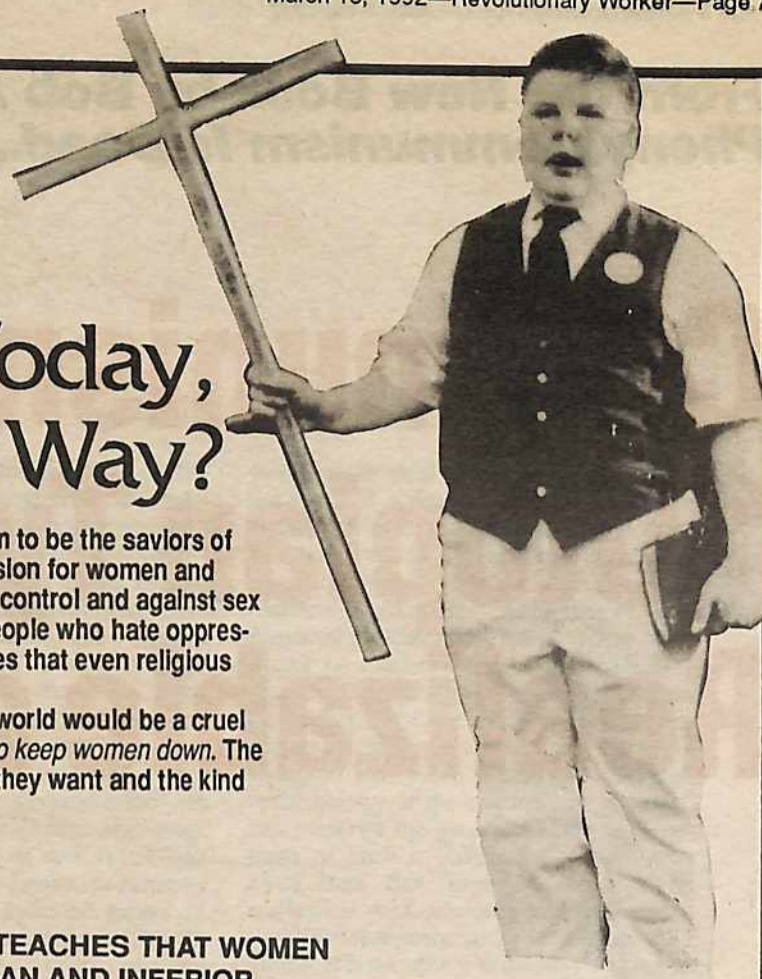
"Ask my sons who's their boss and they'll point to Mommy. Ask them who's Mommy's boss and they'll say 'Daddy.' My wife submits to me because I submit to God. Submit! Submit! Submit! It's a dirty word in society, but it's a holy word in the church."

Speaker at an Operation Rescue rally before a New York clinic assault



Frankfurt, West Germany, 1988—
Women protest laws against
abortion.

If the Christian Fascists Had Their Say, And the Bible Was the Law Today, Would You Want to Live This Way?



There are "Christian Soldiers" on the loose. They assault women in front of health clinics. They claim to be the saviors of unborn babies. But they are really Christian Fascists—morality police with a whole program of oppression for women and children. Not only are they against a woman's right to terminate her pregnancy—they are against birth control and against sex for women who are not married. They claim that there is justification for their views in the Bible. But people who hate oppression would rise up against many things in the Bible. There are many laws and instructions and practices that even religious people consider oppressive and would never want to be enforced.

Check out some of the rules and laws written in the Bible. If these things were put into practice, the world would be a cruel and horrible place. These quotations are ammunition to be used against those who pick up the Bible to keep women down. The Christian Fascist crusaders against abortion should be forced to say whether this is the kind of world they want and the kind of morality they want to impose on the people.

DO YOU REALLY WANT TO FOLLOW THIS?

THE BIBLE UPHOLDS SLAVERY:

**Slaves Must Obey Their Masters—
Even the Most Cruel Masters**

Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward.

1 Peter 2:18

Wives Are Slaves To Their Husbands

Wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.

Ephesians 5:22

The People Must Obey the Powers-That-Be

Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates. . .

Titus 3:1

**Foreigners Should Be Bought
and Sold as Slaves**

Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possessions.

Leviticus 25:45

IN THE BIBLE WOMEN ARE PROPERTY OF HUSBANDS AND FATHERS:

**A Man Can Sell His Daughter but She Can't Even Go Out Like a Man Slave and
If Her Master Doesn't Like Her, He Can Sell Her Back—But Not to Foreigners**

And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do.

If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange nation he shall have no power.

Exodus 21:7-8

**Brides Whose Fathers Cannot Prove
They Are Virgins Are Stoned to Death**

If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her,

and give occasions of speech against her, and bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this woman, and when I came to her, I found her not a maid. . .if this thing be true, and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel:

Then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die.

Deuteronomy 22:13-21

IN THE BIBLE WOMEN ARE PUNISHED FOR RAPE:

**If a Woman Engaged To Be Married
Is Raped in the City She and the
Rapist Are Stoned to Death**

If a damsel that is a virgin be betrothed unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her;

Then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel, because she cried not, being in the city; and the man, because he hath humbled his neighbor's wife.

Deuteronomy 22:23-24

**If a Man Is Caught Raping a Girl Who Is Not Engaged, the Rapist Must Pay the
Girl's Father, and the Girl Must Marry the Rapist!**

If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her and lie with her, and they be found;

Then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty shekels of silver, and she shall be his wife; because he hath humbled her, he may not put her away all his days.

Deuteronomy 22:28-29

THE BIBLE TEACHES THAT WOMEN ARE UNCLEAN AND INFERIOR

**If You Give Birth to a Boy You Are
Unclean For a Week, If It's a Girl 2 Weeks!**

If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man child: then she shall be unclean seven days. . .

And she shall then continue in the blood of her purifying three and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary. . .

But if she bears a maid child, then she shall be unclean two weeks. . .and she shall continue in the blood of her purifying threescore and six days.

Leviticus 12:2-5

**Women Can't Talk in Church
And Can Only Learn from Men**

Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience.

1 Corinthians 14:34-35

But I suffer not a women to teach, not to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.

1 Timothy 2:11-12

**Women Are No Good But They Can
Be Saved If They Have Babies
and Behave Themselves**

For Adam was first formed, then Eve.

And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression.

Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.

1 Timothy 2:13-15

THE BIBLE HAS MANY DEATH PENALTIES

Death Penalty for Witches

Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

Exodus 22:18

Death Penalty for Homosexuals

If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them. . .shall surely be put to death.

Leviticus 20:13

**Death Penalty for Children Who Cuss, Hit, Disobey, or Rebel Against Their
Parents**

And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

Exodus 21:15

If a man have a stubborn or rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother. . . All the men of his city shall stone him with stones.

Deuteronomy 21:18-21

For God commanded, saying, Honour thy father and mother: and, He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.

Matthew 15:4

THE BIBLE SUPPORTS WARS OF CONQUEST:

**Instructions for Taking Women
as Prisoners of War**

But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies, which the Lord thy God hath given thee.

Deuteronomy 20:14

**WE WON'T GO BACK!
Women Are Not Incubators!
Fetuses Are Not Children!
Abortion Is Not Murder!**

**From the New Book by Bob Avakian:
Phony Communism Is Dead...Long Live Real Communism!**

Communism Is Not a “Utopian Tyranny,” But a Realizable and Liberating Goal

In this excerpt from his new book, “Phony Communism Is Dead...Long Live Real Communism,” Bob Avakian answers a common charge made against communism. This is the idea that communism is both unworkable and nightmarish because it tried to forcibly create a ‘perfect’ human being and utopian society. One version of this argument has been put forward by Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was the National Security Adviser when Jimmy Carter was President and who is a prominent anti-communist theoretician. Here is how Bob Avakian refutes him:

Let’s turn to some more “theoretical arguments” made recently by Zbigniew Brzezinski concerning the so-called “death of communism.” In commenting on whether communism represents a certain kind of worthwhile ideal—working for the common good, etc.—Zbigniew Brzezinski makes this argument:

“It was pushing idealism to an extreme, translating it into an institutionalized, coercive utopia.... You had this strange linkage between idealism pushed to an extreme and alleged rationality pushed to irrational extremes. You had this notion that you could build a perfect society according to a blueprint, and in the process you were then justified in eliminating anyone in society who disagreed with you. All that produced the tragedy, crimes, and ultimately failure we have seen.”

This is a common refrain. It is also very similar to comments in an article in the *New York Times** where it is said:

[The Soviet Union] “was the source of tyranny, the epicenter of the utopian ideology in whose name freedoms were crushed and economies were crippled on two continents.... The principal illusion, as Patriarch [!] Alexei had said, was that it was possible to ‘fabricate new human material,’ to perfect man through the artificial manipulation of social organization. The contrasting strength of democracy and [the] free market, it could be argued, lay in recognizing that for all his failings, man functioned best when left to his own devices.” (“Witness to Revolution,” *NYT*, August 25, 1991)

First, this is nothing but an undisguised celebration of selfishness. In commenting on this in “End/Beginning,”** I pointed out that you can tell a great deal about any system and its upholders by what they insist on as necessary guiding principles. This insistence on selfishness as a fundamental motive force in human society is a glaring self-exposure on the part of the bourgeoisie, a telling exposure of its outlook

* I also echoes Hannah Arendt and her “theories” of totalitarianism, which I dissected in *Democracy: Can’t We Do Better Than That?*

** “The End of a Stage, The Beginning of a New Stage,” appears in *Revolution* magazine #60, Fall 1990.

and “morality” and of the underlying relations on which they are based.

There’s No Unchanging “Human Nature”

Second, formulations such as “man left to his own devices” and notions that there is some unchanging—and more than that *unchangeable*—essence of human beings that is innate in them and/or is shaped in them independently of the real world of human beings and their social interaction—these are typical bourgeois obfuscations. Human beings can be said to have a certain identity as a species: there are certain basic things that are common to human beings in general—certain things about their biological makeup, including very importantly the development of their brains. But this common human identity is relative and not absolute, and in fact one of the most significant distinguishing features of human beings in general is their great “plasticity,” that is, their ability to adapt and change according to differing circumstances, and in turn to react upon and change those external circumstances—more and more consciously.

Throughout their thousands of years of history, human beings and human society have undergone very great transformations, even though, as emphasized before, this has taken place within certain very definite

limits—which themselves are due to the still limited development of social productive forces and the corresponding production and social relations, and not to some unchanging, so-called “human nature.” Even what has been considered “human nature” (and what has been considered “rational” and “irrational”) has been different in different epochs and in the outlook of different classes (for example, what seems “natural” or “rational” to a slavemaster and a slave is very different; and, as a matter of fact, what seems rational or irrational to a capitalist differs in significant respects from how this is seen by a slavemaster—both are exploiters, but they represent *different* systems of exploitative relations, upheld by correspondingly different values, “morals,” etc.).

That certain common features can be identified in human society up to the present time is owing, yes, to the fact that there are certain basic qualities common to human beings in general; but specifically with regard to such things as the desire or willingness to profit at the expense of others; the idea that some people or nations are superior to others, and that men must dominate women; the notion that people’s fate is controlled by supernatural forces and powers: all this is the result not of “human nature” but of the fact that up until now the basis has not yet existed for common abundance (note: *common* abundance) and the elimination of the struggle for individual



existence and social antagonism. Before now, the basis has not existed for a society, a world, of freely associating human beings conscious of their relation to the rest of nature and to each other in society. But the point is precisely that the possibility, as well as the practical necessity, for such a world now exists for the first time in human history. With revolutionary sweep, Engels made this clear:

“If...division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous but economically, politically, intellectually, a hindrance to development.

“This point is now reached....The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here....”

Not a “Utopia”—But a Real Great Leap Ahead

Finally, in response to Brzezinski, Marxism is a scientific world outlook—it is the opposite of utopianism—and Marx fought vigorously throughout his life against various versions of “utopian socialism” that were not grounded in reality—in the underlying basis of human society and its historical development. And the socialist societies that have existed so far could not be considered utopian by any stretch of the imagination—*nor* did their leaders expect them to be utopias or describe them as such. But these societies do represent a great leap beyond capitalism and all previous societies.

Lenin, and even Stalin to some degree, recognized and emphasized the fact that, while it does represent such a great leap, socialist society would be full of contradiction and struggle, to change circumstances and people, as Marx had put it. And, as summarized earlier, Mao Tsetung systematized this understanding and raised it to a higher level in developing the basic line that socialist society is a long transition from capitalism to communism and that all throughout this transition there are classes and class struggle—most decisively the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie that is continually engendered by the basic contradictions of socialist society itself—and therefore there is the continual danger of capitalist restoration as well as the danger of aggression by imperialism. And Mao insisted that, even when humanity reached the stage of communism, society would still be driven forward by contradiction and struggle—in particular between the old and the new and

the correct and the incorrect—although this would no longer be expressed as class contradiction and struggle. In what sense could such a vision possibly be called utopian?!

But we should not leave it at that. In fact, there is an aspect in which Marxism-Leninism-Maoism could be called “utopian” or “visionary.” I mean this, of course, not in the sense in which these bourgeois ideologists and apologists mean it—not in the sense that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism promises some “perfect” society without contradiction—as Mao put it, without contradiction and struggle life would come to an end. What I do mean is that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism includes, and must include, an aspect of looking beyond the limitations set by the current stage of human society and envisioning a radically different world in which human beings have been emancipated from the shackles of class-divided society.

The point is this—to take up the terms used by Brzezinski—there is in this vision of communism a certain identity, a syn-

thesis, of the ideal and the rational. That is, the ideal of a world without exploitation and oppression, without class distinctions or even national distinctions, is, at this stage of human history, a rational—a *realizable*—goal. But, in the deeper, fundamental philosophical sense, this is not a matter of idealism, but of materialism—dialectical materialism—it is an expression of the fact that the development of human society, occurring not only through gradual changes but more decisively through revolutionary leaps and radical ruptures, has prepared the ground for the achievement of such a communist society, and more than that urgently demands its realization. As Lenin once said with regard to the revolutionary struggle, it is not only alright, it is necessary to dream—so long as your dreams are in accord with the course of development of reality and if you then work tirelessly to bring your dreams into realization on that basis. And this is precisely how we should approach the question of communism—now more than ever.



What seems “natural” or “rational” to a slavemaster and a slave is very different...

Rent Collection Courtyard, a 100-meter-long lifesize sculpture done in revolutionary China, shows landlords ripping off peasants and peasants linking up with the revolutionary army to seize power.



The Dearborn Hunger March

"Anyone who wants work and who looks for work can find work."

"There is nothing in the business situation to be disturbed about."

"Prosperity is just around the corner."

Doesn't this sound like the stuff we hear today from the White House and the boob tube? It sure does, but the quotes are from the early 1930s, before the television set was even invented. The cold words were spoken by capitalist Henry Ford, Commerce Secretary Robert Lamont, and President Herbert Hoover. It was hard times then, and it's hard times now.

Sixty years ago this week, on March 7, 1932, Henry Ford's armed thugs and cops attacked a righteous march of thousands against hunger, homelessness and joblessness in Dearborn, Michigan. The murder of five radical workers for daring to lead resistance was like a gauntlet thrown down by the ruling class to the workers.

There are many things we can learn from this battle, even though some conditions were different back then during "the Great Depression." In the winter of 1932, there were 16 million unemployed people in the U.S.—today the official tally is 9 million and rising. Hunger and joblessness stalked the land. Impoverished masses were herded into the cores of cities, living a life not much different from that in the modern ghetto. Ruined farmers wandered across a western Dust Bowl of exhausted farmland.

In these conditions, the calls by communists for the people to resist were like matches in a dry prairie.

"Don't Starve! Organize! Fight!" the leaflet read. "On to the Ford River Rouge Plant! Meet at 1 p.m. Oakwood and First. End of Fort Street Car line. Then march to Miller Road and Employment Office.... The fine promises of the bosses during the time of the Auto show that the auto industry would bring prosperity have proven so many lies.... Every unemployed worker out to this Hunger March, March 7."

The leaflet listed 14 demands against the Ford Motor Co., including jobs for all laid-off Ford workers, immediate winter relief in the form of cash and coal, an end to



March 7, 1932—Workers battle police, teargas and machine guns at Dearborn hunger march.

The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University

speedup in the plant, an end to discrimination against Blacks in hiring, and payments to halt foreclosure of homes of laid-off workers.

This call, issued by the Auto Workers Union and the Unemployed Councils, both led by communists, was answered by over 3,000 people gathering on the west side of Detroit on a bitterly cold Monday afternoon. Men and women, of all ages and nationalities, with or without jobs, came from Detroit and neighboring working-class suburbs and towns by foot, trolley and rented car. Many hopped the streetcars for

free, telling the cops and conductors to "charge the fare to Mayor Murphy."

The local Unemployed Council secretary spoke to the crowd: "We are not going to the Ford plant to create a disturbance. We are going to present the pressing demands of the workers. But we are going to go to the Ford plant and if we are attacked we will know how to defend ourselves."

The people formed up in rows of eight, with the jobless youths at the forefront. A group of workers from the Rouge pressed-steel building, just laid off at noon that day, joined in.

Some of the banners read: "We Want Bread, Not Crumbs!", "Open the Rooms of the Ys for Homeless Youth!", "Fight Against Dumping of Milk While Babies Starve!", "Come on Workers, Don't Be Afraid!" The marchers sang as they surged down the road toward Dearborn.

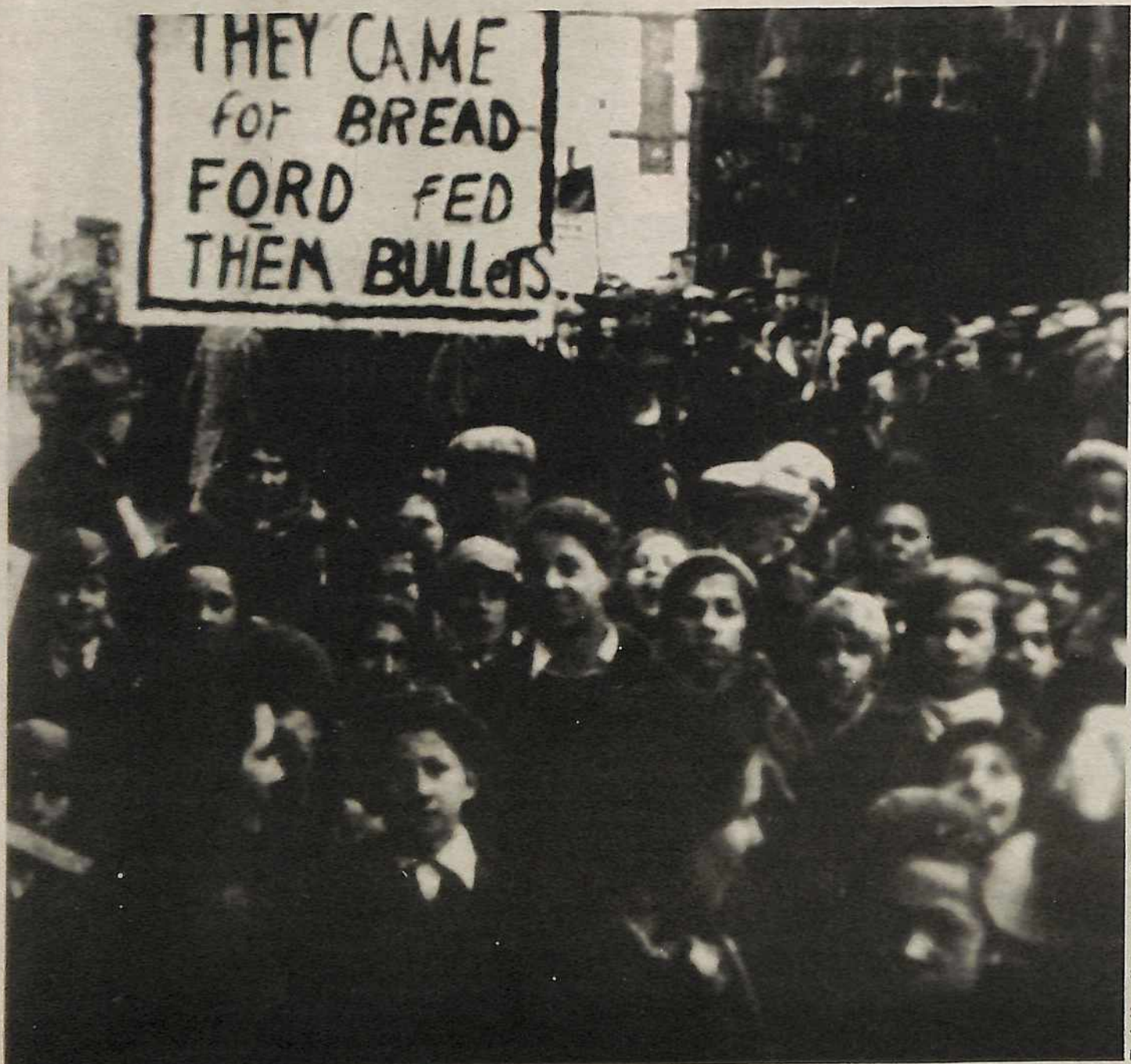
Fifty-two percent of the entire property wealth of Dearborn was congealed in the River Rouge factory. It was the largest industrial plant in the world and a crown jewel of Ford's and America's capitalist empire. 122,000 workers slaved on this 12,000-acre "plantation" before the stock market crashed in 1929.

By 1932 the payroll was down to 80,000 workers. Through massive layoffs and wage cuts, ruthless speedup and the hated terror of a 3,000-thug "Service Department," Ford had managed to keep the plant a profit-making enterprise.

But it was more than just greed for profits that compelled officials to come down hard against the workers that day. This was a battle that they knew could reverberate through the whole shaky edifice of capitalism. Auto firms were central to U.S. industry, with one-sixth of all jobs in the country depending directly on auto production. Auto was also a war industry that had been built up during World War 1 and was primed for the next imperialist conflict. At a conference held by the U.S. War Department in 1931, Detroit auto executives promised to be ready at a moment's notice to gear up for war, including by keeping jigs and dies on hand that would be needed for military production.

There was a special effort to keep the industry from being unionized. Trade unions were almost unheard of in major industries at that time. In those days workers in basic industry were not a relatively privileged section of the workers. The Auto Workers Union was originally created and led by the Communist Party, and none of the auto company tycoons gave it any slack. (It would be 1941 before Ford was forced to concede to a union, and that was to foster harmony behind the imperialist war effort.)

Henry Ford and his men were determined to stop any "trouble"—especially led by "reds"—at the Rouge plant that day. Ford hunkered down nearby at Fair Lane, his castle-like mansion. He had designated his son Edsel, the corporate president, to be inside the plant supervising its "defense," along with corporate general manager Charles Sorenson and ex-Governor Fred W. Green. Service Department head Harry Bennett had been directed to clamp a tight lid on the plant workers, all of whom would



Funeral procession, March 12, 1932.

The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University

1932: Blood in the Streets

be held inside at shift change to prevent their joining the march.

Dearborn Mayor Clyde Ford, a cousin, himself a Ford dealer, refused a permit for the march and issued instructions to his police and fire forces. Police Chief Carl Brooks, a former Ford security official, had deployed scores of uniformed and plainclothes police, who were joined by state troopers and over 50 sheriff's deputies with pistols, teargas bombs, shotguns and machine guns.

"Stop! Who are your leaders?" the police shouted as the crowd approached the Dearborn boundary. "We are all leaders!" the marchers yelled back as they continued on their way, pushing the cops aside. Dozens of teargas bombs exploded, and the workers fell back, many running onto a railroad trestle where they were attacked with nightsticks.

But then the tide of battle began to turn. The strong winds blew away the teargas. Workers—dispersed between the road and the river—began gathering rocks and frozen chunks of mud to hurl at the police. Others got lumps of coal from a nearby dump. A cop—beating a worker on the tracks—was jumped by workers and had to be carried away by other cops. Soon the police retreated toward the plant as thousands of angry marchers ran after them throwing stones. One cop who was hit and fell to the pavement was pleading for mercy. Fire trucks stationed to hose the marchers with water slammed into reverse, driving frantically backwards through the retreating police.

At the Dix Road intersection, the Dearborn police were reinforced with 150 officers from Detroit and hundreds more from Bennett's Service Department massed outside the plant.

That morning many workers still had some faith in liberal Detroit Mayor Frank Murphy. "Maybe Murphy will do some good," workers had told themselves after the mayor opened several emergency shelters and soup kitchens in the city. Mayor Murphy had made his liberal reputation as a judge presiding over the acquittal of Ossian Sweet, a Black Detroit physician who had used guns to defend his family and home from a lynch mob. Yet here were squads of Murphy's armed cops on Miller Road, helping the rich by hosing and clubbing oppressed people of all nationalities. Later the mayor would limply claim that he had rushed in the police as a "friendly gesture" to a community in need.

When the first protesters reached the plant, they let loose with a barrage of rocks that broke nearly every window of Ford's employment office. At Gate 3, the fire trucks finally got their hoses connected and began spraying. Young immigrant workers at the front lines shouted to the other marchers not to mind the icy water. It was then that the cops suddenly opened fire.

A *Detroit Mirror* photographer described the scene: "Through [Gate 3's] openings, policemen and guards leveled their guns and pulled the triggers. I would guess that hundreds of shots were fired into the mob. I saw their leaders drop, writhing with their wounds, and the mob dropped back, leaving their casualties on the road."

Many witnessed a Dearborn cop aim directly at Joe York, former Ohio coal-miner, the district organizer of the Young Communist League. Hit in the left lung, he was rescued by his comrade Mary Gossman. Later he was caught again and shot by police. He died at a nearby hospital.

Even as rocks, teargas and bullets continued to fly, a section of the crowd gathered around the march leaders nearby. Cursing at Ford and cheering the heroism of the working class, the group vowed to retreat and return with 30,000 workers the next time.

Suddenly a Ford automobile with three corporate officials inside raced toward the crowd, firing teargas bombs through the windows. The car was stoned by 20 workers until it stopped near Gate 4. Out scrambled Service chief Bennett himself, firing his revolver directly into the crowd. Ford and Dearborn police then began shooting with machine guns at the retreating unarmed workers.

Scores were shot in the sides and backs. Coleman Leny, a YCL member from Belleville, was shot through the heart and died. Joe DeBlasio, an unemployed activist who

regularly sold the communist *Daily Worker*, was shot through the mouth and died in the arms of fellow marchers. Joe Bussell, a jobless teen YCL member, who had just been selected to study in the USSR, was also shot dead. Curtis Williams, a 37-year-old Black worker, sustained wounds from which he died five months later. James Ashford, a young Black worker carrying a banner "Free the Scottsboro Boys," was shot in the leg.

Dozens of wounded were rescued and rushed to hospitals and workers' halls. So wild was the gunfire that a *New York Times* photographer was shot in the hand. Newspapers wrote that "complete order" was only restored with the deployment of 200 National Guardsmen from Fort Wayne in Detroit.

Mary Gossman, her blue dress tattered and stained with the blood of her dead comrade and boyfriend, was accused of leading the first drive against the Dearborn police and inciting the crowd. She stood up to interrogation at police headquarters. "Yes, I was there," the teenager sneered at the

backfiring. On March 11, the night before the funeral, nearly 10,000 workers attended a protest meeting at a hall in Detroit. The brother of one of the murdered workers addressed them: "Comrades, this is a bitterly sad day for us all, but we have no time for grief. Tears will get us nothing. We must all stand together and fight. That will show them! In the name of my murdered brother, Joseph Bussell, I call upon you all to organize and fight. Long live the workers of the world."

On funeral day, a worker's hall in Detroit was a sea of crimson and filled to overflowing with people viewing the four caskets, which stood below a striking portrait of Lenin illuminated from behind. The *Detroit Times* observed with alarm, "Thousands of right arms, with fists clenched, were raised in the Communist salute as the caskets were carried from the Ferry Avenue hall. In every direction, as far as observers could see, the streets were packed solid."

A funeral march wound through city streets behind a giant banner: "Smash Murphy-Ford Police Terror." Every mass or-

*Arise, you prisoners of starvation!
Arise, you wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.*

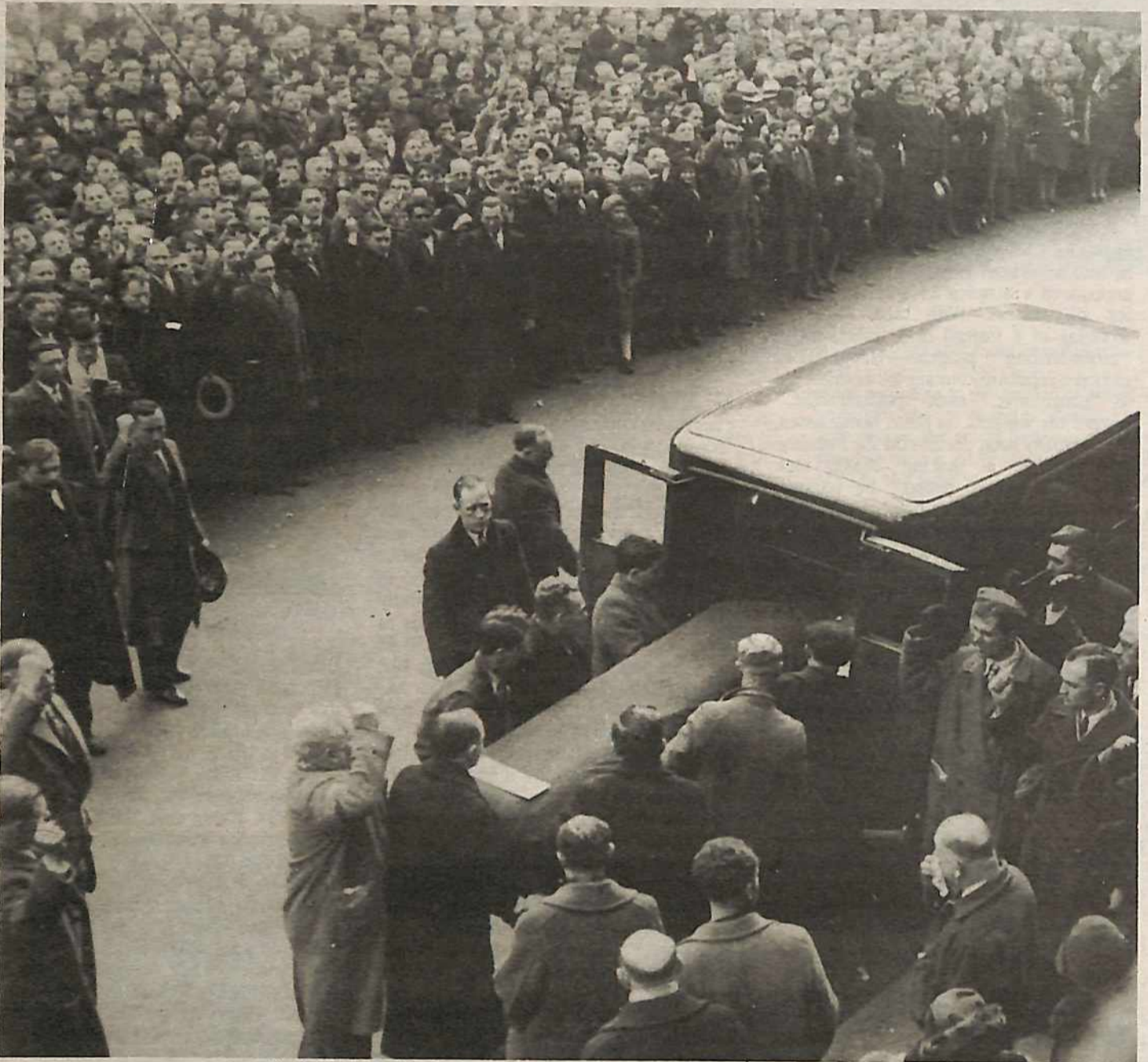
*No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, you slaves, no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.*

*We want no condescending saviours,
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.*

*To make the thief disgorge his booty,
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.*

*'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The international working class
Shall be the human race.*

The day after the funeral, a debate was scheduled at Fordson High School by the Dearborn Unemployed and Taxpayers' League on the question: "Is Communism Necessary to the Advancement of



March 12, 1932—Workers give clenched fist salute at the funeral of workers shot by police at Dearborn hunger march.

city prosecutor, "I'm not sorry. I did it for starving millions. Blame capitalism, which is the cause of all suffering." Asked who was the leader, she replied: "The masses."

After frisking more than 60 arrested marchers, the police grunted that they hadn't found a single nickel. Most of these penniless protesters were held without charges for more than 48 hours. Many had their names given to U.S. immigration authorities as "deportable aliens."

Many injured were placed under police surveillance. Three were handcuffed to their hospital beds for several days.

The clampdown continued. Detroit and other police forces spent three days raiding the headquarters and homes of members of the Communist Party, the Auto Workers Union, and several workers' halls, often without search warrants. Sixty alleged communists were rounded up. Officials wanted to cripple the communist-led resistance of the poor, and they moved with a sense of urgency: upcoming memorials to the dead raised the specter of a more massive confrontation.

If anything, the repression seemed to be

organization in town—and a few from across the country—was represented, from the Polish-speaking Hamtramck Section of the YCL to the Women's Council of Van Dyke, Michigan. "As they came," an aide to mayor Murphy had to admit, "they sang the Internationale. It was said that 60,000 people marched, and the volume of singing could be heard all over the city. It reverberated." The *Times* noted, again with alarm, that the marchers passed "seemingly in an endless procession.... Many of the voices were youthfully shrill and piping."

At the gravesite, in the shadow of the smokestacks of the Rouge plant, the crowds reassembled. Riot police guarded the Ford estates. Two hundred cops guarded the Rouge, and hundreds more stood on the edge of the cemetery with orders to stop the crowd from marching into Dearborn—with guns, if necessary. The *Detroit News* noted that the burial services "were under Communist auspices. There were no religious rites." The revolutionary anthem Internationale was sung again as the caskets were lowered into a common grave.

Society?" The meeting was ruled illegal by nervous Dearborn officials. The people had been roused.

No police officer or corporate or government official was ever tried for their crimes in this massacre. Within 24 hours, the Wayne County prosecutor declared, "Our investigation shows that this was not a demonstration of the working men of our city seeking employment nor was it a demonstration of persons seeking food.... This had been previously planned by a small group of plotters or agitators.... It was the result of acts of criminal syndicalism.... It is time this form of lawlessness ended. It has no place in our form of government." His assistant said, "I wish they had killed more." A grand jury investigation labeled the gun-toting Bennett a "peacemaker" and blamed the protesters themselves for the deaths of the workers.

Five months later, when Curtis Williams died of gunshot wounds, the white cemetery owners refused to allow this Black worker to be buried in their cemetery with the other workers. Williams' body was

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The Dearborn Hunger March 1932

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cremated and the ashes were buried in a Black cemetery.

But the courageous acts of the hunger marchers touched many workers in Detroit and even worldwide. This was the first time in the Great Depression that protesters were fired upon by police. But the heroic deaths of five proletarians compelled others to step forward. A Rouge worker from Romania said, "I knew three of them. I knew three of them well. It's made me so mad I can't stand it any longer. Let them take my job. I'm in this thing openly from now on."

Another worker called the event "the turning point in my life.... The more I'd gotten involved in the Councils, the more I'd learned about the system.... [But] when I saw the blood flowing there on Miller Road, that was the point I became a radical. From that day on."

Protests against the massacre broke out. In Cleveland, Ohio 50 people marched on a Ford plant. In Rome, Italy workers smashed up a Ford salesroom. Detroit and Dearborn officials received dozens of outraged telegrams from groups like the Columbia Social Problems Club and a

circle of workers in Germany.

Even the better-off strata among the people drew lessons from this massacre. The *Detroit Labor News* wrote, "If this is the only answer that those in charge of preserving law and order have for protesting workers, then democracy has indeed failed."

The newsletter of the John Reed Club of Detroit noted, "The last shred of respectable American 'justice' has been torn from the Dearborn and Detroit political systems.... It may be that we will not have to study political science to see the truth. Men like Ford make fine A, B, C's." Collections toward a memorial for those slain were organized by a committee that included "proletarian artists and writers" such as John Dos Passos.

Within the giant Rouge complex, Bennett's thugs had to clamp down even more tightly. One employee was fired just for helping collect \$350 for the martyrs' funeral. Hundreds of workers were fired on the spot when searches of their coats, toolboxes and lunchpails turned up copies of the *Ford Worker*, one-penny newspaper of the Ford Section of the Communist Party. The paper soon summed up: "Distribution

will be done differently so workers won't become unnecessary victims of the murderers' brutality. Let us learn to use daring, courage, caution. We'll win!"

The Great Depression was marked both by heroic battles and pitiful betrayal for the communist movement. The decade of the Great Depression had opened with tremendous possibilities—as a revolutionary section of the working class had the chance to influence millions more. But a decade later there was no trace of a *revolutionary* mass movement among the U.S. working class. Instead the organizations of the working class joined the imperialist "New Deal" coalition and gave their allegiance to the bourgeoisie in World War 2. As the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has summed up, in the history of the revolutionary proletariat "there are experiences which people should praise and there are experiences which should make people grieve."

Today, we have a revolutionary vanguard that has summed up the experience and armed itself with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The Revolutionary

Communist Party, a part of the RIM, has the line, leadership and program that is preparing the proletariat to seize power when the opportunity arises in the U.S.

Sixty years have passed, and the proletariat is still in chains. Workers are still driven like animals, the jobless are still evicted into the streets, the homeless are still attacked by cops and dogged from soup kitchen to shelter. The fact that in 1992 we face conditions much like 1932 is a big indictment of capitalism and its lying promises of steadily improved lives for working people.

"History is bunk," Henry Ford once remarked—a fitting attitude for a class whose whole history is a string of thefts and murders. But when the imperialist system plunges into a deep economic crisis, it can impel millions of people to question the whole damn thing—this is another lesson of 1932. The potential of a combative, determined, revolutionary struggle against the war on the poor is even more real today than 60 years ago. These are history lessons that the imperialists are intent upon burying. □

Background to a Fight

Sixty years ago, Detroit was already "the auto capital of the world," and it already had a ghetto.

Ford Motor Company in neighboring Dearborn had been just another of dozens of auto firms until 1914, when Henry Ford announced a stunning \$5-a-day wage rate for all workers. With high wages, a workday of 8 instead of 9 hours, and a "profit-sharing" program—Henry Ford gained a reputation among the bourgeoisie as "progressive," even "philanthropic," toward his workers. In these boom times, his company soon dominated the industry. "We believe in making 20,000 men prosperous and contented," he boasted, "rather than follow the plan of making a few slave-drivers in our establishment millionaires." Ford became a multimillionaire.

The Ford Motor Co. had a whole system for plantation-like control of Black workers—who made up about 12 percent of the labor force. They were not allowed to work on the production line and were given the worst jobs in the foundry, painting and grinding departments. Ford had a whole Black community built, which he called Inkster, in order to keep Dearborn white. A special department of Ford management dominated the lives of the Black workers, not only on the job, but in their communities. Ford hired only through the Black churches, paying the churches for their loyalty to the company. Both the NAACP and the Urban League sang the praises of Ford and warned Black workers to stay away from the class struggle.

Ford was a notorious white supremacist and anti-semitic. He supported Adolf Hitler in Germany and financed fascist movements in the United States. He was behind the U.S. publication and promotion of fabricated anti-Jewish "documents" called the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

Ford's "Service Department" of detectives, thugs and spies became notorious for terrorizing workers who stepped out of line. It had ties to the KKK and was admired by Hitler, who used it as a model for his stormtroopers. The "Servicemen" ran the factories as if they were slave overlords. No sitting, talking, or even humming and whistling was allowed on the job. Radicals were tracked down, beaten up and fired.

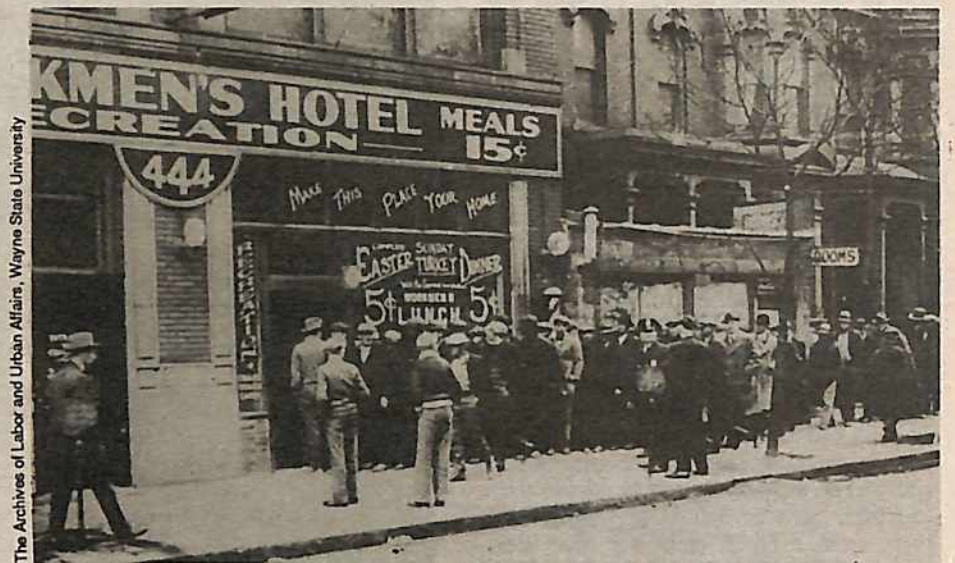
The KKK had a special role in terrorizing Black people. By 1925, the Klan claimed 100,000 members in Detroit alone. Its armed wing, the Black Legion, executed more than 50 Black people in Detroit in the early 1930s.

The stock market crash of October 1929 officially ended the era of "prosperity" and ushered in the Great Depression. Ford, like the other capitalists, fired workers in droves. His \$5-a-day wage was formally abandoned in 1932. Tens of thousands of autoworkers were paid as little as 30-45 cents an hour. Even skilled workers like metal finishers and trimmers who had formerly made \$1.10 an hour were now making less than 60 cents.

Women and children were brought into the factories to work for a fraction of the wages paid to older male workers. Thousands of men laid off by Ford at wages of \$8-9 a day were replaced with boys from the Ford Trade School at \$11-14 a week. At a Briggs plant in Detroit, women were paid as little as \$8 for a 60-hour week.

Henry Ford declared: "No Ford worker will starve!" His son Edsel said, "If any unemployed worker needs relief, he knows where to get it." The "relief" amounted to 60 cents a day worth of food bought at the company commissary, money that had to be repaid if the worker was ever rehired.

By 1932, the unemployment rate in Michigan neared 50 percent, and in some



Men lined up for a meal at the Workman's Hotel, 444 Howard St., Detroit, C. 1930.

Black neighborhoods of Detroit it reached 80 percent. A mayor's commission reported that average family weekly earnings in Detroit had fallen from \$33.05 in 1929 to \$10.82 in 1932.

Just like today, people sold off possessions and sought help from relatives and neighbors. Every day, about 150 Detroit families were evicted. Mini-riots would erupt when the evictees and their supporters fought the police. People had to live in tents, lean-tos, and shacks.

Unmoved by this misery, Henry Ford sat back in his \$2 million limestone mansion, Fair Lane. From here he uttered statements to reporters that became famous for their lunatic callousness:

"I think these are the best times we've ever had. We are learning something. We are thinking. What could be better than that?... Business, at bottom, never was so bad as it was in what we called the boom times. The managers were off the job. People weren't really working or really thinking. Now they are.... People talk about suicides these times have caused; they are infinitesimal in comparison with the deaths from gin and high living that marked the prosperity period. More people will live through these times than would have lived through a prolongation of the other."

This man, who had amassed a personal fortune of over \$1 billion from the labor of thousands, hired a woodworker to carve his cypress mantle with the slogan: "Chop your own wood and it will warm you twice."

There was no unemployment insurance or federal welfare. In fact, these were demands raised by communists. Many states and cities offered some relief, but it was puny.

After Frank Murphy was elected mayor of Detroit in 1930, he opened some emergency shelters and soup kitchens. His administration helped some victims to find temporary jobs and to put off evictions. The

local Board of Commerce complained that the "come one, come all welfare policy of Detroit attracted derelicts from all parts of America." An industry publication complained that funds were being "frittered away in doles" to "aliens" and "unacclimated Southern Negroes."

Relief was constantly undercut by ruthless city and state officials. Roadwork at slave wages would be assigned as a form of welfare—then immigration men would be called in to intimidate the workers from picking up their paychecks.

Then something else happened that was just like today: welfare was cut just when it was needed the most. In 1931, claiming it had run out of money, Detroit shut down its shelters and reduced rations for food tickets for the 230,000 on relief in the city. A total of 150,000 people left Detroit that year, including three-quarters of the Mexican community.

Thousands faced starvation. A quarter of Detroit schoolkids were eating only once a day. Lines of hungry men formed behind restaurants waiting for the garbage to be brought out. In Fall 1931, a doctor at Detroit Receiving Hospital estimated that four people were dying there every day from the effects of starvation.

An activist spent a few days in a city square that autumn, talking with the ragged and penniless, taking sworn statements from them about men who dropped dead on the street. A typical affidavit read, "...about 7 a.m. in Grand Circus Park, East side of Woodward Avenue, he saw an officer trying to arouse a man who was lying on the grass near the path leading from the fountain to Madison Avenue. Deponent further states that the officer poked the man with his stick several times but failed to get a response. Deponent further states that the police patrol appeared and the man was carried away."

These were the conditions that convinced people that winter that they would have to stand up and fight. □



Child in back alley near Monroe and Riopelle Streets, Detroit, August 1930.

The RW Interview: Nawal El-Saadawi Tears Off the Veil

THE RW INTERVIEW: A special feature of the RW to acquaint our readers with the views of significant figures in art, theater, music and literature, science, sports and politics. The views expressed by those we interview are, of course, their own; and they are not responsible for the views published elsewhere in our paper.

*A Global Feminist Conference sponsored by the National Organization for Women took place in Washington, D.C. Jan. 9-12. Nawal El Saadawi, the founder and ex-president of the international Arab Women's Solidarity Association, was one of those attending. The Association was shut down by the Egyptian government last summer for its stand against U.S. intervention. During a break at the conference Mary Lou Greenberg interviewed her for the RW. Along with being an international activist, El Saadawi is a medical doctor and the author of 27 books, including a classic study of women in the Arab world, *The Hidden Face of Eve*. She was imprisoned by former Egyptian president Anwar al Sadat for her activities on behalf of women and the oppressed.*

RW: What is the situation of women in Arab countries since the Persian Gulf War? How has that affected the lives of women?

Nawal El Saadawi: I think the Persian Gulf war was a disaster for women. Of course it is for the whole of the Arab world, but for Arab women especially because we are politically and economically vulnerable. What the Gulf war did, in fact, was two major things. First of all, now we have frank colonialism, American military presence in the Arab region, especially in the Gulf. They killed several hundred thousand people in the Gulf war to take the oil. They are now controlling the oil of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq. They want this military presence. They give a lot of weapons, in fact nuclear weapons, to Israel. Israel is now the superpower in the Middle East with the nuclear weapons. They are trying to diminish all the military power of the Arab region and to keep Israel as the only military power. So in fact, what happened is imbalance of power from the political point of view; defeat of the Arab world; poverty, because even the oil-rich countries now are having debts, increase of poverty, unemployment, inflation—the prices are rising; and in addition, increase of fundamentalism.

Saudi Arabia considers herself the winner because Saudi Arabia was an ally to the United States. So the Saudi Arabia mentality is now dominating, not the secular mentality. Saudi Arabia is a fundamentalist state. I was not with Saddam Hussein, but Iraq was more or less a secular regime. Saudi Arabia is not a secular regime, it is a fundamentalist Islamic regime. So you see this affects women negatively, because of the increase of fundamentalism. Most of the fanatic religious people in our region use colonialism—they say that we are invaded by Christians, Americans, we are invaded by Jews, the Israelis. They say this is a religious fight against the Christians and the Jews. Young people who don't understand politics and don't know that this is a political and economic fight, it's not religious, they think that, "Yes, yes, we have to belong to these Islamic fundamentalist groups to fight against colonialism and against Israel."

We have feminization of poverty. Women now are becoming poorer in our region. The Saudi Arabia regime is a dictatorship. The so-called "liberated" Kuwait—Kuwait is not liberated, Kuwait is now becoming a colony of the U.S. And the U.S. is protecting a dictatorship—the Sabah family, it's a dictatorship. So the increase of mentality of dictatorships, the mood division of the Arab world. They work on divide and rule. This division also diminished the power of the Arab world. The

effect of all this on Arab women is very negative.

RW: On July 11 the Arab Women's Solidarity Association was abolished by administrative decree of the Egyptian government. Could you talk about this?

NES: This is exactly one of the results of the Gulf war and one of the results of the increasing Saudi lobby within the Ministry of Social Affairs in Egypt. It's all linked together. They closed it because we are very political. The Ministry of Social Affairs told us, "You are a women's organization, why do you speak about the Gulf? Why do you speak about politics? Why do

our international association (not the national which had no money because Egypt and other Arab countries gave us no money) got some money from UNESCO and other international sources. So they went to the bank of our international association and froze the money. They came to our headquarters and closed it and wanted to give it to the Women of Islam and wanted to take the money and give it to the Women of Islam. Our activities were declared illegal.

This influence of fundamentalism is happening in Algeria, in Jordan, in Sudan, everywhere. We call it state fundamentalism. It was Sadat who encouraged the Islamic and Christian fundamentalist

not drive cars. During the war buildup they wanted to drive cars [On Nov. 6, 1990, 47 Saudi women drove a few blocks in Riyadh to protest the ban on women driving—Ed.], but they were not permitted to, they were called prostitutes! So it's a dictatorship, but it's still protected by the American administration. And they speak about democracy and human rights! They are in power because they are protected by the U.S. And the minute the U.S. does not protect them they will fall.

If we come to Egypt, I think Egyptian women are avant garde. We have a very high percentage of women in education, in professions. I became a medical doctor and a writer. There was no discrimination against women in the university. This is because of the changes Nasser made, in education for instance—making education free, because I came from a poor family. [Gamal Abdel Nasser was leader of Egypt during the 1950s and '60s]. When I was in medical college in the '50s there was not a single veiled woman. Under Sadat in the '70s when my daughter was a student, 30 percent of the women were veiled. We also get equal pay for equal work in the public sector—in the private sector there is discrimination. The family court is terrible in Egypt because of polygamy and the fact that the man can divorce his wife, she cannot divorce him. There is no equality in the right of divorce. We were fighting this, but the effect of fundamentalism aborted our fight.

And this is happening in other Arab countries. There is an increase of veiled women because of fundamentalism. The media is very reactionary. For example, progressive women like me or sometimes men cannot speak on the television or radio. But you find fundamentalist, fanatic men speaking on television. The government may say it is against fundamentalism, but the media is propagating it. This is a contradiction; it puzzles us. Now the fundamentalists have a majority in Algeria. You have this double game played by states and governments in our region. It's very dangerous. They fight against fundamentalism but they need them as a reserve power to use against the left and progressive groups.

We are facing several problems. Education, the economic crisis, the debts. The debts increased because of the open door policy of Sadat. Instead of producing what we need and what we eat, we import our food. We have become dependent economically on the U.S. because of this imperialist, new colonial order. The regimes in the Arab world have become allies to this. The so-called open door policy of Sadat drowned Egypt in debt and development stopped. Agricultural and industrial development was very much diminished, and we started to depend on import and export. We produce what we do not eat and we eat what we do not produce. Egypt can cultivate oranges, but we don't do it. We import oranges. We import wheat instead of cultivating our land.

RW: What were the sentiments of the people, the opposition, to the Gulf war?

NES: The left party was split, the right-wing party was totally with the Americans, the fundamentalists were also split. It divided the people. The majority were silent, but it is my feeling, as a woman coming from a village, that the majority were against the war. And now after the defeat, some of the people who were for the war, some of the educated people, the sophisticated people, who were for the war, now they regret it.

RW: You've seen the statement that was done here around International Women's Day last year protesting the war. [The statement, published in RW #596, was initiated by Mary Lou Greenberg and endorsed by various groups and individuals.] There was a lot of sentiment among women to find some way of expressing opposition and linking it to the oppression

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Palestinian women in Amman, Jordan protest U.S. bombing of Iraq.

you speak about colonialism, imperialism, American intervention? You should speak about women." But for us women's issues are political, everything is political. You cannot separate between political and personal, social, sexual. It is all linked. So they closed us because we were politically against foreign intervention in the Gulf.

We said that Iraq should evacuate Kuwait, but this should be done by peaceful means, by negotiation, through the Arab League and through the UN. We call the UN now the United Nation of America. It was very much under the domination of the American administration, and they have a double standard. You see, they were so concerned about the occupation of Kuwait and very reluctant and slow to resolve the problem of the Israeli occupation of Palestine. This double standard was very flagrant. They said that Iraq did not obey the UN rules and resolution, but there were hundreds of resolutions of the UN against Israel which were never implemented. So the double standard was very flagrant.

The closing of our office is part of that. It is a result of the Gulf war, of the fundamentalist mentality. The decree [which closed the Association—Ed.] said that our Association's money should go to the government-sponsored Women of Islam Association.

Our international association (not the national which had no money because Egypt and other Arab countries gave us no money) got some money from UNESCO and other international sources. So they went to the bank of our international association and froze the money. They came to our headquarters and closed it and wanted to give it to the Women of Islam and wanted to take the money and give it to the Women of Islam. Our activities were declared illegal.

This influence of fundamentalism is happening in Algeria, in Jordan, in Sudan, everywhere. We call it state fundamentalism. It was Sadat who encouraged the Islamic and Christian fundamentalist

movements in Egypt to neutralize the Nasser groups, the socialist groups, the communist groups. It's a political movement.

RW: Could you talk more specifically about some of the problems faced in Arab countries?

NES: The problems of women in the Arab world varies very much from Saudi Arabia to Egypt to Algeria. Saudi Arabia is the worst regime. Women are veiled, they can-

Hanging Judge Thomas Upholds Prison Beatings

During the Clarence Thomas hearings, did you have political struggles with brothers and sisters who supported Thomas? Do you know people who thought Thomas would be sympathetic to oppressed people—because he had been born into a poor Black family in the Jim Crow South? If you know such people, give them this article. Clarence Thomas has only been on the Supreme Court for four months, but his ragged reactionary shit is already out in the open for everyone to sum up.

In 1983 Keith Hudson was brutally beaten by three guards in Camp J of the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. It started when Hudson was scrubbing his clothes in his cell toilet. A guard, McMillian, ordered Hudson to stop washing and go to sleep. He used insulting racist language. Hudson kept doing his laundry.

The guard got furious. He put Hudson in handcuffs and leg-irons and dragged him to the isolation cell called "the Dungeon." On the way, McMillian yelled to another guard, "Hold him, let me knock his gold teeth out." McMillian started punching

Hudson in the mouth. The beating split Hudson's lip, broke his dental plate, and left his face bloody and swollen. There were bruises in other places on his body. The watching supervisor laughed and said, "Don't have too much fun!"

Hudson filed a suit asking for a court order that would "prohibit further cruelty to myself and other inmates housed in Camp J." He also asked for \$50,000 in damages. It took almost four years before Hudson got a hearing in 1987. The first judge granted Hudson a pitiful \$800 in damages. In the next hearing, three judges ruled that the beating was not unconstitutional. Finally Hudson asked the Supreme Court to review the case and they agreed.

On February 25, 1992, nine years after the beating, the Supreme Court, by a vote of 7-2, finally ruled against the guards. They said the beating of Keith Hudson had been malicious and sadistic. The Court's majority said such beatings violated the U.S. Constitution's ban on "cruel and unusual punishment."

But Clarence Thomas disagreed. He and

Justice Antonin Scalia were the two who voted against the majority decision. Thomas wrote a paper explaining his views. This opinion said that the Constitution's ban on "cruel and unusual punishments" should only apply to the sentences prisoners get. He said it should not apply to the conditions inside prisons. Using legal gibberish, Thomas is arguing that prison authorities should be allowed to do whatever they want to prisoners.

Even on a Supreme Court already packed with hanging judges, Thomas is emerging as an especially twisted enemy of the people. He is a man without sympathy—even for a defenseless shackled Black prisoner in a plantation work camp who got brutalized by sadistic racists for washing his clothes at night. Wilbert Rideau, editor of the prisoners' newsletter *The Angolite*, said, "There's no sense of obligation, no sensitivity, no nothing. We might have had a better deal with David Duke on the Court."

Four months ago, Clarence Thomas was put on the Supreme Court because he had a

proven record as an extreme reactionary, and because he was Black. The ruling powers believed his nationality could confuse some of the people into supporting him. *The oppressed brothers and sisters who fell for this game need to sum up their incorrect approach—they need to re-examine the conservatizing blinders of narrow Black nationalism that have kept some people from a thoroughgoing revolutionary stand.*

When examining political forces, figures and actions, oppressed people need to go below the surface. They need to use the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to uncover the class nature of things. The ruling class will try many moves and tricks in the intense political battles ahead, and the oppressed people need MLM to forge unity around clear revolutionary politics. □

New Low in Japan Bashing from Democrat Senator

Reactionary anti-Japanese outbursts by U.S. officials and politicians have intensified since January, when a top Japanese politician said that workers in the U.S. were "lazy and illiterate." Now this racist "Japan-bashing" has reached a new low with a "joke" by Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings about the nuclear bombs dropped on Japan. On March 3 Hollings spoke at a bearings factory in South Carolina. He told the workers, "You should draw a mushroom cloud and put underneath it, 'Made in America by lazy and illiterate Americans and tested in Japan.'" Hollings refused to apologize for the remark—he claimed he was only making a "joke" and "defending America."

The U.S. is the only power that has actually used the nuclear bomb in war. At the end of World War 2, when Japan was already in ruins and on the verge of conceding defeat, the U.S. dropped nuclear bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The two bombings in August 1945 killed over 150,000 people immediately and caused many survivors to suffer radiation sickness. These bombings were not needed to win the war—they were meant as a cold-

blooded demonstration to the world that the U.S. was perfectly willing to use this weapon of mass destruction to defend its position as the number one imperialist power.

People who think that the Democrats are somehow less reactionary than the Republicans should take note. Hollings is a Democrat, and the Democrats have been doing some of the loudest "Japan-bashing" lately. (And, it should be pointed out, it was Democratic President Truman that ordered the nuclear bombs dropped on Japan.) But the Republicans hardly have been silent—last December George Bush declared that the U.S. would not offer any apologies for the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

With the top officials and politicians in the U.S. publicly endorsing the nuclear bombing of Japan, is it any wonder that there has been a big rise in racist incidents against Japanese and Asian-Americans, including murder? These are some of the incidents that have happened just in Southern California lately: a Japanese man was stabbed to death a few days after two white men broke into his home and blamed the loss of their jobs on the Japanese; Japanese-

American girl scout troop selling cookies at a mall were met by cruel remarks like, "I only buy from American girls"; after a controversy over the awarding of an L.A. construction project to a Japanese company, a sixth-grade class sent the county supervisors drawings that included a figure kicking a person with slanted eyes and the slogan "Down with Japan"; a cross was burnt outside an Asian restaurant; vandals broke into a Japanese community center and painted racist epithets on the walls.

There are some workers and others among the masses in the U.S. who are being drawn into the "Japan-bashing." We say straight up to these people: You are being played for suckers by the rich and powerful who run this country. The rulers of the U.S. and Japan are both imperialists—they exploit and oppress people not only within their borders but all around the world. Japanese society, like the U.S., is divided into the class of wealthy exploiters at one pole and the masses of people at the other. The U.S. and Japan were close allies in the imperialist contention against the former Soviet bloc. Now, the rivalry between the two powers is heating up—over

who has the dominant position in Asia, trade relations, and other matters. The U.S. bourgeoisie wants to whip up "Japan-bashing" as a weapon in this imperialist rivalry. And they also want to blame the severe crisis of their system on another country. While GM lays off 74,000 more workers and moves more production to Mexico where costs are cheaper, the capitalists want people to blame the Japanese.

For workers and oppressed people in this country, our class interests lie in standing with the proletarians and oppressed people worldwide, including in Japan. We have no interest in joining in the ugly game of "Japan-bashing" led by the kind of monsters who "joke" about the instant mass murder of 150,000 people. □

The RW Interview: Nawal El-Saadawi

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of women worldwide. There were many women's groups who responded favorably to the statement. What were some of the activities you were involved with? I know you were on a tour sponsored by MADRE at that time.

NES: First of all there was an international initiative for peace in the Gulf. We were about nine women, and we went to Baghdad just before the war. We demonstrated in front of the American embassy, and we also had an emergency international conference in Geneva in February during the war. We went to England and had a lot of meetings with British women in London. Then the Mother Courage Tour sponsored by MADRE in the states; we went to I think 15 cities.

Under Sadat I went to jail because I was offended by his policies. Now I fight against the war, and I am rewarded by being stopped in the airport and having my papers confiscated when I came back from Baghdad. It was terrible. Yes, we women did a lot. The Arab Women's Solidarity Association also organized an international conference of women in journalism in September 1990, and we made a statement against American and foreign intervention and also against the invasion of Kuwait. And we spoke about the Palestinian problem and said there must not be a double standard, etc. And this is one of the reasons why they closed us also. We did many things. It was effective. Although it was not

effective in stopping the war, it was effective in creating awareness.

RW: What do you think about recent events in the Soviet Union?

NES: The collapse of the Soviet Union is progressive in really exposing the pseudo-socialist regimes. You cannot have socialism without real freedom and real democracy, not the American kind. Real democracy with the participation of women and others in everything, and also fighting against male domination and patriarchy. This did not happen in the Soviet Union. And also, to my mind with the collapse of the Soviet Union there will be collapse of the American empire, I think. You know, it's like the devil and god. When the devil dies, god will die, too. Because you need god so long as you have the devil, and you need the devil so long as you have god. But when one of those two poles disappear or collapse, the other will collapse. So I think that the American empire, like the Soviet empire, will collapse, and capitalism will collapse.

And then there will be some changes in the 21st Century. Radical changes that will bring a more progressive, a more humane system to the world. Not the new world order that Bush is talking about. There are a lot of opportunities with this collapse. That's why I am optimistic for the future. I think the 21st Century will be much better than the 20th Century. □



New York Demo Joins Dunham in Protest Against Haitian Deportations



Katherine Dunham

It was a cold and blustery Saturday, February 29, on an island in the middle of New York City harbor. Over 100 people had traveled by ferry to this gathering in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty. Filmmaker Jonathan Demme had called this demonstration in support of Katherine Dunham, a renowned African-American dancer who, at 82 years old, has been fasting for over a month, since February 1, in protest against the forced deportation of Haitian refugees (see last week's *RW*, No. 646).

Demme opened with these comments: "Bush has been accused of piracy by international organizations for intercepting boats of Haitians in international waters and taking them to what amounts to classic concentration camps in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. There, after a dubious interviewing process, the vast majority are returned to Haiti where they are suffering repression and beatings...."

Comedian and political activist Dick Gregory also spoke, moving the crowd with his honest and uncompromising stand and unique humor. He came in from East St. Louis, where he has been visiting Dunham daily throughout her fast. Gregory has been arrested for taking part in support actions. He has also joined her fast.

Gregory told the crowd: "I'm really amazed when I come to rallies and I hear Americans who should be wise and smart keep acting like you all are shocked. I'm amazed when I hear Americans talk about the good old days. America's never worked right. What good old days?... I'm very happy that I chose the fight that I chose, and I'm very happy for what you're doing, cause at 60 years old, and being too young to have been there during that Nazi time, I kinda always whispered in my ear, 'Had you been in Nazi Germany, would you have stood up?' And I keep telling myself, 'Yes.' But that's easy. It's like you Christians are gonna have an easy job next Wednesday—you put some ash on your head and go somewhere and fake a prayer for forty days. Then on Easter Sunday stand up in church singing about how you were 'there when they crucified the lord.' What a cheap song to sing. You wasn't there two thousand years ago, and chances are most Christians wouldn't be there now. And if Jesus Christ came back to America today and bugged the wrong people, they'd give Jesus the electric chair. Then all of us

would be walking around with big chairs around our necks. Tell me about it.... What you do here is more than just for Haitians. What you do here sends a message out around the world that we do care."

Other speakers at the rally included Rev. Robert Castle, an Episcopalian minister from a church in Harlem, noted for his actions against the Gulf War, who began fasting six days earlier in solidarity with Dunham; actress Mercedes Ruehl, Dr. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, U.S. Congressman Charles Rangel, and a number of Haitian activists, including Smith Georges, a Haitian artist from Rockland for Haiti.

The rally was covered minimally in the *New York Times*, as well as the *Daily News*. The Yo! MTV Rap crew was there, and rapper Freddy Foxxx. The rap show had earlier covered the issue on Christmas Day when they broadcast the show from the Guantánamo Bay camps. The show's host, Fab Five Freddie, spoke to the *RW*:

RW: Why are you here?

Fab Five Freddie: "Cause the situation is fucked up. It's cold-blooded, what's going on. People are not getting justice. That's why we're here.... We want to bring the information to the people so they can see the clear outright injustices being done by our government. Let the people know that they have a right to challenge the government, they have a right to protest. You know, a lot of people don't have that spirit these days, cause a lot of that's not going on. But it's still our right and we can do it, and we need to do it. That's how this whole country was built, by people, revolutionaries, who want a change."

Many different views were voiced at the rally, including calls by politicians and others for U.S. intervention to put Aristide back in power. As has been discussed in the *RW*, the Maoist view is that any intervention by the U.S. is an act of imperialist aggression and can bring nothing but more hell for the people of Haiti. The gross brutality of the forced deportations is only the most recent example of how the U.S. government "helps" Haitians and other oppressed peoples.

But there was also a spirit of fearless defiance at this action. Rev. Robert Castle said, "It's time to 'Be wise as serpents and by any means necessary.' I don't think we can afford to be gentle as doves, as it was



Photo: Scott R. Sutton

Scenes from demonstration in support of Dunham's hunger strike. Top photo: Dick Gregory on right.



Photo: Meg Handler Impact Visuals

originally spoken."

Castle, who hopes for the reinstatement of Aristide, told the *RW*: "My congregation is in complete support of the struggle of the Haitian people. In fact, a few years ago we sent a letter to our presiding Bishop of the Episcopalian Church calling on him to excommunicate Bush [for his policies on Haiti]. I can't determine what people in Haiti have to do for themselves. But I do believe that people who are oppressed need to feel free within their own decision-making to make that decision by whatever means are necessary for them to bring liberation and freedom to their people.... The poverty and the gulf that exists between the rich and the poor—which is increasing even here in this country—is staggering. And whereas there have been what appears to be some setbacks in terms of socialist economies in the world right now, I don't think they're dead by any means. And I think the people will move again to a

greater sense of a fair economy, whether that's socialist or communist, whatever. But we certainly cannot live with the greed of capitalism in the world now where we are so interdependent upon each other. And capitalism, as we know it, has got to go."

Katherine Dunham's action has clearly struck a chord. Demme talked for a moment with the *RW*. He was anxious about her health, but said of her courageous action: "If she wasn't doing that, I wouldn't be here right now today doing this!"

He added: "I know a lot of Haitians, so I'm very concerned about this. But coming from one of the most privileged immigrant groups, the English, it makes me especially appalled at what's going on."

As we go to press, Katherine Dunham remains on her fast, and the *RW* has just heard from Demme's office that fifteen people in Ohio have also joined in the fast. □

San Francisco: 1,500 Protest Bush

San Francisco Union Square, February 25—Over 1500 people protested George Bush's mid-day visit to San Francisco. At St. Francis Hotel rich Republicans paid \$1,000 a plate to suck up Bush's lies and help raise funds for his campaign. Outside angry protesters raised their voices. Nine AIDS activists were able to get into the hotel and chain themselves together in protest. Balloons filled with red water splatted against police uniforms. Banners and signs protested the deportation of Haitian refugees, the government's AIDS policy, recent cuts in social programs, racism, destruction of the environment and the U.S.'s continuing attack on the Iraqi people. Vets in the crowd, including some who had served in the Gulf war, denounced

their former commander-in-chief and called for support for GI resisters. Others simply denounced this "racist, fucked-up system." An ACT UP demonstrator told a reporter, "There are 1,001 reasons to hate George Bush."

Twice in the afternoon, hundreds of demonstrators broke off from the crowd around the hotel to march through the downtown streets. Signs marking Bush Street, which goes through downtown, disappeared from poles. Metal police barricades lay knocked over on the ground as the marchers passed, and the red-faced cops scrambled to drag them back in place. Some bank windows were shattered. A total of 15 protesters were reported arrested. □

Correction

In last week's issue the article "Church Proposes Saint Uncle Tom" reported that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church is promoting Pierre Toussaint, who was a pathetically loyal house slave, for holy sainthood. The article was supposed to be accompanied by a photo of the reactionary Cardinal O'Connor. But unfortunately, a picture of another New York priest appeared instead. The photo on the right shows the actual features of New York's top holy pig, Cardinal O'Connor. □





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