

SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE

IMPERIALISM THE COMMON ENEMY
WOMEN'S WORK IN VIETNAM
SCIENCE VERSUS ETHICS
THE XYX CONTROVERSY



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EDITORIAL PRACTICE

Science for the People is prepared and distributed through the efforts of three groups of our members, each taking responsibility for the editorial, production, and distribution functions respectively. Membership in these groups reflects a commitment to participate in magazine work for at least six months, up to a maximum of one year. The groups will be accountable to the general membership through open meetings called to discuss each issue and through criticism and comments received through the mail. In this way it is hoped that the magazine will present a more coherent political perspective, better reflecting the view of the larger organization. Nation-wide participation is strongly encouraged; interested individuals should contact the magazine coordinator at the Science for the People office. We also encourage preparation of single issues of the magazine by chapters outside of Boston, and point out that the separation of editorial and production functions should make this a more realistic task.

Every effort will be made to publish articles describing Science for the People activities. Analytical articles will be judged on the quality of their writing, and whether they reflect the general political outlook of Science for the People. The editorial committee may make minor changes, but any extensive rewriting will be carried out with the consent of the author. The editorial committee reserves the right to make editorial changes, or comments in italicized script, on all articles submitted. Authors should submit articles as double-spaced typed manuscripts; if possible, six copies are helpful. Contribution of drawings, cartoons, photographs, or designs on the topics of science, technology, energy, pollution, health care, the struggle against racism and sexism, imperialism, etc. are very welcome. For legal purposes, *Science for the People* is incorporated. *Science for the People* is available in microfilm from Xerox University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106, (313) 761-4700.

INTERNAL DISCUSSION BULLETIN

The development of political principles of unity for Science for the People is a process of struggle, visible in the magazine through letters, editorials, and the different positions taken in the articles themselves. Outside the pages of the magazine the struggle progresses through regional meetings (See the report of the last Northeast regional conference, *SftP*, Vol. VII, no. 1, Jan. '75), study and discussion books, caucuses, active projects, etc. Because principles of unity are vital to the future of the organization, the Internal Discussion Bulletin has been established to present the positions of Science for the People groups, as well as the pros and cons of the many different positions. Send in documents, letters, discussion reports, and proposals on the political issues facing the organization. Contributions should be the work of three or more persons, except in cases of extreme isolation. Subscriptions to the bimonthly IDB are *only* yearly. Write: IDB, at the Boston office.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

This is the first issue of our magazine put under new management: i.e. a stable core of people, divided into editorial, production, and distribution groups, and committed to a tenure of 6 months or more. We, on the editorial committee, are generally satisfied with our experience to this point and with the first product of the new system: this magazine. We have made some mistakes and will be especially glad for the chance that the new system will give, to apply past experience to future issues.

We lead this issue with "Imperialism: The Common Enemy". It defines imperialism as a total system and exposes the domestic and overseas relationship of monopoly capital. It offers an outline of the process by which capital has necessarily sought foreign investment outlets and links this process to the inherent contradictions within an economic system, here at home. We hope it will arouse study, discussion, and follow up articles.

The ideological supports of imperialism (or any exploitative economic system) ultimately depend on theories of permanently limited human potentiality. For these limitations to stick they have to be immutable, permanent, genetic. And so, we have a resurgence of genes — stupidity genes, femininity genes, laziness genes, craziness genes and you-can't-change-human-nature genes. The XYY article in this issue brings us up-to-date on the courageous fight being waged at Harvard Medical School against one of these theories, the XYY chromosome = criminality theory. We see here once again the workings of establishment science and how the "freedom of enquiry" gambit is used to suppress an analysis of how and in whose interest, a particular direction of enquiry is chosen. We congratulate the authors on tackling this issue. A related theme, concerning liberal ideology, is treated within the "Science vs. Ethics" article. The authors show how liberal palliatives naturally ("regretfully") revert to coercion or repression in the face of intractable social problems. We thought they contrasted a liberal vs. Marxist analysis of the "overpopulation" problem very convincingly.

Victory came to Indochina during our editorial deliberations. We hail this triumph of the people. We honor and commemorate the dead and living in Indochina who helped bring it about. Our modest tribute includes a review of SESPA's anti-war actions, as we recall the war's role in bringing us into existence. We have a co-feature by an American visitor to Vietnam, describing the outstanding participation of women in that country's struggle and reconstruction.

The book *Small is Beautiful*, reviewed by David Chidakel, deals with the question of revolution-by-

alternate-institution. This trend of withdrawing from confrontation with the existing structure, and forming instead alternate structures such as subsistence farming communes, food coops, small businesses, etc., has never been dealt with in our magazine. While harsh economic reality may have already discouraged this tactic, the article is a good analytical piece and brings forward the question: should the people renounce the productive technology which they have created and which rightfully belongs to them?

Finally, (What, ANOTHER commemoration?) this issue marks the 5th anniversary of *Science for the People*. Herb Fox, a Founding Father, has written a political analysis of the magazine's development in this period, based upon his own intimate and active participation. It brings out some of the past struggle and ideological cleavage that a lot of us, especially outside of Boston, may not have known about and points the way to future debate. We thank Herb, and not just for the article.

Our editorial group has emerged from this issue intact, despite our many different political positions. We've all learned a lot through our interactions and discussions. The next magazine will be a single-issue undertaking by the Stony Brook chapter. We'll be back in November, though, wiser, better prepared and trying to improve upon our work. One way of doing this is through our own self-criticism, but we also need and welcome your correspondence and articles to help us in this task.

WE'VE MOVED!!!!

SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE

**HAS A NEW ADDRESS:
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NEWS NOTES

Everyone! Please contribute items of interest and humor to this regular section.

GAS LEAK KILLS NINE

Nine people were killed recently by gases leaking from a southwestern Atlantic Richfield pumping station. Eight of them were in a house outside the station area. The ninth was an inspector sent to check the leak whose truck happened to cross the path of the escaping gas.

Company officials say that a valve in the station malfunctioned, causing a leak of deadly hydrogen sulfide and carbon monoxide gases. Carbon monoxide is usually lethal only in enclosed areas, but the stillness of the night air prevented dispersion of the gas. The immediate killer, however, was probably the hydrogen sulfide, a highly toxic, flammable, poisonous gas used in gas and coal industries, oil refineries, glue and gelatin factories, and in dyeing operations.

Hydrogen sulfide stinks like rotten eggs. Exposure to very small amounts irritates the eyes, nose, mouth and throat. Contact harms the skin. Repeated low exposures lead to lung damage and emphysema. Exposure to higher levels affects the brain, causes breathing to stop and death by suffocation. Federal regulations allow maximum exposure of 20 parts per million over an 8-hour day.

An automatic device on the Atlantic Richfield pump is supposed to register the escape of dangerous gases when they reach the Federal hazard level. The monitoring device failed to trigger, according to a company spokesperson, because the leak was too small to activate it. In other words, either the company is lying

about the sensitivity of the monitor, or the leak — although deadly enough to kill nine people — was not dangerous by government standards.

Eight of the victims were socializing in a house when they smelled the rotten egg odor. They had just enough time to call the company to report the leak and try to flee. The bodies of three middle-aged couples and two teenagers were found in autos on the front lawn.

The same chemicals that harm workers pollute the atmosphere. Environmental and occupational health problems have the same source.

—CPF

SEVEN NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS URGE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES TO CAPITALISM

Seven American and European winners of the Nobel Prize said January 25 that the current economic crisis "in the advanced industrial democracies raises serious questions about the very nature of the economic systems in these societies."

Addressing a socialist convention, the seven said they all believed that "the exploration of alternatives to the prevailing Western economic systems must be placed on the agenda at once."

They explained that while it might seem "superficially" that the problems of the Western economic systems were attributable to factors external to them, such as high oil prices and the effect of the weather on the international food supply, they believed that the Western economic systems were themselves greatly responsible.

The Nobel laureates who spoke were Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist who won the prize in 1974, Maurice H. Wilkins of London (medicine), Jan Tinbergen of Rotterdam (economics), Alfred Kastler of Paris, (physics), Mel Dulbrick of the California Institute of Technology (medicine), Kenneth Arrow of Harvard (economics), and Heinrich Boll of Cologne (literature).

—LNS

ATOMIC CRASH?

In the middle of November Karen Silkwood died in an automobile crash.

The crash was fixed to look like an accident. However a professional investigator found that Silkwood's car had been hit from behind forcing her off the road and plummeting her to her death.

Silkwood had been a lab technician at the Cimarron Facility of the Kerr-McGee Corporation near Crescent, Oklahoma.

The Cimarron Facility manufactures plutonium fuel rods for nuclear reactors.

Silkwood was a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. She had just led a successful fight to maintain OCAW representation at Cimarron.

Silkwood had also been exposed to large and dangerous amounts of plutonium only two weeks before her death.

She and others had charged Kerr-McGee with unsafe practices and false reports. They claimed that X-rays showing faulty rods were deliberately fogged, computer programming was changed to come up with the right "safe" answers and workers were ordered by management to pass unsafe rods.

Silkwood was bringing evidence to a meeting with the OCAW and the press when she was killed.

There are a great many more potential deaths involved. Dr. Henry Kendall, a leading nuclear physicist at Massachusetts Institute of Technology stated that faulty rods could "start off an accident which would result in the release of huge amounts of radioactivity."

At the same time Kerr-McGee was named as one of the five best managed companies by Dun's Review for 1974.

According to Dun's, "Probably no other company has planned quite so well to take advantage of the exploding energy business."

We assume they are including the passing of unsafe equipment and possibly the killing of a militant in the planning.

ARGENTINIANS STRIKE AGAINST PERON GOVERNMENT

A strike of 6,000 steelworkers in the city of Villa Constitucion in the largest steel producing region in Argentina has been getting wide-spread support.

The steelworker's strike, now more than a month old, was sparked by an invasion of the Argentine Metalworkers Union (UOM) local headquarters March 22 by 4000 federal agents. They arrested 150 workers, including 46 union leaders, claiming they had uncovered a "subversive plot to paralyze heavy industry and eventually overthrow the government of Isabel Peron."

On March 23, a high-ranking officer of the Villa Constitucion police was killed and a police barracks in the neighborhood town of Canada de Gomez was attacked by guerrillas. The next day 60 heavily armed Montoneros, one of the two main guerrilla groups in Argentina, attacked Villa Constitucion's police headquarters and engaged in a 90-minute battle in an unsuccessful attempt to free the 150 workers being held there.

ABORTIONS

A recent investigation of a New York City abortion clinic turned up evidence that the city clinic was selling abortions to women who did not need them. A female investigator for the city's Consumer Affairs Department brought in a urine sample as requested. She was informed that tests on the urine sample showed she was pregnant. The clinic is now deep in trouble as the urine sample did not come from the woman but from a male attorney.

WOMEN GET MATERNITY LEAVE

Jubilant women danced in the streets of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, this month, celebrating passage of a new law granting paid maternity leave to women workers. The bill grants three months' paid leave to any expectant mother — married or not. Only one leave every three years

will be granted, however. After passage, according to Africa News, a cabinet minister announced a government plan to open daycare centers in every village and place of employment in the country. . . . Recent reports from several sources indicate that the World Bank has been withholding funds from drought-ravaged Tanzania in an attempt to pressure the country to reverse its growing policies of self-sufficiency and anti-imperialism.

RULING CLASS DESTROYS PEOPLE'S ART

The University of Washington was charged with racism and anti-working class and political bias for their neglect of a mural painted by the noted Mexican artist Pablo O'Higgins and given to the university in 1956.

Chicano students recently found the mural which had been stored for 20 years in crates in "open air sheds exposed to rain, cold, general neglect and disregard," according to a statement read by Gilberto Rivera at a press conference.

The statement declared: "We believe the mural was conveniently lost because of its content, which depicts the struggle of working class people in many aspects. This brings into full view the chauvenistic, sexist, racist mentality of this institution."

Students are demanding that the mural be returned to the people, restored at university expense, transported and mounted at a permanent location at university expense, that Pablo O'Higgins be brought to Seattle at university expense to restore the mural and that a public apology be made by the university to the working class community.

In 1945 the Ship Scalers and Drydock Workers Union, Local 541, commissioned O'Higgins to paint the mural at the back of their union hall. The membership of the union was predominantly Third World: Black, Asian, Chicano, and Native American. O'Higgins built frames of plaster which were attached to the building and painted the fresco on them. The frames allowed for removing the painting without seriously damaging

it. The mural depicted men and women in a heroic struggle for democracy. Faces of workers from the Seattle waterfront are clearly shown. At the height of the McCarthy era the Scaler's Hall was called a substitute for the "old free speech corner." But HUAC took its toll on the union. Leadership sold the hall and the headquarters moved, allowing the university to keep the mural for "safekeeping."

The students suggest that the mural be placed in El Centro Raza, a Chicano cultural center in Seattle.

—CPF

ECONOMIC CRISIS HITS NATIVE AMERICAN HEALTH CARE

The economic crisis — and the derivative cutbacks in funding for health care on Indian reservations — will kill or maim hundreds of Native Americans this year. These are the stark conclusions of a report by the Indian Health Service (IHS), the federally funded agency that administers the health care system on the reservations. Reservation residents are guaranteed adequate free health care under the terms of treaties and laws signed in the 19th century.

Native Americans are the most chronically ill population group in the U.S. The infant mortality rate among Indians is three times as high as that of whites. Deaths from influenza are 290 percent above national average, with deaths from diabetes 110 percent higher than in the general population. The incidence of tuberculosis is 440 percent higher according to a report by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The situation may worsen drastically in the next year because of the severe cuts planned in the IHS budget. "The executive branch feels that because of the overall needs of the country — the economy and so on — we will have to make do with what we get," IHS chief Dr. James Felsen said in a March 19 interview with the Wall Street Journal.

—Guardian

IMPERIALISM:

THE COMMON ENEMY

With recent victories in Indochina and struggles for liberation around the world gaining strength and momentum, one can't help but look for a common element to link these struggles together. Imperialism is often recognized as an exploitative force in the Third World, but little is understood about the effects of imperialism here at home. Before we can combat imperialism systematically we must recognize that it is a total system that pervades and dominates all aspects of human life. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism; thus in the epoch of imperialism all the fundamental contradictions of capitalism reach their final limits, are sharpened to the utmost degree, and the capitalist system becomes a hindrance to the further development of society. For example, under all forms of capitalism, individual enterprises, individual branches of industry, even individual countries and areas within these countries develop unevenly and spasmodically. This is necessarily the case, because the capitalists are concerned only with profit, therefore, those investments that return a high rate of profit will be developed (e.g., the auto industry vs. mass transit). But during the imperialist stage of capitalism this law of uneven development becomes intensified and is spread throughout the world.*

This article uses Lenin's study of imperialism (*Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*) in order to

*In this article I will only be dealing with American imperialism. Readers should be aware, though, that there are two super powers: the Soviet Union and the United States. The question of Soviet social imperialism is very important and needs more study. Although there are other imperialist countries i.e. Japan, West Germany, etc., at this time they are under U.S. domination.

analyze modern day American imperialism. Lenin shows that imperialism is a new stage in the development of capitalism, but this new stage is the direct continuation of the previous stage—competitive industrial capitalism. The internal contradictions inherent in competitive industrial capitalism—the contradiction between the two decisive classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the competition between capitalists, the law of uneven development, the crisis of overproduction—do not disappear with imperialism, but on the contrary, they evolve to their highest degree.

There are now available many other works on this subject, but I recommend that interested readers begin by reading Lenin. Although this work may be out of date in a few particulars the main points of his work are as true today as when he wrote them.

Lenin defines imperialism by pointing out its five main features:

1. the concentration of production and capital developed to such a stage that it creates monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;
2. the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital" of a financial oligarchy;
3. the export of capital, which has become extremely important, as distinguished from the export of commodities;
4. the formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world among themselves;
5. the territorial division of the whole world among the greatest capitalist powers.

I. Monopolies

Monopoly rule, which penetrates the entire economic and political life in capitalist countries, is the fundamental attribute of imperialism. It is this predominance of monopoly which permeates every aspect of life in the era of imperialism.

Although the term monopoly has practically become a household word in American society, many people view it as an isolated phenomenon in the complex economic picture of capitalism. We have all talked about oil cartels and price-fixing but too often this is only seen as an aberration of "free enterprise", instead of an inevitable development of capitalism.

In the progression of American capitalism from its earlier form (in which free enterprise and the competitiveness of the individual capitalist were the main characteristics) to the modern form of monopolies, the concentration and centralization of capital played the crucial role. The concentration of capital (i.e., concentration of labor, raw materials, machinery and power in the factory) leads to larger and larger units of capital to finance the growing size of the productive unit and all the auxiliary services which they require. This concentration of production gave the large industries a big advantage over their smaller rivals, for the greater the number of units manufactured, the lower the fixed cost of the price per unit, thus increasing the rate of profit. Just as in concentration, centralization of capital is yet another way in which the capital of the individual capitalist grows. The big capitalist swallows up his smaller and weaker competitors by buying their properties at considerably less than their value or by joining them to his own enterprise by some other means (e.g. payment of debts). Thus centralization of capital is the term given to all cases of the merging of capital by the joining of several enterprises into one. It is important to note at this point that the concentration and centralization of capital is not an option which a particular capitalist may or may not choose; rather it is a necessity for survival. Competition itself implies a contest in which there are winners and losers. The necessity for expansion, for reinvestment of profit, for the "capturing" of the market, leads to the uneven development of groups of firms in the same market whether it be the commodity market or capital market. Thus concentration itself is a trend, present from the very inception of capitalism.

The concentration and centralization of capital amasses vast amounts of wealth in the hands of a few persons and opens the way for the creation of tremendous enterprises.

The enormous growth of industry and the remarkable rapid process of concentration of production in ever larger enterprises represent one of the most characteristic features of capitalism. . . at a certain stage of its development, concentration itself, as it were, leads right to monopoly; for a score or so of

the giant enterprises can easily arrive at an agreement, while on the other hand, the difficulty of competition and the tendency towards monopoly arise from the very dimensions of the enterprises. This transformation of competition into monopoly is one of the most important—if not the most important—phenomena of modern capitalist economy.[1]

Within the last ten years, monopolies have grown so fast that their combined total sales exceed the gross national product of every country except the United States and the Soviet Union. To give an idea of the concentration of profits in the monopolies, consider the following: there are approximately 200,000 industrial corporations in the U.S.; one hundred of them own half of all the manufacturing assets in the country; in 1968, one quarter of one percent of these 200,000 corporations earned nearly 75% of the total profit earned by all 200,000. To break it down even further, the top ten industrial corporations earned more than 22% of all the profits earned by all the industrial corporations. In other words, for every million dollars profit earned by all of the other corporations, each of the top ten corporations earned \$5 billion![2]

II. Finance Capital

Banks deal in money capital; they take capital from those capitalists who cannot for the moment make use of their capital, and give capital to those capitalists who need it at the moment. Thus, the bank collects all kinds



of income and places it at the disposal of the capitalists. Just as industry strives for concentration and centralization so too does its financial counterpart. Their size and turnover continually increase and they accumulate tremendous amounts of capital. To show the extent of this:

There are more than 13,000 commercial banks in the United States. In 1960 the top fifty banks had 39% of all the commercial bank assets; and by 1970, these same fifty banks had 48% of all assets. . . In 1971 banks had \$577 billion in corporate securities in their own portfolios, and had control of an additional \$336 billion in trust funds— together almost a trillion dollars in assets.[3]

The laws of concentration and centralization are manifested with considerable force in banking. In the biggest capitalist countries a small number of the largest banks control the entire network of banking. The other banks are either practically subsidiaries of these giants or they play an insignificant role. These giant banks are closely welded to the monopolist industries. In fact, a merging or fusion of bank and industrial capital is taking place.* Bank capital fused together with industrial capital is called finance capital. This consolidation of bank capital with industrial monopolies is one of the distinctive attributes of imperialism.

At the end of 1967, according to Representative Wright Patman's Subcommittee on Domestic Finance, the top forty-nine banks had a five percent or greater share in a hundred and forty-seven—nearly a third—of the top five hundred industrials, and a five percent interest or more in seventeen of the top fifty transportation and merchandising companies. (It's been shown that five percent ownership, plus the presence of interlocking directorates, gives one virtual control of a large concern)...By examining interlocking directorates of leading American banks, the economist Peter Dooley has identified some of the major financial groups in the United States. A group, in this sense, is a collection of nominally separate corporations that pool their resources to enhance their power. By far the most powerful is the Rockefeller-Morgan group. The power base of this group is made up of six of the country's largest banks—Chase Manhattan, of which David Rockefeller is chairman; First National City Bank; Manufacturers Hanover Trust; Chemical Bank of New York; Morgan Guaranty Trust; and Bankers Trust.[4]

The merging of bank capital with industrial capital brings about a situation where the biggest bankers begin to manage industry and the biggest industrialists are admitted into the bank directorates. The fate of the

* There is some controversy around this point. Baran & Sweezy in *Monopoly Capital* put forth the position that monopoly corporations have pulled away from financial control, through reinvestment of profits and paying back their loans.

..ASK NOT WHAT
STANDARD OIL CAN DO
FOR YOU... BUT WHAT
YOU CAN DO FOR
STANDARD OIL!



capitalist world lies in the hands of a small group of bankers and industrial monopolists.

III. The Export of Capital

"Under the old capitalism, when free competition prevailed, the export of goods was the most typical feature. Under modern capitalism, when monopolies prevail, the export of capital has become the typical feature."^[5] Lenin shows that the necessity for exporting capital arises from the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become "overripe" and thus capitalists cannot find profitable investment. In Marxian terms this is known as the crisis of overproduction, whereby the capitalists attempt to maximize their profits by producing more goods at a lower cost and inflating prices, but without a complementary increase in the standard of living (e.g. raising workers' salaries). Since the workers produce more than the value of their salaries (i.e. producing surplus value) they cannot afford to buy all of the goods they've produced. The monopolist has to look overseas to sell these surplus goods, as well as looking for opportunities to invest his enormous profits. High tariff walls make the exporting of surplus goods less attractive than direct investment in these markets. Also because of monopolization, the investment opportunities at home for their surplus capital are not as attractive as direct investments overseas where the rate of profit is higher due to low wages and cheap resources.

As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will never be utilized for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists; it will be used for the purpose of increasing those profits by exporting

capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land low, wages low, and raw materials cheap.[6]

Although, under imperialism, the export of capital comes to the fore, this does not mean that the export of goods becomes less or loses its significance. The fact of the matter is that the export of capital is closely linked with the shipment of tremendous masses of goods. If, for example, the U.S. exports capital to Argentina, it means that enterprises whose stock is purchased by American capitalists are organized there. One can be sure that the greater part of the equipment and machinery for these enterprises will be imported from the U.S.

The profits to be made in Third World countries are even larger than those made by investments in developed countries.* Studies have shown that the reported minimum rate of profit of U.S. corporations in Latin America was approximately 40%. [8]

In 1970 the top 298 international corporations with headquarters in the U.S. earned about one third of their net profits outside the country, a study made by the Department of Commerce in 1972 showed. And a study in the same year by Business International showed that in 1971, 122 of the top American-based multinationals had a higher rate of profit from operations abroad than from domestic operations.[9]

In the Third World the raw material sector continues to outweigh the manufacturing sector in importance. In 1970-1971 raw materials represented 51% of total U.S. direct investments in these areas, 74% of total profits, 82% of all repatriated profits, and 62% of all new investments.[10] There has been much debate about the direction of capital flows in the Third World.† It appears that because of the predominance of investments in the resource sector, which produces a very high rate of profit, and in some cases the use of local capital for investment, the multinationals repatriate more profits back to the U.S. than they invest in these areas.

Since WWII American capital has been exported in greater amounts to the developed countries of Europe and Canada where it's been used to buy up manufacturing in these areas. The super-profits extracted from the Third World countries have been used to produce an aristocracy of labor, raising the wages, increasing the benefits and stabilizing the employment (often through exclusionary practices) of a small section of the working class. Institutionalization of these privileges typically occurs through craft unions, the develop-

* The book value of American foreign direct investment was \$78 billion in 1970 and is likely to reach well over \$100 billion today.[7]

† For more information on this question read "Marxist Theory and International Capital Flows" by Al Szymanski, *URPE* Vol. VI, No. 3, Fall 1974.

ment of a layer of reactionary labor bureaucrats, and the formation of "Social Democratic" governments. But it would be wrong to assume that this privileged stratum of the class has long-term stability. They are exploited, and under conditions of crisis are often thrown from their pedestals of privilege. Thus, for example, the high-paid construction equipment operators of the exclusionary, white-only craft unions in today's crisis are finding themselves alongside unskilled and Third World workers in the unemployment line. Of course, since imperialism not only drives all workers down, but also attacks other classes in its crises, there are engineers, lower level government bureaucrats, and teachers in the unemployment lines as well.

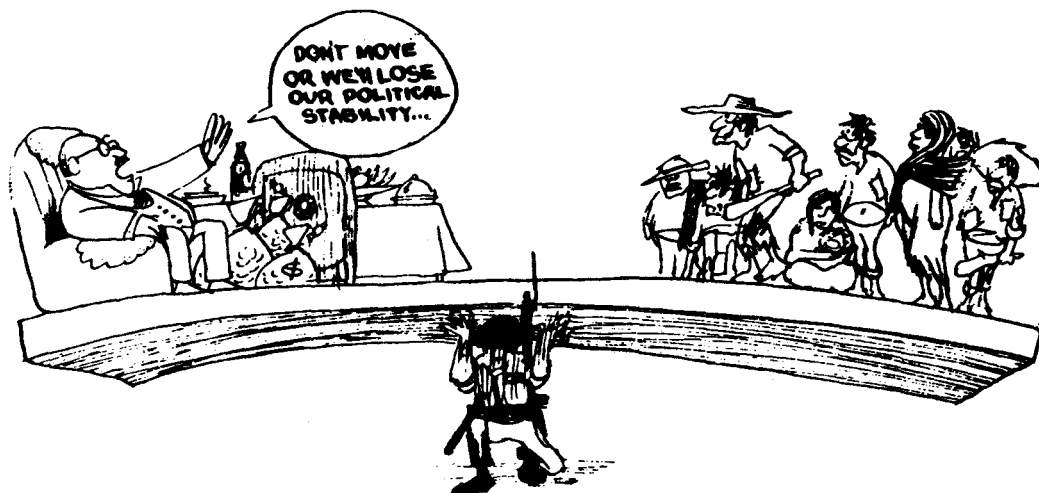
IV. Ripping Off the Third World

Amazingly enough most of the Third World countries that the U.S. calls poor have great untapped indigenous wealth. One of the reasons they are dominated is due to this wealth of natural resources (the other is the necessity to export capital). For example, Latin America is more highly cultivable and has a better high yield tropical soil than any other continent. It has three times as much agricultural land, *per capita*, as Asia, the biggest reserves of timber in the world, and uncalculated amounts of oil, iron, copper, tin, gold, zinc, lead, etc. The natural wealth of Third World countries can be deduced from the huge amounts of agricultural products and raw materials that are extracted from these lands by foreign corporations.

Not only are the imperialists extracting large amounts of resources from the Third World, but they are also decreasing the prices of these exports, so that the Third World countries must export more resources to import less goods. For example, half of Malaya's exports are rubber; between 1960 and 1961 rubber exports increased by 4% while their value fell 35%. One half of Brazil's exports are coffee; between 1953 and 1961 Brazil's coffee exports increased in volume by 90% but the revenue earned by these exports dropped by 35%. The effects of these deteriorating terms of trade in concrete terms means that a tractor which would have cost Brazil 165 bags of coffee in 1960 actually cost 316 bags in 1969.[11]

One defense an imperialist might give is that they are providing jobs in Third World countries, which wouldn't be there without their investments. Even this is not the case, for in the last decade or so, capital-intensive industry (as opposed to labor-intensive) has been shifted to the Third World. A recent study of 257 manufacturing corporations throughout Latin America shows that global corporations use only half the number of employees per \$10,000 of sale as do local companies. And from 1925 to 1970 the percentage of the Latin American workforce employed in manufacturing actually decreased.[12]

On the agricultural side, the picture is just as bleak for the people in the Third World. In Iran some 17,000 Iranian farmers were displaced from their land when the



Shah leased hundreds of thousands of acres of newly irrigated land to multinational agribusiness, such as Shellcott and Hawaiian Agronomics.[13] In the Sahelian region of Africa (an area below the Sahara), where drought and famine are rampant, the Transnational Institute in Washington reported that thousands of the best acres and a large share of the already scarce water resources are assigned by the multinational agribusiness corporations to the production, not of foodstuffs for the native population, but of raw materials and other products for marketing in the developed world.[14]

Imperialist domination of the Third World results in repatriation of super-profits, extraction of large amounts of resources, declining terms of trade, rising unemployment, uneven development of these economies, etc. Thus it is not hard to see how this domination severely weakens the exploited countries' economy. When this happens, the American government is more than happy to step in with "beneficial" foreign aid, and loans from American controlled international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Most economic aid to Third World countries is in the form of loans rather than grants. These loans are not the altruistic gesture that they are presented as being, but are yet another way that the imperialists continue the impoverishment of these countries and keep them under their control. Foreign aid is used by the United States in basically four ways:

1. to implement the world-wide military and political policies of the U.S.;
2. to enforce the open-door policy: for freedom of access to raw materials, trade, and investment opportunities for U.S. business;
3. to insure that such economic development as does take place in the Third World is firmly rooted in capitalist ways and practices;
4. to provide a substantial and immediate market for U.S. goods and services[15]

For example, in Latin America from 1962 to 1966 the average annual service payments on the external public

debts of all Latin America was \$1,596 million. But during these same years, the average annual "assistance", was only \$1,213 million. Thus the economic assistance did not even cover the debt service requirements.[16]

One might wonder why a country continues to borrow money? Why isn't the borrowed money being used to develop the country so that there will be enough money to pay off the debt? An important factor to consider in answering these questions is that debts must be paid back with the same kind of currency that was borrowed. **Thus even if the borrowed money helps to create internal growth, the debt can not be repaid unless there are enough exports to get the needed foreign currency. If exports are not sufficient to raise the needed currency and also buy necessary imports, then pressure exists to make further loans. Because of the declining terms of trade, revenue from exports is decreasing, while their overall debt is becoming greater.** (A United Nations study estimated that Third World countries had lost \$13,388 million in the period 1961-1966 because of declining terms of trade. This figure represents almost 40% of the total economic aid given by all the developed countries during this period.[17])

When this process comes to a head, bankers can reschedule the loan; but, of course, this doesn't happen without new strings attached. The debtor country must follow the "orthodox" economics imposed on them by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This means that debt-servicing and a balanced budget comes before economic growth, which forces the country to cut their federal budget and devalue their currency. The victims of such measures are, of course, not the wealthy elite, but the masses of poor.

V. Dividing Up the World

For centuries other countries have conquered their neighbors, and plundered their lands. It wasn't until the rise of imperialism, though, that this process was intensified and became world wide. From 1876 to 1914 the developed imperialist powers seized about 25,000,000

square kilometers of land; an area twice the size of Europe.[18] Most of the land fell to the old robbers — Great Britain and France. The younger robbers like Germany, Italy, etc. got only the leftovers.

The fierce struggle for sales markets, for raw material markets, for markets for capital investments led to the division of the entire world among a few imperialists. When this division was completed, fights between the imperialists for a redivision of the globe were inevitable. Such struggles have inevitably led to armed conflicts, and to war (eg. WWI and WWII).

But what of the former colonies in the Third World, is their situation any different today? Or is the domination they felt as colonies still plaguing them?

The major imperialist powers have been ripping off the Third World for nearly a century, first through colonialism and then neocolonialism. Colonialism is the system of "direct domination", by means of a political power composed of elements foreign to the dominated people. Neocolonialism is the system or form of indirect domination, by a political power composed mainly or completely of native agents. Colonialism and neocolonialism are two distinct manifestations of essentially the same form, as maintained by Amilcar Cabral*: "Colonialism and neocolonialism are identical because the essential characteristic of imperialist domination remains the same: the negation of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of development of the national productive forces." [19]

In the last few years, there have been an increasing number of Third World countries struggling and winning their independence from imperialism and social imperialism.† The struggle for national liberation can unite many classes under its banner; in some cases it can also unite members of the national bourgeoisie who are being restrained from expanding their capital by imperialism. The defeat of imperialism can then open the way for the struggle for socialism in these countries. Such a revolt must necessarily entail an intensification of the conditions of exploitation in the imperialist country. Intensification of exploitation is the only means by which capitalism can reverse the narrowing of its area of operation, which is bound to accelerate the revolt in the imperialist country.

VI. The Common Enemy

In this article I have tried to show how imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples of the Third World. But what about here at home, is imperialism *our* enemy?

* Amilcar Cabral, an African revolutionary leader formed and led the PAIGC (African Party for Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde). He developed a revolutionary strategy based upon the study of material conditions in his own country, and led the armed struggle for liberation. Although he was assassinated by a Portuguese agent in 1972, the PAIGC guided the people to victory, which contributed to the overthrow of the fascist regime in Portugal.

† Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds.

It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and un-scientific to single out "foreign policy" from policy in general, let alone counterpose foreign policy to home policy. Both in foreign and home policy imperialism strives towards violations of democracy, towards reaction. In this sense imperialism is indisputably the negation of democracy in general, of all democracy, and not just of one of its demands, national self-determination.[20]

Historically, imperialism has never existed simply as an economic system: it has always required the support of the state. Marx's dictum that governments are the executive committee of the ruling class has never been so clearly evident as in the United States. The American government is dominated by the imperialists and the laws are devised to secure and enhance their dominance. This is all done in the name of great American democracy. Except in time of crisis, (when the fascist form of imperialism rears its ugly head to full view) the normal political system of capitalism is bourgeois democracy. Although votes are the nominal source of political power, ownership of the means of production is the real power.



A 76-year-old North Vietnamese fighter against imperialism.

The rise of monopolies has intensified this plutocracy.* During competitive capitalism the government was controlled by a broad coalition of merchants, plantation owners, capitalists, etc. But the concentration of capital also concentrates political power into fewer and fewer hands. The result (as post Watergate has helped reveal) is the wholesale violation of democratic rights for the vast majority of people.

Part and parcel of the violation of democracy here at home is the violation of national self-determination. Third World peoples in this country not only experience a lack of democratic rights, but every aspect of their national development is suppressed, while Third World workers are superexploited. This oppression and exploitation are not caused by racism; on the contrary, racism, as an ideology, is caused by imperialism's oppression and superexploitation of Third World peoples.

Although ethnocentrism and chauvinism may be as old as human society, racism as an ideology is a comparatively new phenomena. Advances in science were used as the ideological rationalization of imperialist expansion and exploitation. With the advent of evolutionary theory, Social Darwinism developed; and with the discovery of the Mendelian laws of genetics, the eugenics movement arose. But were these theories simply the work of some crackpots and overly ambitious zealots? No, they were developed by members of the ruling class — e.g. Galton, or supported by members of this class.

Those non-scientists who founded, financed or in other ways supported the eugenics movement from the early 1900's onward were, almost to a person, wealthy businessmen, investors, and other representatives of the financial and ruling elite of America, at the time.[21]

Racism, like all ideologies, is rooted in material circumstances, mainly in the special oppression and superexploitation of Third World persons.† Since labor is a commodity under capitalism to be bought and sold on the market as are all commodities, a person's value is determined by the value of their labor. The devaluation of the labor of any category (and Third World workers are consistently superexploited) devalues all the members of this category. (Other examples are old persons and women.) The devalued labor is then put upon the market to compete with white labor and thus drives down its price. This increases the exploitation of white workers, who view the Third World workers as the cause of their

*Government by the wealthy.

†At all occupational levels Blacks make considerably less than whites. Unemployment for minority workers has since WWII been approximately twice the level for whites. On all indicators both social and occupational, Blacks (all indications are that this applies to all Third World people in the U.S.) lag far behind whites.[22]

growing exploitation. The resulting disunity inhibits collective action, further depressing wages of all workers, and enabling the capitalists to continue their super-exploitation of the Third World workers.[23]

Just as imperialism perpetuates national oppression of Third World countries, it also perpetuates national oppression of Third World people here in the U.S. To understand why this oppression is similar, one needs to understand that certain groups form a nation. There are different formulations to determine on what basis they form a nation, but the general principles are very similar.* One formulation presented by Abdul Alkalimat of the African Liberation Support Committee states:

Black people in the U.S.A. constitute an oppressed nationality.

1) *We are an historically constituted, stable community partially because of our common condition as exploited workers and partially because of Black institutions and traditions.*

2) *We share a common language with everybody else [except the regionally based Asian languages and Spanish], although slang and gulla have regional variations.*

3) *We share a common territory of the USA, but it is not functionally contiguous with defensible borders or even for administrative purposes — it is as if we were on a series of urban and rural ghettos (reservations like the South African Bantustans).*

4) *We share a common economic life although it has more to do with our exploitation as wage-salary workers rather than a national market organized by the Black bourgeoisie.*

5) *We have a psychological make-up manifested in a common culture based on our creative response to our condition but mostly organized, controlled, and defined by our oppressors.*

Black people as a nationality are united by a national character and moulded by a common history of slavery, sharecropping, great migrations to the city and wage slavery in the plants. However, the dominant character of racism is how we are socially oppressed. There is almost no aspect of social life that does not clearly show the debilitating impact of racism — national oppression. Black people have been brutalized beyond the limits of a civilized society and represent the clearest example of the demonic abuse germane to the capitalist mode of production in its imperialist stage.[24]†

As in struggles for national liberation in the Third World, many classes can be united around the struggle

*For more information on this point see: "The National Question," Stalin; *Black Reconstruction*, W.E. DuBois; *The Negro Nation in America*, Harry Haywood; "For Working Class Unity and Black Liberation," October League.

†Another example of a nation is the struggle of the Puerto Rican people. Theirs is a dual struggle, for the liberation of their nation and the national self-determination of their people in the U.S.

against imperialism in the Black nation. The unity of a great majority of the oppressed nation (ie, working class as well as petty bourgeois elements) though, does not preclude the class struggle within that nation. The working class should take the lead, for only the working class is in an objective position to fundamentally destroy capitalist relations and build a better society.

Science for the People has consistently supported the struggles for national liberation in Indochina, Chile, and elsewhere. We've taken on the task of exposing the abuse of science by the monopoly capitalists. "Science is like a smoke-screen: while its force appears to be directed at the resolution of the most urgent problems of our peoples, it makes those problems more numerous. It covers up the social roots of 'technical' problems. In the rhetoric of harmony it enshrouds the reality of imperialism".[25]

Not only have we exposed the ideology of IQ, overpopulation, health and safety, etc., but we have also sent material support to Indochina, helped build Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, organized against the Long Island Lighting Co., etc. We have been able to unite diverse people, those who were morally outraged, as well as those with a more coherent theory. But we have been reluctant to develop our understanding of theory and strategy for change. It's time that we reverse this trend and begin to develop the theory and strategy we need.

The goal of this article has been to show that imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, is a total system. It is in the very nature of this system to be parasitic, exploitative and oppressive both at home and abroad. It is the common enemy of many nations and many classes within these nations.

With the recent blow to U.S. imperialism in Indochina, and the rising militancy and unity of Third World countries, exploitation and oppression are increasing



Signs painted on South Boston High School the night before busing began.

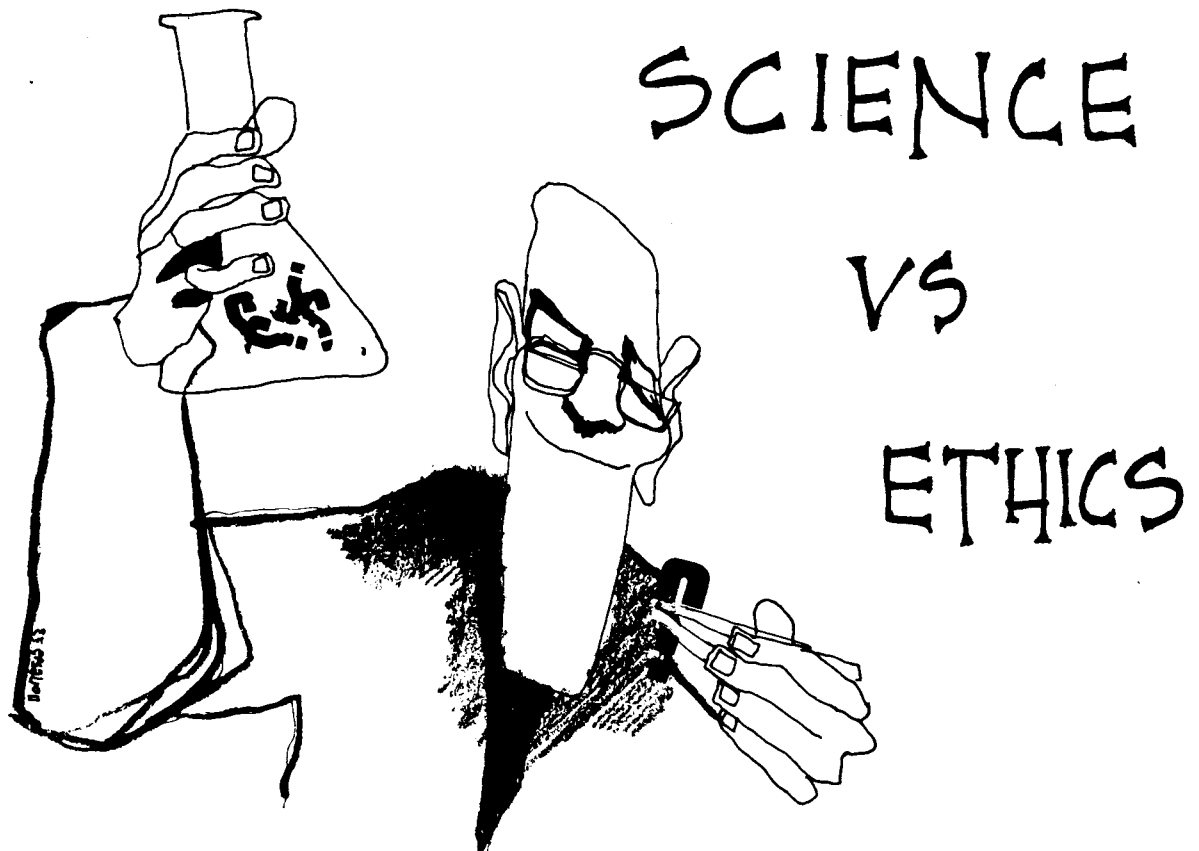
here at home. We must continue to be consistently anti-imperialist, and oppose the new developments in repression and social control (used by the ruling class to maintain their position both here and abroad), oppose the segregationist movement (especially here in Boston) and all other manifestations of imperialism. It is our duty to develop further our theory and our strategy and to determine as Mao says, "Who are our friends? Who are our enemies?" In the struggle against imperialism objectively, we have many friends.

UNITE THE MANY TO DEFEAT THE FEW

Purr McEwen

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Does an increase in scientific and technological knowledge have to result in the destruction of human lives and seemingly irreparable damage to the environment? The answer given by many seems to be "yes". We seem to be faced with the dilemma of having but two unpalatable alternatives: either dismantle modern technology or face a likely doomsday.

But is this dilemma real? In this brief essay we wish to show that the dilemma in question is not caused by anything in the nature of technology. Rather it is the politics of those who control science which creates the dilemma.

Science in a Liberal Society vs. Science in a Marxist Society

Liberals assume that once science has progressed so that we know how to achieve a given result technically, the problem then becomes one of convincing policy-makers that the solution should be put into operation. In recent years the ecological threat has challenged these liberal notions in two ways. First of all, policy-makers seem often to ignore the solutions offered by scientists, as when the government continued to use chemical agents in Vietnam long after there was overwhelming evidence that these chemicals would cause long-term, perhaps irreparable damage to the environment. Secondly, even when policy-makers *do* agree with the scientists, corporations seem to have an endless capacity to resist the decision when losses of profits are involved. Liberals, how-

ever, because their view of *society* is basically one of accepting the structure of power and privilege, seem to construe the problem as one of the "dangers of technology" and its effects.

Marxists, on the other hand, take a completely different approach. They start from the premise that modern capitalist societies contain two essential classes: owners of the means of production who run their businesses primarily to make a profit, and workers who sell their labor in order just to make a living. According to the Marxist view, the ethical implications of the uses of new scientific knowledge can only be judged according to which of these two classes will primarily benefit from it. Three simple rule-of-thumb principles guide Marxists in analyzing how science will be utilized in capitalist society:

1. Advances which improve the lives of workers will only be acceptable to the owners of the means of production if they also happen to serve the interests of the latter.
2. When there is an advance beneficial only to workers, the capitalists will make every attempt to evade or prevent its implementation (e.g. mass transit).
3. An advance profitable to the capitalists, which happens to bring great harm to workers, will be used by the capitalists as long as they can manage to do so (eg. pesticides, chemicals in foods).

In Marxist theory, there is no way to resolve the conflict between the two classes except by a seizure of political control of the entire society by the workers — who represent the overwhelming majority of the people — leading eventually to a society without classes altogether. Once the working class holds political power, the apparent science-ethics dilemma will tend to disappear, for any discovery which would harm the majority of people could not be put to use simply because it would bring profits to the few. In this society, science would come under the democratic control of all the people.[1]

A corollary of this conclusion is that until capitalism is overthrown, scientists must always choose whether they are working for the capitalist class or the working class. Liberal scientists, who think they work for “science” in reality end up working most of the time for the class which holds power — that is, the capitalists. To illustrate how these different approaches work out in a concrete case, let us take a look at one of the ecology movement’s major concerns—overpopulation.

A Liberal Dilemma—What To Do About Overpopulation

Probably the most painful dilemma facing liberal ecologists today is “overpopulation.” With global famine on the horizon, with world resources apparently being stretched to their outer limits, people keep producing children at rates that threaten to push population far beyond the capacity of the earth to support it. And liberals ask, “what is it that has brought on this problem? Was it not the rising standard of living which came about as a result of the technological advances of the industrial revolution? Was it not the outcome of the discoveries of medicine which allowed for a lowering of the death rate while bringing no accompanying reductions in the birth rate?” In short, the population problem appears to them to be the direct if unintended result of the advance of scientific knowledge.

In the face of this crisis liberals have tried to develop solutions. In the 1950’s moderate attempts were made to induce “birth control” by appealing to people’s “better instincts”. These programs, the experts agree, have failed. Confronted thus, with the apparent fact that people, particularly in the poor countries of the world, will not voluntarily reduce their birth rate, increasingly stringent measures have begun to be considered. American foreign aid is now often made contingent upon acceptance by the receiver-nation of a certain dose of birth-control technology. Family-planning schemes for poor nations are peddled by scientists working for foundations or government agencies. Paul Ehrlich, the veritable dean of the ecology scientists, has recently written the starkest statement yet. Looking at 30 years of failure to make significant reductions in population growth in India, he advises that “India’s government may well have to resort to some coercive method sooner or later, unless famine, war, or disease take the problem out of its hands”.[2] Some scientists, apparently concerned with the failure of

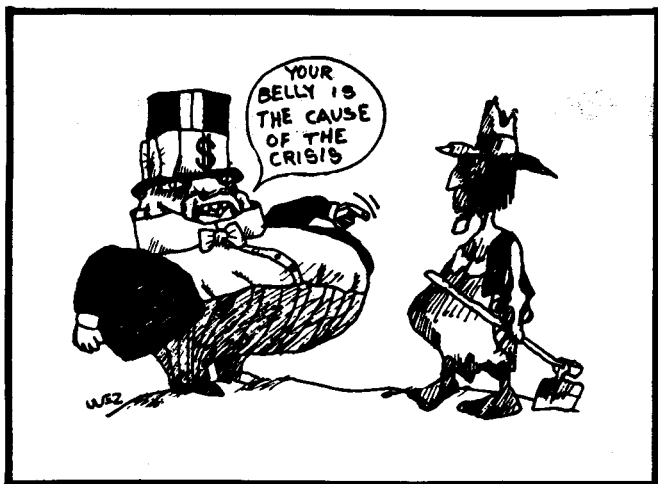
their programs to check rapid population growth, now find themselves compelled to consider alternatives — “some coercive method” — in direct violation of their liberal beliefs. One dilemma leads inexorably to the next: technology produces overpopulation, overpopulation threatens the world, the world must consider “coercive methods”.

Overpopulation—A Marxist Approach

To understand the “overpopulation” in the world today, we must look at the class-structure of society as well as the technology being developed by science. Evidence suggests that there is something about the nature of a society itself that helps to determine how many children will be produced. Perhaps the most convincing argument for a social theory of population growth comes from a recent study done in India by the economist Mahmood Mamdani.[3] During the years 1953-1959 the Harvard School of Public Health conducted a study of its own pilot program to control population growth in a village in the Punjab. In 1969 they initiated a follow-up study on their attempts to introduce birth-control devices among a group of Indian farmers. Everyone agreed that the program was a failure. But why would the poor farmers of India, among the world’s most impoverished people, refuse birth control when it was offered through the medium of a well organized, well financed, intensive program? The liberal experts were baffled.

Mamdani, using a Marxist analysis, found something quite different. Relating his study of the project’s failure to *caste and class relationships* in the village, he discovered that poor villagers consciously view their children as labor assets. Increasing land fragmentation combines with the new opportunities in post-colonial India to provide special incentives to the poor family for the production of many children. If most of the children could work at agriculture and other jobs, the combined efforts of the family might be enough to put *one* child through school and into a bureaucratic post. Then the family would have some hope of economic security or even advancement. Even if this dream did not come true, the presence of numerous children among the poorest families was viewed as a cost-saving device. One villager explained: “Why pay 2,500 rupees for an extra hand? Why not have a son?”[4] The message is clear. For the poor in this village in India, children are not a “population bomb,” but rather a means of survival and even advancement for the entire family. Though society as a whole is threatened by the production of large families, each family, competing with other families, must try to keep its labor costs as low as possible, and one’s own children are the cheapest form of labor that can be found.

But how does a society get itself into a situation where poor people, in order to survive, must act in ways that are ultimately irrational and highly dangerous for the world as a whole? A recent study by the anthropologist Benjamin White provides further insight. Using a “demand-for labor” analysis, White attempts to account for the rapid population growth of Java, a region similar to India in



many ways. Noting the pressures of the Dutch sugar industry in the nineteenth century on land and labor available for Javanese family farms, White concludes that indigenous controls on population growth had to be lifted in order to produce child laborers who could work the family farms while adults went off to work for the sugar factories. As population thus increased, land holdings became even smaller, creating even further pressures for more laborers to work the small rice fields of Java more intensively.[5]

Putting these two studies together, we can see that while modern technology and modern medicine may have played a role in the development of the population problem of today, the most significant factor, the pressures on individual families to produce large numbers of children, was created by the particular labor needs of the colonial system of profit-making and is perpetuated by the social relationships which that system has produced. It is not technology or medicine which produced the population problem and keep making it worse. It is capitalism.

With this analysis in hand, the science-ethics dilemma of population disappears. Since populations can be controlled when the social and economic conditions allow, a clear and straightforward solution emerges: If each family in the poorest nations produces large numbers of children to keep itself above water in the competition with other families to keep its farm-labor costs down, then the solution to the population problem lies primarily in reorganizing the production system so that cooperation can replace competition. Under these new conditions, birth control can be used in a positive manner; each family can plan the number of children in terms of the rational needs of the entire community, working together to produce food and other necessities for all. This is the essence of socialism.

Would such a program really work? Some of the evidence has already emerged. In 1970 the People's Republic of China, a socialist society, had a birth rate only one-half of that of India's. Of all the formerly poor countries of the world, socialist China has been able to make the most significant inroads into the birth rate. Could

China's success have anything to do with the fact that labor on the communes is organized not on a single-family basis, but by the entire commune or work brigades, to make the best use of available labor and other productive forces? The answer is perhaps not a definitive yes at this stage, but clearly those who would like to see population brought under control will be betting on the solution most likely to succeed if they cast their lots with the oppressed classes and put their science to work for the world socialist movement.

Conclusion

The analysis of population developed above can be extended into other areas of the ecology crisis. Would corporations continue to pollute the water and air that workers must drink and breathe if those corporations were directly *controlled* by the workers? Would there be enough money to overcome existing ecological threats if the profits soaked up by big stockholders were distributed to pay for projects democratically decided upon by communities in which the factories and mines are located? It is not so much an ethics of science that we need — it is a science for the people.[6]

Barbara Chasin, Richard Franke

FOOTNOTES

1. For further discussion of liberalism, and the differences between liberalism and Marxism, see Barbara Chasin and Gerald Chasin, *Power and Ideology: A Marxist Approach to Political Sociology*, Schenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, Mass., 1974.
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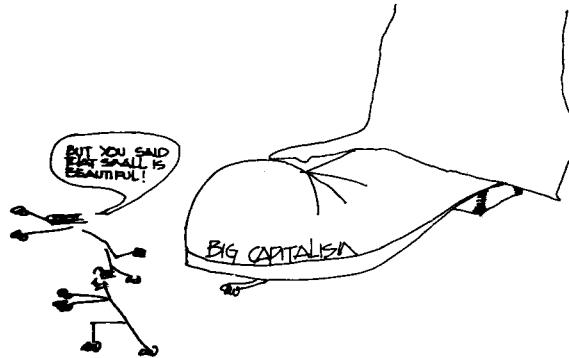
JENSEN EXPOSED

We recieved an excellent article recently, "Jensenism: The Bankruptcy of 'Science' Without Scholarship" by Jerry Hirsch, detailing many "errors" in Arthur Jensen's original *Harvard Educational Review* article. Although we felt that this article exposes Jensen's racism by showing that his scholarship is faulty, we also felt that we could not print it at this time. Therefore, we wanted to let anyone interested know where they could get a copy. For those of you in the Boston area, there are two copies in the resource file in the office (under racism), also it can be read in *Educational Theory*, volume 25, #1, page 3.

SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL

AS A BOOK

AND AS A BUM STEER



The following is a review* of a book which tries to be about building a nonviolent alternative society, an idea that, unfortunately, seems to have special appeal to technically trained people, who have rebellion in their hearts. The book is *Small is Beautiful* by E.F. Schumacher. After dealing briefly with the book, I'll suggest a better way to "go left" than the "alternative society" and suggest why the "alternative society" is a bum steer.

The author, Schumacher, who seems to think that he is some sort of radical, spent 20 years as head of the British Coal Board. If he noticed any contradictions between his job, he doesn't think to mention them. He presents himself as a critic of the system, but his criticism is tied to a mix of religious metaphors drawn from the East and West. He uses pacifying quotes from the "Sermon on the Mount" and proposes this philosophy as a way to fight oppression. The author also discusses the full employment of his "Buddhist Economics":

Women, on the whole, do not need an "outside" job, and the large scale employment of women in offices or factories would be considered a sign of serious economic failure. In particular, to let mothers of young children work in factories while the children run wild would be as uneconomic in the eyes of a Buddhist economist as the employment of a skilled worker as a soldier in the eyes of a modern economist.†

The sexist assumptions here are hardly subtle. Very few of you will need to be told that working mothers does not mean "children running wild". Expanded day-care, paternal childcare, and other experimental and not so experimental means are quite well known as alternatives to maternal childcare.

*This article is an adaptation of a review which first appeared in *Spark* magazine, Spring, 1975.

†All quotations are from *Small is Beautiful* by E.F. Schumacher, Harper & Row, New York, 1973.

On imperialism:

It is almost like a providential blessing that we, the rich countries, have found it in our heart to consider the third world and try to mitigate its poverty. . . . I think that this fairly recent development in the outlook of the rich is a fairly honorable one.

And discussing foreign aid in a context of neo-colonialism:

I hesitate to use this term [neo-colonialism] because it has a nasty sound and appears to imply a deliberate intention on the part of the aid givers. Is there such an intention? On the whole, I think there is not.

The best aid to give is intellectual aid, a gift of useful knowledge. A gift of knowledge is infinitely preferable to a gift of material things. . . . A gift of material goods can be appropriated by the recipient without effort or sacrifice. . . this approach incidentally has the advantage of being relatively cheap.

Apparently the author thinks that the "rich" countries got that way from God's benevolence or something. Much of that wealth derived from resources stolen from African, Asian and Latin American countries. Much of that wealth resulted directly from people, villages, tribes and whole nations being enslaved and exterminated. The author doesn't seem to know this.

I'm not going to go any deeper into this book than I have already. I'm not going to explore his plans for foreign "aid". I'm not going to examine his many ideas about how we can change our attitudes and educate ourselves to be more noble. I'm not going to go on with this because his basic assumptions are wrong and it is unecological to throw good paper after bad to follow the tortuous logic that follows from his assumptions and eventually leads (of course) to wrong conclusions.

Now in the introduction to this book, we are told that it is in the tradition of Anarchism along with Kropotkin, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Paul Goodman, Bookchin, etc. I haven't read Kropotkin, but from what I've read of Bookchin I'm not so sure he'd like to share a tradition or anything else with *Small is Beautiful* and its simpering distortions.[1] I cannot imagine Bookchin writing that "any activity which fails to recognize a self-limiting technology is of the devil."

But — ok — there *is* such a thing as a decentralist, anarchist tradition. And more to the point, there are decentralist-anarchist tendencies around today. As a "movement", it is vaguely defined but, as I've said, it seems to have special appeal to technical people who are moving toward radicalism. This relates to many of our readers.

Most people who are a part of this tendency seem to believe in building an "alternate society" as a means toward "humanizing" the existing order.

What is an "alternate society"? Well since the late sixties this has come to mean a network of "peoples' institutions" — in areas like food coops, health clinics, non-profit and worker-controlled businesses, and communes. Supposedly, as these institutions gain acceptance and grow, they will provide alternative models, teach people how to run their own lives, and eventually, create an instability that will finally destroy the old order.

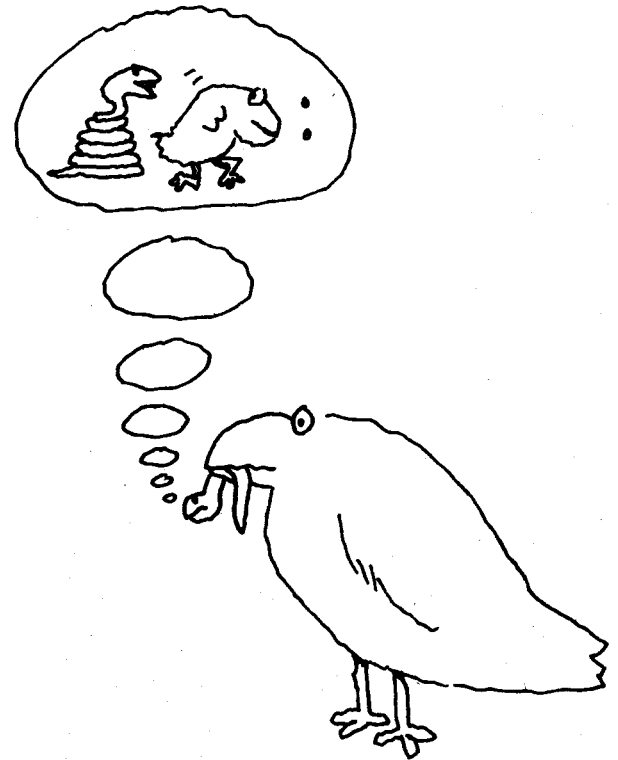
Like all ideas that have appeal and power, there is at least some truth to this one. Furthermore, they are popular because they are the most direct opposites to what is most commonly seen and identified as "bad". If big corporate capitalism is "bad", and attempts at reform from "within" never work, then it is best to "drop out" and build small and highly personal alternatives to the large and impersonal corporate behemoth. People with technical skills (who have been bored out of their minds doing repetitive technical things for a living) often get tremendously excited by the idea of *using* their knowledge for ingenious kinds of "alternative technology" in this "alternate society". But, disappointingly, this network of peoples' institutions turns out to be mainly a fantasy draped over a confusion. Sure there are food coops around, but they've been a real flop.[2] And sure there are alternate businesses (those that weren't bankrupted by market forces or paralyzed by the personality clashes of functioning collectively). But how many of them are distinguishable from hip capitalism? Are any of them a revolutionary force?[3] And what has happened to the subsistence farming movement? Some still remain — but to call it a movement is a mean way of mocking an impossible idea.

What's wrong? The alternate society is losing the battle for some of the same reasons that the U.S. military lost in Vietnam — the wrong enemy. Our soldiers were told that they were to protect the people of Vietnam from a Communist invasion. So that's what they tried to do. Since the people they were "protecting" in the South

were really one with those "Communists" and were trying to throw off a brutal dictator, they kept lobbing grenades at their protectors who were so confused that they didn't know *who* the enemy was! Thus it is with the alternate society. The analysis is wrong. The main enemies have been identified as: "Straight people, Consumer rip-offs, Reactionary attitudes, Capitalism."

But what is the nature of the forces arrayed against these enemies? Would you believe the long-haired and gentle son of an international banker? A kid who believes in personal liberation and eros and self-expression in the arts? Are these the real values of a revolution? The most important ones? Why do they have an upper class ring to them?

As you have probably guessed, it is my belief that Marxists have much more correctly identified the enemy than the alternate society folks have. They pin it down as the small group of wealthy families that own almost all of the productive wealth and control almost all of the power. This might mean the less than 2 percent of the people in the U.S. who own 88 percent of the common stock. Marxists call them the bourgeoisie. They consider that this group has a *vested* interest in retaining things as they are. They don't think that members of this class are trustworthy revolutionaries. It was of the utopian schemes generated by so-called socialists from this upper class that Marx said: "They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeoisie



DRAWING BY PAUL PALNIK

socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems.”[4]

There is a larger group of people who get a great deal of *relative* privilege from the system such as professionals, intellectuals, and small merchants. They often tend to identify with the upper class. And then there is the rest of us — quite a lot really — who have to rely exclusively upon our jobs to survive.

Now what does this have to do with the alternate society? Just this: what I am suggesting is that if we are going to try to make real and lasting changes in the society, we have to work earnestly at figuring *what* has to be changed and *who* we can rely on to help us make that change.

To find out *who*, requires a careful *class analysis* of the sort I have barely hinted at above. The problem can be summarized like this: the vast majority of us are a part of the working class and we are natural allies in the struggle to throw off of our backs a class of people who *own* to live while we *work* to live. (When we call “straight” people the enemy as we did in the 60’s we lump together the enemy with the victim.)

In past centuries the working class has built up the factories and the various means of production that are owned by others. The question we are now faced with is what is the best way to change that situation? Should we turn away from these things and build anew the means of production with those various people (small in number) who are inclined to move out to the country and start a “simple” life? I know (from personal experience) that each utopian idea seems importantly unique and it grates to hear someone lump them together and say that it has been done before. But it has . . . and it still is being done. And having been associated with one such attempt and having observed others, I think that they will continue to fail to make change for the following reasons:

1. *Non-viability* — Alternative societies by definition consist of small production units set up in an economy dominated by large corporate monopolies. While advocates of alternate societies may argue that this is less alienating and more efficient — it’s simply not true. It is impossible to put the monopolies out of business with low-production units. After all — that was how they got to be monopolies, by driving out of business the low-production units.[5]

And if you think it is nonalienating to struggle to survive in a small business that is going under — ask someone who has been there!

2. *Starting from scratch would be a waste* — If you recognize that the greatest productive plant in the history of the world was built with the sweat of the working class during the last couple of centuries and is owned by others, how can you ignore that? Even if it would be possible to build something as grand by starting from scratch (and it isn’t) it would be stupid? What is ours is ours. What we must learn is an *effective* way to demand that it be returned to us.

Of course effective is the key word here. The problem with a mishmash of ideas about non-hierarchy, nonviolence, spirituality, etc. is that it is hard to imagine a better formula for making it impossible to demand *anything*. To those of you who have already tried to work or live in completely non-hierarchical situations, perhaps you are already beginning to smell the self-defeating odor of self-sabotage.

We must ask ourselves, what is wrong with leadership? Are we against all kinds of leadership? What are leaders supposed to do? How can we get them to do that and do it well? But we must be able to seize our society back from those who have it and are taking it for a ride (over a cliff!). And we shall never be able to seize anything against the organized and disciplined forces of the enemy if we don’t organize ourselves effectively!

3. *Isolation* — Not only does the alternate society effort isolate us from the means of production, but it isolates us from the people who work in them. Therefore it cuts us off from the main body of the working class.
4. *The final trap* — And last of all, if it were possible to run viable alternative businesses, and if it were possible for those businesses to sabotage the established order, and if this were not a terribly wasteful and isolating thing to do — even then it would not work.

I have witnessed repeatedly the pitfall in alternative businesses. One becomes so involved in the routine of making the nonprofit business “work” and succeed that it is almost inescapable that the challenge of beating the capitalists at their own game results in the final victory for them, because you do not “play” at being a small business person. You become a small business person. You build up a stake in a stable economic order. You sympathize with the attitudes of the people that own the supermarket (customers are impossible, mortgages are too hard to get). And the small business mentality will make every potential “revolutionary” impotent in the end.

And so it is my belief that the alternate society is a dead end and not a path to revolutionary change.

I do not wish to say that all of those writers who are included in the “traditions of Anarchism” endorse the building of an alternate society. In fact they do not. I have tried to deal with what I see as the main anarchist tendency in this country and in our time in the form that has had appeal among technical workers.

David Chidakel

FOOTNOTES

1. Murray Bookchin, *Post Scarcity Anarchism*, Ramparts Press.
2. This is too big a subject to go into here and would be a good topic for a separate article.
3. This is not to deny, by the way, the importance of movement printers, lawyers, etc. — no matter how “alternative” they think they are.
4. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, “The Manifesto of the Communist Party,” *Marx and Engels*, Lewis Feuer, ed., Doubleday & Co., New York, 1959.
5. For a discussion of *why* this happens see *Introduction to Socialism*, Huberman & Sweezy.

FIVE YEARS OF SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE: A POLITICAL ANALYSIS

The following is a political analysis which views the history of Science for the People as a history of struggle. Consistent with this analysis, it stresses certain struggles as the most important and raises key questions. It combines information which is not generally available with personal recollections and anecdotal material. Others may have a different analysis or perspective and, thus, consider other struggles and questions more important. We strongly encourage our readers to think critically about these issues, and to send letters and articles in response. For the magazine to become a more vital and useful tool, this process is essential.

This issue, Vol. VII, No. 4, marks the fifth anniversary of *Science for the People*. Because continued publication over this period has been so important to many in the movement, and especially because several other organizations and publications have expired in the same period, a sum-up is in order. It is important, however, that the sum-up bring to light the important dynamics in *Science for the People's* history and not just be a glorified index. (The index itself, though, is impressive and was contained in Vol. V, No. 5, with an update in Vol. VII, No. 1. It's a compilation of all the articles, categorized, and can be obtained from the Boston office.)

Origins

In January 1969, when what is now *Science for the People* was formed [1], a mimeographed newsletter was initiated. Six issues came out of Stanford, Ca. that first year. No clear political line was expressed and the esoteric and somewhat utopian meanderings of academics characterized its contents — but it nevertheless gave a unique voice to anti-war, anti-pollution outrage within science. Most of the original contributors and producers of the newsletter have long since left the arena of radical left politics. But the first year it was important to have something that tied together the newly formed “non-organization” (as it characterized itself).

When the key person in the production of the newsletter found that he would not be available to carry on in 1970, he requested the Boston group to take it over. Boston had seen the much publicized confrontations at the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) at the end of 1969. As the most active

chapter it was a good candidate for the newsletter responsibility. So it was that a much different newsletter came out of Boston in January of 1970. It was the publication of activists. It had slogans and analysis and it identified the “system” and the entrenched “science establishment” with “the Enemy”. And did it get responses! — for example, “I find your long winded, emotional puffery offensive. Please remove my name from the mailing list”.[2] From the disunity represented by the libertarian pluralism of the first year's newsletters the Boston group tried to forge unity by struggling for an activist position characterized by the slogans: “End science mind-fuck!”, “Science is not neutral!”, “Scientists are workers!”, “Join with other workers to make science serve the people!”, and “Science for the People!” That the Boston activists were consciously initiating struggle to challenge the false and unprincipled unity that had prevailed is evidenced on the very first page of that first newsletter produced in Boston, the precursor of this magazine: “To SESPA MEMBERS: . . . This issue, you may say, looks and reads rather differently than previous ones. Right on! That's because we, in Boston SESPA, have a different perspective on how to solve the problems that inspired the formation of our group.”[3]

The militancy of the Boston activists had brought much publicity. A lot of people had been agitated and it was necessary to get them organized around the slogans that summarized the new line, the “Science for the People” line. The newsletter showed that a publication could serve this role; it could be a collective organizer and put forth propaganda, that is, a coherent view that connected all the apparently disconnected, rotten things that were happening. And it could also be an agitator, e.g., the first issue done in Boston had several muckraking pieces in it. As letters began to come in, a small core of people in Boston set up a network of contacts and encouraged people to form chapters. Correspondence developed and struggle ensued. One thing was clear: by putting forth a definite set of ideas the Boston group had started a process whereby a much more unified organization could be built. But it was also clear that all this couldn't be done with just one issue. Boston itself had to get organized and regularly put out a first rate publication. This was found to be difficult.

As we collected material, solicited articles and pulled together an editorial group, our conception of the newsletter changed. We saw the need for a stable publication with a distinct character of its own and with the capability to carry fairly extensive analytical articles. Thus the idea of a magazine developed. For the title we adopted the main slogan of the AAAS actions and the name that by that time people were calling us even though the actual name of the organization was SESPA (Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action). The fist and flask that had been the motif of our posters and on buttons we had worn and sold seemed most appropriate for the cover but this then dictated a two-color cover. We learned a lot in a short time about type-setting, layout and all the rest. Unselfconsciously we created a magazine in its form. Much more self-consciously we pursued and extended the line that we had developed in struggle. "Scientist are workers" came through in several articles as did "Science is not neutral" and the other slogans. There was, however, no real analytical article; most of the material was agitational or pointed towards organizing. Soliciting from our friends we raised the money to put out 4800 copies of that first 20 page magazine and learned about bookstores and vending at meetings. Even our enemies were impressed; *Science* magazine, official publication of the 150,000 member AAAS reprinted a muckraking article "Boston Museum of Science: Business as Usual". The experience exhilarated and exhausted us. Three stayed 'til the end, working all day, typesetting until three in the morning, etc.; and then it occurred to us — for the magazine to be a collective organizer we had to do this every other month.

The difficulty was that no organization existed. It was a matter of principle, based on the general libertarian line, laid out at its founding by disenchanted, anti-war academic physicists, that SESPA was a "non-organization". Those of us who put forth the militant "Science for the People" line did not, at the same time, repudiate this anarchist position on organization; and as a result could not field the organization needed to carry out much of its program consistently. Hence those who, in fact, set out to establish what today is the magazine *Science for the People* were a group formed around a self-appointed core who drew the others in on the basis of their interest in producing a magazine. That is, there was not a systematic attempt to unite people around the line that it was necessary and desirable to set up the means to regularly produce a magazine that would be a collective organizer, propaganda journal, and agitator on pressing struggles.

This error led to an intense struggle after the production of the first magazine. After putting forth an essentially anarchist position on organization, namely, that each issue should be produced by a new and independent editorial collective, the core who guided production of the first issue found themselves confronted by a faction who were not responsive to the imperatives of

timely publication. The fruits of having failed to struggle initially for a clear line on the importance of the magazine, and of not repudiating the non-organization concept was a schism on the editorial collective. Three of the eight opted for no October issue and when the struggle was joined and a meeting of the whole Boston Science for the People was called, the whole question of whether or not we should have a magazine ("who decided that this should be a priority project?") was raised. The magazine did not win out. The editorial collective split. One faction decided to pull together what they had for a December issue with no plans for beyond that and the remaining five saw that a continuing magazine was absolutely essential as a collective organizer. The "collective organizers" put out an eight-page "free" issue for October with a whole page calling people to actions at the upcoming Chicago meetings of the AAAS, continued to build the network and organized to stabilize and regularize publishing beyond the December issue. Again, consistent political struggle was not carried out but rather this group organized "around" the others. This way of not struggling would never have worked had it not been for the AAAS meetings in December. The organizing bore fruit. The magazine was demonstrated as the key link in building a strong organization around a definite program. All 6000 copies were sold. By the time that the February 1971 issue was being prepared, the anti-magazine line had been defeated on a pragmatic basis. But the failure to raise the entire struggle to the level of line created deep resentments and left everyone without a clear understanding of what the magazine should be. To some extent this persists today.

The stabilizing of the publishing of the magazine did not stabilize its politics. Consequently the magazine has gone through repeated crises during which organizational solutions have been devised for its basic political

Continued on page 35



THEIR VICTORY IS OUR VICTORY

The great victories of the peoples of Indochina are a great victory for us in SftP and for the vast majority of the American people. SftP was formed as Scientists for Social and Political Action (SSPA) in January 1969, after two years of individual efforts to get the American Physical Society (APS) to take a stand on the war. The founding of SESPA/SftP (the "E" for "engineer" was added later) was indeed a direct result of the struggle of the Indochinese people against U.S. imperialism. Throughout our history we have consistently opposed the war. For years, neither the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) nor the APS could hold a national meeting without a vigorous anti-war protest led by SESPA/SftP. These actions exposed the role of science and of leading scientists in the war, as well as the role of scientific organizations such as AAAS, APS and the National Academy of Science. Many SftP chapters have engaged in sustained anti-war and anti-imperialist activity. Examples are the Berkeley chapter's expose of the Jason Committee, a group of elite scientists who advised the Pentagon on counterinsurgency and the electronic battlefield (see **Science Against the People***); Madison's indictment of the Army Mathematics Research Center (see **The AMRC Papers***); and the Science for Vietnam project of the Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Madison and Washington D.C. chapters which expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Indochinese people and provided scientific information and other forms of aid.

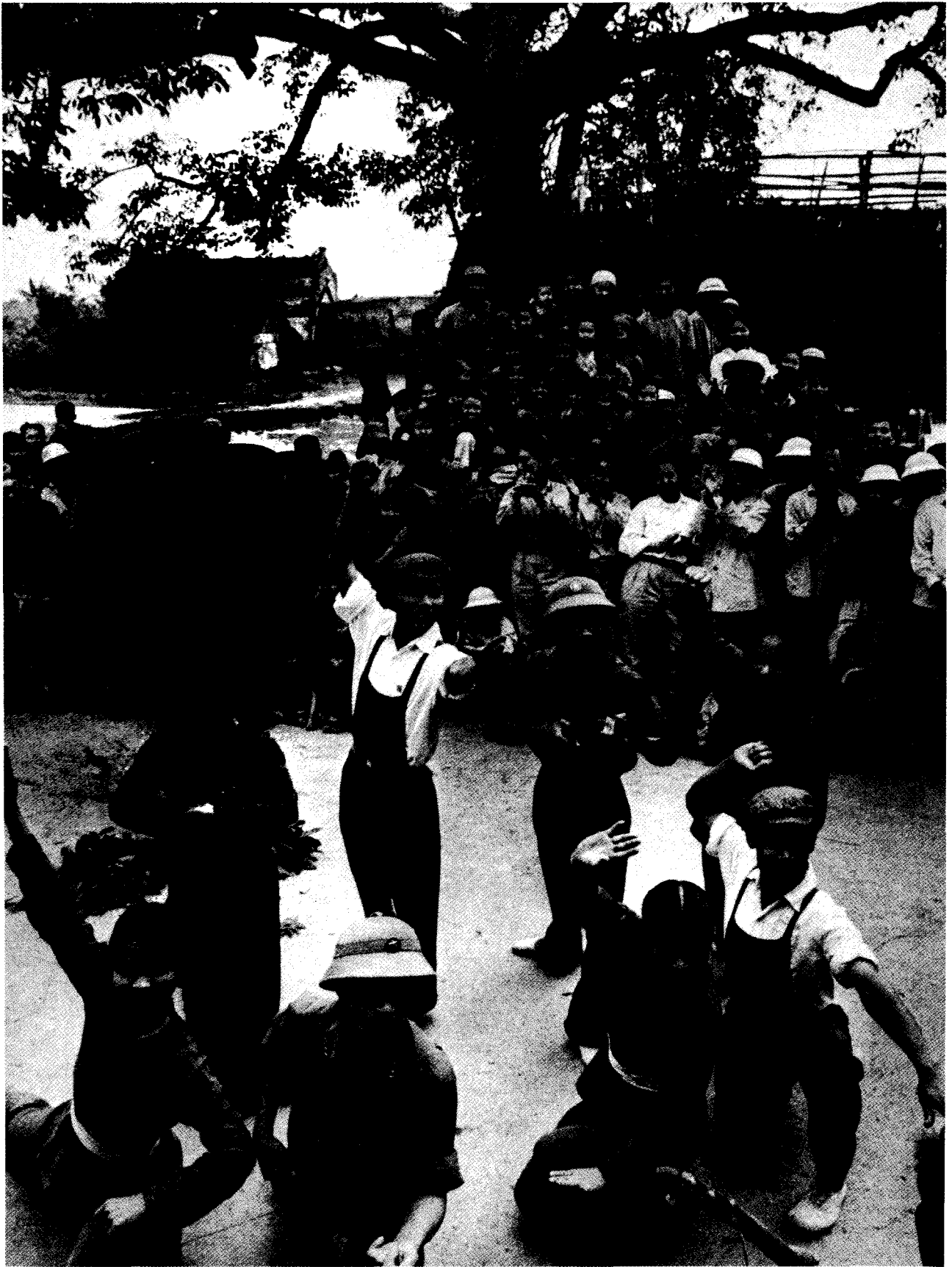
Soon after the founding of SSPA our analysis began to broaden to include the role of science in many aspects of American life. Did science serve the imperial design of the U.S. government, did it serve the profit needs of the monopoly corporations, did it serve the ambitions of the scientific elite, and did it serve the economic, political and ideological needs of the wealthy ruling class? It most certainly did! On the other hand did science serve the needs of the oppressed, the exploited working people, the national minorities, women or even the majority of the technical and scientific strata? Of course not! By the December 1969 AAAS meeting in Boston we were launching a general offensive in science around all these issues under the slogan "Science for the People". Our profound awakening to the political nature of science is in no small part due to the struggle of the Indochinese people and to our taking up the struggle against the imperial role of American science. Through our struggle in science we have come increasingly to realize that alongside the peoples of Indochina we have a common enemy — the system of monopoly capitalism in its imperialist stage. We have come to recognize the use of science to provide the ideological justification of racism, sexism and exploitation as well as its use in supplying the technical apparatus of imperial war. We are also coming to realize that science in America serves and is controlled by a government acting in the interest of a single wealthy ruling class. In the struggle against our common enemy — imperialism — we are allies of the Indochinese people and all oppressed people the world over.

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM!
LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE AMERICAN AND INDOCHINESE PEOPLE!

Larry Lambert

*Available from the Boston office.







WOMEN'S WORK IN VIETNAM

Women's work in Viet Nam: Reconstruction

The Vietnamese people forged their unity and determination into an effective force capable of repelling the most advanced technology of death and destruction. Reliance on the strength of people's political commitment and organization, not technology, is one of the defining features of People's War. People in the North and in the South have been making progress in filling craters and reconstructing their villages. In reconstruction, as in war, there is no choice but to rely on people. It is a pre-industrial society.

In this article, I will try to convey the reality of People's War and reconstruction in Viet Nam through the experience of women I met and worked with. I was invited by the Viet Nam Women's Union to visit their country. The visit lasted three and a half weeks in the fall of 1974. It included a ten-day jeep trip to the area administered by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Quang Tri Province, south of the 17th parallel. Except for the final week, I travelled with several sisters from the International Section of the Viet Nam Women's Union and with Margaret Randall, author of the book, *Cuban Women Now*.

Overcoming the Past

Women's participation has been essential to the success of the People's War, during which they have made enormous strides towards their own liberation.[1]

I spent a lot of time with Vo Thi Thê, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Viet Nam Women's Union. She belongs to a generation of women who joined the struggle against French colonialism in the forties and once taught literature in Da Nang. She is from the South and hopes to rejoin her family there. She spoke a lot about the accomplishments of the Women's Union and was especially proud of their campaign against polygamy.

Until recently women were sold as concubines to men who found it cheaper to buy a wife than hire a servant. Women were allowed out of the kitchen only to work in the fields. They had no control over their lives or their bodies. Many were ignorant of even the basic hygienic and nutritional requirements. It was commonly believed that a pregnant woman had to keep a strict diet and eat only rice, salt and fish sauce. It was feared that eating other items would result in an over-developed fetus and difficult deliveries. Some even drank male infants urine as a tonic.[2]

The Bitter Legacy

Vo Thi Thê usually set a very encouraging tone to our conversations, modestly emphasizing the collective strength of women. There was only one time when I heard a hint of bitterness in her voice. We were inching our way through traffic in the outskirts of Hanoi. The two-lane road was clogged beyond capacity with trucks, carts, bicycles, jeeps, few cars and many people on foot. She remarked, "The French were here for 100 years, taking our taxes, our rice and rubber, mining our coal. And they could not even leave us a decent road."

Other legacies of French colonialism, imposed on top of a feudal foundation, that I found out about were:

- 1943-45: Two million people died of starvation because the French and Japanese appropriated all surplus and forced the peasants to plant crops for war material (such as hemp) instead of food.
- 1945: There were a total of 300 hospital beds for maternity care in all of Vietnam. Infant mortality was 40%.
- 1945: Less than 5% of the women were literate.

A woman that I met at a coop in Quang Binh Province, named Thiem, now 52 years old and a survivor of this famine, recalled, "One hundred people died of starvation in this village. I had only enough rice to eat one bowl every other day."

In the district of Vinh Linh, just north of the 17th parallel, we visited Vinh Thach village. There, our hosts from the local Women's Union apologized for the mud roads, mud-thatched homes and spartan benches, saying,

Life is still very hard here because we have just begun to live above ground again. Beginning 1965, when the bombing started, no tree or plant could live on earth. All the people's belongings were destroyed. We dug tunnels with our hands. We had no machines or dynamite. We had to live in the tunnels and caves for six years. We had 17 babies born there, nursery and elementary schools all underground.

They led us to a small opening in the side of a cliff. I had to stoop as we made our way through the winding corridor that was pitch black except for the light from a small candle our guide held. The corridor connected 200 small alcoves, each one about 7 square feet, one for each family in the village.

Further south still, in Quang Tri, our PRG hosts were constantly pointing to expanses of sandy land, barren scrub, "This used to be fertile land. It was red soil, rich enough for industrial crops. . . Here was a village where 3000 people lived. It was totally demolished by US bombs and bulldozers."

The effects of the U.S. policy of genocide and ecocide [destruction of the ecology] in Viet Nam have been tho-

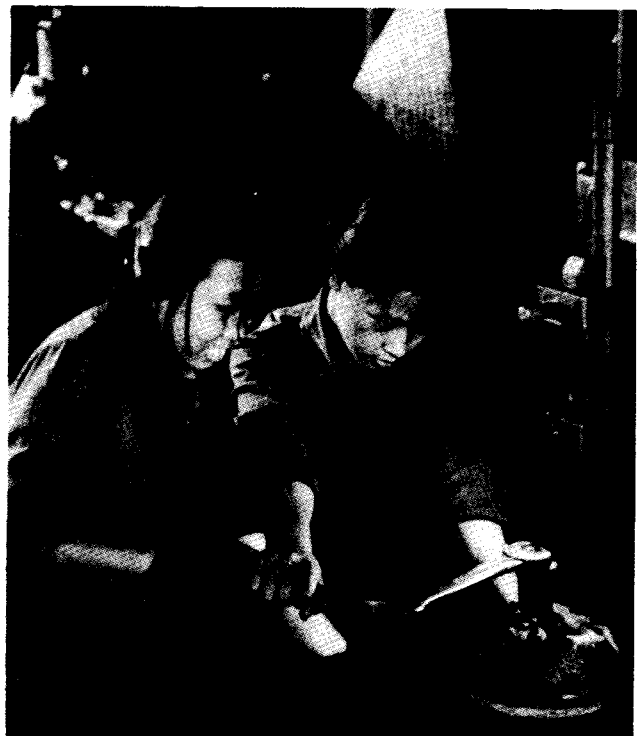
roughly documented. But the magnitude of this deliberate destruction seems like a fantastic nightmare when viewed in detail.

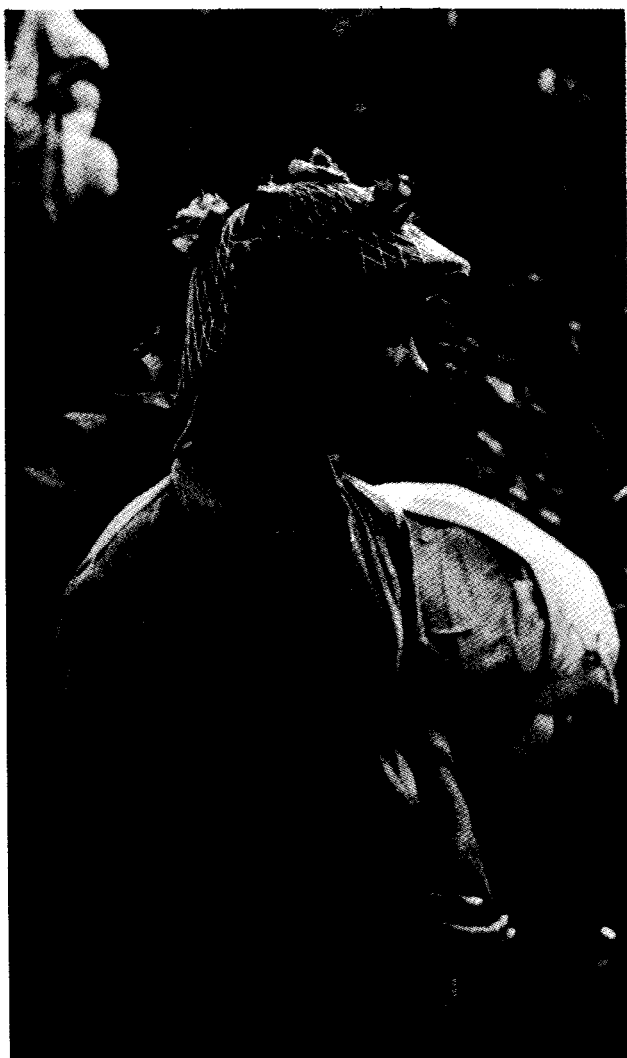
We visited the new Provincial Hospital in Quang Tri. The population in that area had worked hard to build it. They filled the bomb craters and built a complex of long, narrow, mud and thatch buildings in less than a month. During our tour of the hospital, one doctor explained that before the ceasefire there could be no central hospital, only mobile medical teams. She told us that in those days 80% of the women they examined had cervical inflammations caused by living in tunnels, often partially filled with stagnant water. She was glad to be able to report that they had been able to eliminate most of these infections.

Women and Reconstruction

Two-thirds of the construction teams in Viet Nam are women. Rebuilding homes, hospitals and schools has priority.[3] Most Vietnamese and all foreigners marvel at the success of these teams. Now, everyone has a place to live. As we drove south, we followed construction teams, often riding over roads that women paved moments before. I can't count the times they reminded me of President Ho Chi Minh's words, "Our mountains will always be, our rivers will always be, our people will always be. The American invaders defeated, we will rebuild our land ten times more beautiful." [4]

The women's construction teams fascinated me. Out of habit, I not only expected to find men working on construction sites, I also expected to be harassed by them as is most women's experience in the US. As I watched





the Vietnamese sisters lift large cement blocks and fill small wicker baskets with a mixture of pebbles, they laughed shyly and responded to my nod, "Chao dong chi"... hello comrade.

Later, about 65 miles south of Hanoi in the city of Vinh, I worked for a brief time with a team of seven women digging a foundation. Eight of us formed a line. The first would heave a few shovelfulls of earth onto a shallow wicker basket, the next would pick up the basket and pass it to the next. And so on. After about an hour of work, our human conveyor belt moved the same amount of earth that a steam shovel might have moved in a minute. The team worked every day from 6:00 AM to 5:30 PM with about three hours of rest at mid-day. The work is extremely strenuous — especially in the tropical heat.

A very high cooperative spirit among the women working helps ease the physical burden of the work itself. After U.S. bombings, few buildings remained standing in the city of Vinh. The women I was working with were proud to be digging a foundation for a building that would improve the health of the people in that district. It

would house "modern toilets"... helping to prevent epidemics of dysentery and other intestinal diseases that had once been prevalent. "We will rebuild the country ten times more beautiful."

We worked well together taking turns at the hardest shovelling job. Whenever one woman seemed to grow tired, the others worked harder so she could rest. These women all belonged to the same local chapter of the Women's Union. Their chapter meets once every two weeks to discuss how its members can best fulfill their responsibilities for reconstruction, defending women's rights and building socialism. After the completion of each task, they try to summarize their experience and evaluate it to improve their work next time.

New Teaching

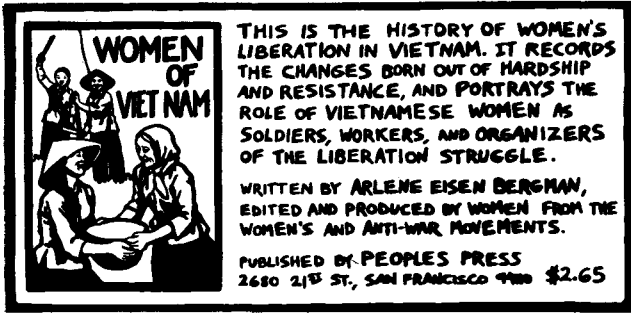
Everyone in the DRV belongs to an organization that helps them learn from the collective experience, strengthens their unity and enables them to defy technological handicaps. For example, we met a women's artillery unit in the fishing village of Ngu Thuy not too far north of the 17th parallel. Some members had only a 2nd or 3rd grade education. But within one month of intensive training they learned to operate a sophisticated 85 millimeter cannon capable of sinking the warships which had been shelling the village from 20 miles offshore.

They thought that their good organization and leadership enabled them to sink a ship the first time they tried. They explained:

In our village, there were many families that lost all their members due to the shelling. It was difficult to continue fishing but we were unwilling to give up one centimeter of land. . . . We practiced day and night. We learned to calculate the distance of the ships quickly. Some of us also had to learn the art of commanding. Our commander is 20 years old. At first we had difficulties. It was hard to learn the technology. Those with higher education taught those with less. In our meetings we practiced criticism and self criticism, trying to learn from each battle. . . . It was natural that we have errors and disagreement. Criticism and self criticism helped us to keep our unity and to create greater love among us. We never use heavy pressure. If the error is one of principle, we struggle to the end. But if the error is one of personality, we usually let it pass. In any case, no one is ever pressed into the mud. Our struggle is always in the spirit of love.

Consolidating Women's Victories

The Institute for Protection of Mothers and Children in Hanoi is a national center for research, education and treatment for gynecological and obstetrical health. During the air war, the center was evacuated and its activities dispersed. Since January 1973, the staff and functions of the Institute are reunited. 80% of all workers and 65% of the doctors at the Institute are women. Madame Thanh, director of the Institute, welcomed us, and gave us a tour.



In the hospital section of the Institute, women with similar problems share the same room: pregnant women with high blood pressure; women with fertility problems; those who have miscarried; those receiving treatment for cancer and so on. There were four or five beds in a room. Labs are on a separate floor. There's a special lab for researching the effects of dioxin, the chemical in defoliant responsible for deforming the unborn babies of pregnant women. The labs seemed to be less elaborately equipped than my high school chemistry lab. The patients' rooms are physically spartan. All care is free.

Dr. Xiem, one of our hosts at the hospital and head of the fertility department, seemed to be familiar with all 250 patients in the hospital. She enjoyed a personal sisterly relationship with each woman receiving care in her department. While the physical surroundings were meager, the respect and warmth between patients and doctors was overwhelming. There were none of the familiar signs of hierarchy and paternalism one sees in US hospitals. Dr. Xiem was illiterate herself until she was 15 years old. The way she identified with her patients, who are peasants, provides a beautiful vision of the possibilities of medical care in a system that values human life above profit.

In the countryside, Committees for Protection of Mothers and Children spread the information gathered at the Institute in Hanoi — especially information on preventive health care, child care and birth control. The woman who heads the Committee in Quang Binh Province explained that during the air war, the Committee spent most of its time evacuating and dispersing children. Now she's enthusiastic about the potential of improving the quality of collective childcare since it is safe for children to be together again.

South of the 17th parallel, in Quang Tri, when we asked about similar programs, the answers were different. There was not yet a special center for gynecology as there is in Hanoi, but there were Committees for Defense of Mothers and Children, which are still waging a heavy battle against VD. Other problems most often treated at Quang Tri Hospital are malaria, gastro-intestinal disease and anemia. When I asked about special nervous diseases, the doctor responded, "Liberation from the grip of the enemy frees the mind." Medical care is free. People living in areas still controlled by Thieu took great

risks in defying Thieu's tabu on travel in order to visit the "Viet Cong Hospital". I saw a nun in full habit waiting patiently on a bench along with others needing dental treatment. The dentist was a young woman trained in Hanoi.

Our Responsibilities

The Vietnamese women I spoke with were extremely grateful for past and continuing American support of the Vietnamese liberation struggle, seeing our contribution as more important to the whole picture than we do, and theirs as less. Phan Thi Anh, Director of the International Section of the Viet Nam Women's Union, exemplified this attitude in her generous statement, "As we were fighting US imperialism, we tried our best to win the support of people all of the world. We have made our own small contribution to world revolution . . . but don't underestimate the importance of your movement." Vietnamese resistance to US imperialism has seriously weakened the capitalist system, paving the way for a stronger movement here at home. The liberation struggles in the Third World, of which Vietnam was only one, and the internal struggle within the U.S., can and should be joined around the issue of the drain of U.S. resources to support dictators like Thieu. The relationship between the billions spent to prop up the hated regimes of Thieu, Marcos, Park *et al.*, and the worsening economic crisis within the U.S. cannot be emphasized enough, as an educating and organizing resource. It is correct tactically and also theoretically, since it exploits the contradiction inherent in imperialist capitalism's dependence on the Third World.

And as for Indochina's reconstruction, Science for the People should continue its special role of providing technical aid to our sisters and brothers faced with this tremendous task. This work of solidarity is essential. We must expand it. SESPA chapters are encouraged to renew campaigns to send funds, technical equipment and books to Vietnam. We should not allow the bloated standards of the U.S. to minimize the importance of our continuing aid, [5] which has meant so much in the past struggle.

Arlen Eisen Bergman

FOOTNOTES

1. For a detailed analysis of the process of women's liberation in Viet Nam, see *Women of Viet Nam*, available from Peoples Press, 2680 21st Street, SF, Ca., 94110.
2. Le Zan, "Rural Health Service at the Hamlet Level", *Rural Health Work and Disease Prevention Vietnamese Studies* #34, 1972, pp. 48-49.
3. Information on the general achievements for women in health and education are available in *Women in Viet Nam* and in *Vietnamese Studies* #25, 30, and 34. (Vietnamese Studies are available from China Books, 2929 24th Street, SF 94110)
4. From Ho Chi Minh's testimony, May 10, 1969.
5. Peoples Press has just published an exchange between women in prison in the US and women in Viet Nam. The pamphlet publishes letters showing the tremendous importance of small tokens of solidarity. Copies are available from Peoples Press for 50 cents.

THE XYY CONTROVERSY CONTINUED

The Genetic Engineering Group Begins

In the late fall of 1972, the Boston Science Teaching Group of SftP began to make plans for a conference for local high school teachers with workshops on Science & Society issues, to be held in March 1973 in Boston.[1] The results of a survey showed that the issue teachers found most exciting and relevant for their classes was genetic engineering. As opposed to issues of other workshops such as nutrition, energy crisis, pollution, the population problem etc., it seemed that genetic engineering would not have appeared to be a problem confronting people in their everyday lives. While, for the most part, issues which come under this heading are not the most pressing problems which people face, the science fiction allure and the increasing publicity about new developments in genetics had students really turned on to the subject. Reluctantly, a group of high school teachers and local geneticists began to gather material for the workshop, doing research into a number of different areas. Over the months, the discussions in our group led to the preparation of a 25-page paper outlining our views on this subject. (This eventually became the basis for the Science Teaching Group's "Genetic Engineering" pamphlet.)

We began to feel very strongly the increasing spread of an eugenics ideology directed against the poor, minority groups and supposed social deviants. The controversy over IQ and genetics is one of the most overt manifestations of this trend. We felt it was important to counter this ideology in a public way. After the successful conference in March, 1973, our group continued to meet to prepare an article which we hoped would get into the popular press. Circumstances led to our finally making an arrangement with *Psychology Today*, and our article (considerably hacked up by the editors) appeared in the June 1974 issue of that magazine.[2] Developing a coherent body of information and a political analysis on this issue resulted in more and more requests to hold workshops and give talks on the subject of genetic

engineering. In the process, additional information was accumulated and passed on to us by people who learned of our existence.

One of the issues we had cited as an example of ideologically-influenced genetic research was the supposed correlation between the XYY male karyotype* and "criminal behavior" or, as Amitai Etzioni recently referred to it, "the so-called criminal genes." [3] This area of research seemed to be motivated by an attempt to pin the origin of social problems on people's genes and the publicity surrounding the XYY studies reinforced a public ideology of "blaming the victim." Despite ten years of research in the field, the most comprehensive and recent review concludes that "the frequency of antisocial behavior of the XYY male is probably not very different from non-XYY persons of similar background and social class." [4]

In late 1973, people in the Boston area who heard about our group began to give us some details about a study being conducted at the Boston Hospital for Women. In this study the researchers were screening all newborn males for the XYY karyotype and then following the XYY children to detect any "psychopathology" = "anti-social behavior." After analyzing the scientific literature in this field, we concluded that this area of research was in fact ideologically motivated and biased, and was scientifically meaningless. Much of it has been funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of the Justice Department and the Center for the Study of Crime and Delinquency of the National Institutes of Mental Health. Furthermore, the existence and continuation of such studies only serves to support the notion of a relationship between the chromosome constitution of individuals and certain societal problems. This study, in particular, had aspects which were offensive to many people who do not share our political critique. First of all, the doctors told most parents that their

*Technical term for chromosome make-up.

child was XYY, thus, almost certainly, creating anxiety and the potential for self-fulfilling prophecy and labeling. Secondly, the parents were lured into the study by an "informed consent" procedure which did not refer to XYY or a study, and ultimately promised medical (psychiatric) assistance. (For a more detailed description of the study and the XYY issue see references 5 and 6.) Without these disturbing aspects of the study, we probably would never have been able to achieve the degree of concern in Boston nor the publicity we did.

Following Due Procedure

Our first thoughts were to attempt to arouse public opinion on the issue, by getting something into the media. Our *Psychology Today* article mentioned the study, but there was no reaction. We then made several contacts with the press but could arouse no interest. We then considered other possibilities, including leafleting outside the hospital. We finally rejected this idea, since we felt that we would be harassing pregnant women and thus probably receive negative reaction, if any.

It appeared then that our only course might be to protest the study officially at Harvard Medical School itself. As it turned out, this clearly gave us the opportunity to reach a much wider public than we probably would have reached otherwise. Since the study appeared to specifically violate Federal guidelines for studies involving human subjects, we felt we had a significant case to present before committees at Harvard Medical School. Our strategy was as follows: we were never particularly hopeful that Harvard Committees, consisting of Harvard doctors, would be prepared to halt the research of another doctor, even though Federal guidelines on such research allowed them to. Furthermore, we felt that ultimately this was an issue (as are all issues) which should involve as much public input as possible. Our long range goals, in addition to stopping the study, were to counter the XYY myth in a public way, and help to demystify this area of research and, by extrapolation, scientific research in general — to combat the myths of neutrality and objectivity. Our intention was to go through the committee procedures and, at their close, to publicize the issue and whatever decisions were made.

At the end of May, 1974, we submitted critiques of the XYY study to the Commission of Inquiry at Harvard

EXTRA!!

Since this article was written, we have learned that, as of May 1st., the research on XYY screening of newborns has stopped at the Boston Hospital for Women as well as in all other parts of the country. This is a result of the Boston controversy. While XYY research in general is by no means over, Science for the People should be encouraged by this and other successes, to see that actions based on informed radical analysis can bring about change.

Medical School, a sort of ombudsman committee. The complaints were quickly forwarded to the more "appropriate" Committee on Medical Research, a committee empowered to examine ethical issues of research.

The Committee was chaired by Dana Farnsworth, a psychiatrist. After a long delay, a hearing before the Committee occurred on October 4. Both the proponents and the opponents (us) presented their cases, and the general impression was that our criticisms had hit home. In fact, in a telephone conversation with Farnsworth shortly after this meeting, he stated that "the committee was more sympathetic to our position than to the proponents of the study." But further conversations in late October and early November sounded more discouraging. First, it became clear that no matter what the Committee decided, it had no powers! It was a "forum" and its decisions had no force. Furthermore, Farnsworth's tune began to change. The Committee would never consider making a decision which would result in the stopping of any research, and a suggestion that the screening at the Hospital be temporarily suspended was greeted with outraged statements about threats to "academic freedom."

The ideological perspective of Dana Farnsworth can be gauged by his views on the general area of "psycho-technological research." In one conversation, Farnsworth lamented to one of us a "tragedy" at UCLA. There his friend, Dr. Jolly West, had proposed the setting up of a "Center for the Study of Violent Behavior" which included projects on psychosurgery, XYY, Ritalin treatment of kids, etc. It was to be funded by LEAA. Unfortunately, according to Farnsworth, this center had been at least temporarily halted by protests of "far-out" groups. "Let's not have the same thing happen here" was the implication.

The Break

The clear message — that our criticisms would have no effect, that the committee had no power, and that it had to pass through several other stages anyway — led us to reconsider our decision to hold off going public. In the meantime, one of the people doing the study, Dr. Park Gerald, had received a good deal of publicity for his claims that XYY kids had problems with "impulse control." Two of us had written an article on the subject for the English journal, *New Scientist*. We decided to go ahead with its publication.[6] Furthermore, we contacted local newspapers and the *New York Times*, and on November 16 and 17, the story broke publicly. While the published stories differed from our original position, they did expose some of the issues and present some of the arguments indicating the lack of substance in the XYY myth. (Don't forget, the link between XYY and criminal or aggressive behavior had been widely publicized, but little of the rebuttal ever hit the media. In fact, we have seen high school biology texts and a standard work on psychiatry [Freedman, Kaplan and Sadock] still proclaiming the validity of the myth.)

Our going to the press had the further effect of alienating a good many of the Medical School faculty members, particularly the hospital-based clinical professors. One of the researchers in the study, Dr. Stanley Walzer, stated that he had received a number of threatening phone calls *vis-a-vis* the study. While we had no knowledge of the source of these calls, and they clearly made our efforts more difficult, they were ascribed to us and further heightened the polarization at the Medical School.

On December 13, Dr. Farnsworth made his report of the Committee's finding to the faculty. The essence of the report was that the study was fine and that critics of the study "may have used methods of questionable validity in an academic community." A debate followed in which clinicians showed their outrage at this "attack on medical research" and a number of basic science faculty stood up to support our criticisms. In addition, it was revealed that the issue was now before the Human Studies Committee headed by Dr. Herbert Benson. Farnsworth called a press conference afterwards where they attempted to overwhelm the press with the big gun M.D.'s from various hospitals. Fortunately, the press was not so gullible and reports the next day were not unfavorable to our position and included the following quote from one of the doctors, "The atmosphere in society at this time is to be jumpy about the rights of the foetus, minority groups and so on."

The Human Studies Committee

Every institution where research is done with human subjects is required to have a Human Studies Committee. This Committee is to receive every pertinent grant proposal before it can be submitted to a granting agency. The Committee must determine whether proper informed consent is obtained from the human subjects and whether the benefits of the study outweigh the risks. If such Committees decide against the study they will refuse to pass it on to the granting agency, and either the study will never take place or it must be revised to the Committee's satisfaction. Further, such Committees are required to have members who will represent (among other things) community attitudes. Harvard's Human Studies Committee had as non-Harvard members, a lawyer, a housewife who was also a trustee of Massachusetts General Hospital (a Harvard hospital), and a minister with close ties to Dana Farnsworth. So much for representatives of "community attitudes."

The Committee very quickly did its routine — invited the XYY researchers to testify, obtained new documents and protocols from them and arrived at a decision on January 10, 1975 that the study was fine. They never invited any of the critics to present their point of view, to respond to the presentations of the XYY'ers, or to respond to the new documents. One member of the Committee resigned in protest over the functioning and the composition of the Committee.

Organizing at the Medical School

During the entire period from our first hearing of the XYY study until December, 1974, we had made little effort to mobilize people in our support. We followed the rules we seemed to have agreed upon, presenting the challenge to a "duly-constituted" Committee. Now, however, the publicity and the December 13 faculty meeting had aroused a good deal of support for us. With Harvard swiftly moving to quash the whole issue, we felt it was time to mobilize people at the Medical School. On January 23, we held a forum widely advertised in the Medical Area entitled "XYY — Why?" Around 100 people — students, workers, and faculty — attended, most of them supporters of our position. We used the forum as an opportunity not only to further expose the study at Boston Hospital for Women, but also to talk to the broader issues to which it was related. Our talks described increasing attempts to "medicalize" social problems so as to divert attention from the roots of such problems in the present economic class structure. Finally, we began the circulation of a petition calling for a reopening of the Human Studies Committee hearing, criticizing both the structure and the functioning of the Committee.

Over the next several weeks we gathered over 160 signatures on the petition from Medical Area people and on February 14, the petition was presented as a motion to the Faculty.



Harvard's Watergate

At the meeting on February 14, a brief discussion of the motion occurred and a vote was put off until the next meeting. However, a cryptic remark by one of the faculty members revealed a remarkable unknown part of the history of this issue. On following up the remark, we discovered over the next few weeks that when the Farnsworth Committee had voted on the study, a majority had voted that the *risks outweighed the benefits!* Farnsworth had misled the faculty, the press, and subsequently, we learned, the Benson Committee! A number of the members of Farnsworth's Committee had been quite upset by this but could not bring themselves to reveal it publicly. They had also informed the Dean and members of the administration, but nothing had been done about it. It turns out that a good deal of Farnsworth's report was his own creation and a number of people were involved in covering up this fact.

The Reign of Terror

On March 14, yet another faculty meeting took place, at which there was a debate between two proponents and two opponents of the study. Ultimately, our motion was to be voted on. Leading up to this meeting were a number of discussions between us and various faculty members. It became clear from these discussions that the hospitals exist as totalitarian fiefdoms. A number of non-tenure faculty members said they could not vote for us in public

for fear of their jobs. One supporter spoke of already receiving a lecture. Even supporters in high positions were afraid to speak or vote for us, because it might ruin their relationship with other powerful clinicians. We asked for a secret ballot, but that was rejected. We attempted to point out the Farnsworth deception of the faculty, but the Dean quashed that. And, with no further discussion open to the general faculty, a vote was taken, and our motion defeated 199-35. A number of people abstained. We have heard recently that the position of a junior faculty member has been threatened as a result of his vote for us.

It's Not Over Yet

One clear principle of Science for the People is that decisions on scientific matters and priorities are not neutral, but are, in fact, political decisions. We are struggling for a society in which all people will participate in the decisions that determine how science is developed and applied. Our contact with the media was an attempt to bring public pressure into the arena. It might appear that we have really failed in involving people outside the Medical School in our struggle. In fact, we have seen our actions to this point as only a stage in confronting the issue in a broader way. Over the last year, we have had contact with two public advocate groups, The Children's Defense Fund and the Massachusetts Advocacy Center. These groups are now in the process of looking into a variety of avenues for challenging not only the Boston study, but also similar studies in other cities (Denver, New Haven, Baltimore and Wisconsin). They have contact with community health groups in the Boston area, and the nature of the study will be publicized among these groups.

Achievements and Lessons

On the surface of it, we seem to have accomplished very little. The study goes on as before. But we believe that our efforts have had a number of important results.

1. The XYY myth is a component of the general attempt to assign social problems to biological or genetic defects of individuals. The IQ issue is very similar. Interestingly, some of those involved in XYY studies are also involved in a study to determine correlations between chromosome bands, race and IQ.[7] Another member of the same hospital has published on the genetic basis of "motor precocity" in Blacks and assisted others who published on the implied genetic basis of passivity in Orientals.[8, 9] We have had the opportunity in the press and in our *New Scientist* article to combat the XYY myth. Furthermore, we find that the researchers themselves are now talking publicly in much milder terms about the issue.

2. We have heard statements from people close to the project, that the screening is soon to stop. In addition, one of our group learned from an XYYer at another medical school that the publicity we achieved has had a restraining effect on others intending to continue or start new studies.



3. The consciousness of a number of people at the Medical School has been raised. Many people attracted by their initial disgust at this particular study, have been politicized in the process. Particularly, the medical students have had their eyes opened. This first year medical student class appears to be one of the most vocal and critical we have ever seen. Large numbers have begun to challenge doctors in clinics who treat patients like animals. This is the first time this has happened. The constant exposure to this kind of behavior by doctors is one of the major techniques for indoctrinating medical students into an elitist, professional mold. Furthermore, two first year students have applied for a grant to study the history of the XYY issue and how and why it took hold in the public's mind.

4. Our group is continuing to meet and we are holding a large advertised meeting on May 13 to increase public awareness of these issues. The meeting is entitled, "The Politics of Research: by Whom, for Whom, on Whom?"

5. We are receiving many invitations to speak on the XYY issue to school, university, and other groups. This allows us to point out the connections between this issue and the problems of power, control and class structure.

6. The XYY controversy has also raised the broader issues of control over science and academic freedom. We have had the opportunity to point out that the kinds of science which are done and the directions which science takes in this society (as in any society) are heavily determined by forces outside of the science community. First, funding plays a major role in determining which areas of science are pursued. XYY research is a good example,



since without the special interests of the Justice Department and the Center for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, there would probably be many fewer projects of this sort. Thus, the ideological imperative of those in power to divert people's attention from the roots of social problems in our economic structure results in the expansion of a particular area of scientific research. Another obvious example of this control over research is the recent massive switch of funds from some biomedical areas into cancer research. Second, there are already limitations put on research by the ethics of the culture, now formalized by federal guidelines on human experimentation. It should be pointed out that many studies (e.g. on IQ and genetics) which are not affected by these guidelines result in a good deal more harm to people than those studies which are forbidden by the regulations. Third, the dominant values of the culture set limits on the kind of research which is done.

People must recognize that all societies have a right to set their priorities and to determine what the nature of their scientific enterprise will be. In our society, the major determinants of scientific research are the interests of the ruling class, which controls the government and industries and thus funds areas which it sees as promoting its own interests. Major areas of this research are then used for purposes of social control (e.g. psychotechnology, genetics, computers, etc.). We hope that with the increasing protests in the last few years over such areas as IQ and genetics, psychosurgery and the XYY male, people will see that they should begin to exert their rightful control over science. Science and technology in this society play a major role in convincing people that they have no control over their own lives. As we begin to demystify science, and to work with those outside our institutions who are suffering most at the hands of science, to exert control over science, we will be moving toward the day when people will recognize their right for control over the society itself.

The Genetic Engineering Group

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FOOD FOR THOUGHT: THE EFFECT OF NUTRITION ON BRAIN DEVELOPMENT

No one has to be told that malnutrition, hunger and famine exist as grim realities in the world today. The so-called "food crisis" and "energy crisis" are really crises of profits and unequal distribution of world resources within a lopsided and worsening world economy. [See *Science for the People*, Vol. VII, no. 1 January 1975, and no. 2 March 1975.]

To a child in Bangladesh or the Sahel, malnutrition means excessive deprivation of calories (marasmus) and/or protein (kwashiorkor) before and after birth. What consequences will malnutrition have for them and even for their children on their ability to change their environment?

Malnutrition is not just limited to 400-500 million people outside North America. 15%, or thirty million, of the people right here in the U.S. are hungry, and, of those, only 18% are getting any aid.[1] The U.S., with all its professed affluence, ranks twenty-third among nations in its rate of infant mortality, and in the deep South, among the rural poor, infant mortality is about ten times the national average.

Malnutrition is not just a case for the poor either. Middle and upper class Americans now follow eating patterns largely dictated by corporations set on profits not health of consumers. Did you know that Americans spend nearly twice as much each year to feed their pets as they do to feed their babies? And FDA regulations for dog food are much stricter than those for baby food which is laden with water, sugar, chemically modified starch and MSG.

Do the survivors of nutritional deprivation during prenatal and early postnatal life carry on the effects of malnutrition, or is rehabilitation possible?

Physiology of Brain Development

While undernutrition in an adult human may be considered a series of deficiency diseases which can be cured by restoring nutrients, undernutrition in a developing child is more serious and has lasting consequences. Medical dogma once held that the human body protects the brain from changes in diet. While the adult brain does tend to be highly resistant to nutritional insult, the developing brain has been recently shown to be a highly vulnerable organ.

Research into the effects of malnutrition on the brain either have used experimentally undernourished animals or have followed naturally malnourished children after their entrance into hospitals for treatment (in Chile, Peru, India, and Mexico). Protein-calorie starved children who die in the hospital have become subjects for autopsies, and their brains compared on structural and biochemical bases with those children who died from accidents or disease. Malnourished children who have responded to nutritional rehabilitation and have recovered physiologically have been followed through their childhood and put through series of tests — sensory, perceptual, integrative, and I.Q.* Their performance has been matched with well-nourished children of similar age, sometimes with their own well-nourished siblings, in attempts to control genetic and more particularly socioeconomic factors.[2] Early undernutrition has been clearly associated with later impairment of mental functions. The unanswered question is how the physiological defects seen in the autopsied brains are related to intellectual retardation.

The age at which deprivation occurs is crucial to the severity and permanence of brain damage. There are critical periods in development when the brain is particularly vulnerable to malnutrition. The brain stops cell division earlier in development than other organs — the adult number of brain cells, both neuronal (nerve cells) and glial (helper and feeder cells) exists by six months of age. If malnutrition has occurred during the last trimester of pregnancy or early infancy, there will be fewer brain cells.[3] Nutritional rehabilitation after six months (when brain cell division has ceased) cannot make up for the lower number of brain cells. It is also known that different parts of the brain grow at different rates. For example, the cerebellum (the region of muscle coordination and balance) develops sooner and so its cells are dividing faster just before and after birth than the cerebrum (the region of sensory and thought processes). Malnutrition at this time will tend to result particularly in locomotor defects.

Though cell division has stopped in the human brain by six months of age, brain cells continue growing in size throughout early childhood. At age two there is still rapid brain growth and at six the brain is three-quarters adult size. Important changes in the structural complexity of neurons occur during the periods of rapid growth: increased number and length of cell branches; establishment of synaptic connections between cell termini; and myelination.[4] In myelination, lipids (fatty substances) are laid down in myelin sheaths around the long parts of neurons. The myelin sheaths act as an insulator (much as in electrical wiring), permitting transmission of very rapid nerve impulses. Myelination is one of the primary

*There are serious questions about the validity of I.Q. tests (see *Science for the People*, March 1974). It has become clear that I.Q. tests are so culture and value ridden that they are doubtful measures of intelligence. Nonetheless I.Q. tests were among the measures used to compare malnourished and well-nourished children.



events in brain development from intrauterine life until well after the age of two. Researchers have clearly shown malnutrition alters the myelin lipids. This damage may be irreversible.

While little is known about the physical nature of learning and memory, the current model emphasizes the formation of synapses between branching cell processes as part of the formation of the network of memory. The extent of neuron branching, the amount of neuro-transmitters[5] produced as well as the rate of their metabolism have shown to be affected by malnutrition. For example, vitamin B6 deficiency[6] may be particularly crucial to the brain because B6 aids in the synthesis of neurotransmitters. Rehabilitation is sometimes possible but again the relationship of neurotransmitters to learning is largely unknown.

Effects of Social Environment

Research on the effects of malnutrition on children's brains and intellectual development is always complicated by the combination of malnutrition with other deprivations. Studies on humans cannot be controlled in the way that experiments on animals can. Poverty is a syndrome of more than malnutrition, with all sorts of social factors bearing on intellectual development as well as on success in school. Children exposed to malnutrition during fetal development or infancy are often still exposed to inadequate diets in preschool and school years. And it goes almost without saying that a child will do poorly in school when hungry. Any possible brain defects aside, a subnourished child tends to be unresponsive, inattentive, easily fatigued and frequently subject to illness.[7]

Some interesting research on animals is in progress which might have application for humans. Elias and

Sammons,[8] working with cebus monkeys, conducted carefully controlled experiments using combinations of three diets and two rearing conditions. The diets were: protein deficiency; calorie restriction; normal. The rearing conditions were isolation and the stimulation of interaction with humans and other monkeys. It was found that normal exploratory behavior was most impaired by a combination of protein restriction and isolate rearing. Calorie restriction and isolation were less devastating. The experiments are continuing to test for rehabilitation and to examine the physiological damage. The authors state that the implication for the human condition is that during acute malnutrition, double deprivation, the usual situation in deprived populations, is particularly damaging.[9]

Implications for Nutritionists, Social Workers, Parents and Educators

Within the present American school system, what is the situation of a child who seems lethargic, uninterested in the world, who shows malnourishment to any degree, and who, moreover, comes from a background of poverty? Whatever the nutritional deprivation such a child has suffered before or after birth, there is at present no conclusive way to be sure that the child cannot learn, cannot be helped to develop into a functioning and alert individual. There probably never will be. Overt evidence or any known type of testing (excluding that on brain injury, Mongoloidism, etc.) is no real indication of a child's potential. Children and adults can act withdrawn and uninterested for many reasons. Anemia, for instance, in a preschool child, affects her/his ability to concentrate and may create fear of exploring new situations. Since a well child in the second and third year of life is exceptionally curious and an avid learner, one who hasn't the energy to explore, bypasses this stage of rich potential learning.

Even when a child has suffered severe malnutrition, environmental stimuli are important along with nutritional remedies for rehabilitation. Constant stimuli through varied and meaningful experience increase the formation of synapses in the brain, which is thought to be evidence of learning. Hence an atmosphere of great care, concern, and above all, patient stimulation (qualities often lacking in our schools) are required to encourage all such children to venture into full learning. The rehabilitation of a malnourished child should be a combination of improved diet and environment. Of course the intensive rehabilitation of a portion of the deprived children cannot be a real solution as long as untold numbers of children are still born malnourished. Early malnutrition is a burden the child carries through life. It is likely that her/his socio-economic status will be kept low into the next generation.

The control of all world resources and distribution of food is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. The wealthy and the powerful can and are using food as a political tool to control the increasing number of starving people. The gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" is not only being perpetuated but is widening (and in more than just the distribution of food). Without major political changes to solve the wealth problem, there can be no solution to the food problem. The effect of malnutrition on the development of individual children is indeed a sad symptom of an economic system where wealth buys and sells food.

The Health & Nutrition Collective

Sally Hannock, Brenda Lansdown, Connie Phillips, Sue Tafler

This article was stimulated by a radio program script by Al Huebner, California. Thanks are extended to Margaret Studier and Marjorie Elias for suggestions.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Hunger USA*, Beacon Press, (1973)
2. Joaquin Cravioto and Elsa Delicardio, "Mental performance in school age children," *Amer. J. Diseases of Childhood*, Vol. CXX, pp. 404-410, 1970.
3. Myron Winich and Pedro Rosso, "The effect of severe malnutrition on cellular growth of human brain," *Ped. Res.*, Vol. II, pp. 181-184, 1969.
4. John Dobbins, "Undernutrition and the developing brain," *Amer. J. Diseases of Childhood*, Vol. CXX, pp. 411-415, 1970.
5. John D. Fernstrom and Richard J. Wurtman, "Nutrition and the Brain," *Sci. Amer.*, pp. 84-91, Feb. 1975.
6. Goff. Tunnicliff, Richard E. Wimer, and Eugene Roberts, "Pyridoxine dietary levels and open field activity of inbred mice," *Brain Res.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 234-237, 1972.
7. Herbert G. Birch, "Malnutrition, learning and intelligence," *AJPH*, Vol. LXII, pp. 778-783, 1972.
8. Marjorie F. Elias, K.W. Samonds, "Exploratory behavior and activity of infant monkeys during nutritional and rearing restriction," *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 458-463, 1974.
9. *Ibid.*

Continued from page 21

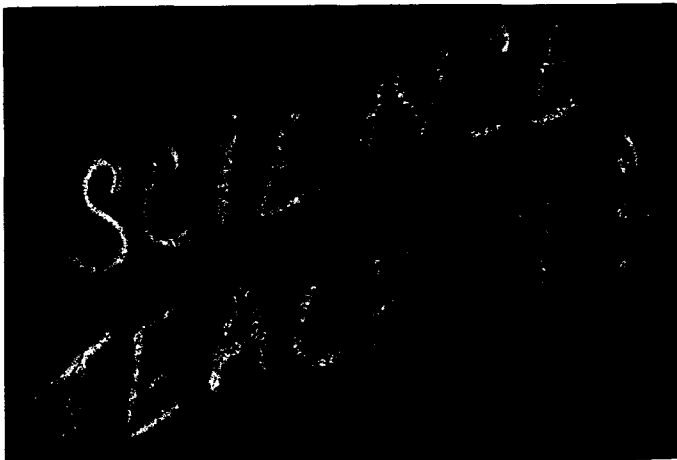
problems (which it shares with the organization as a whole). Today it has a much more stable organizational structure but still the basic political questions have not been resolved. The concept of a publication being a collective organizer was first put forth by V.I. Lenin in the last chapter of *What Is To Be Done?* Some of the ways in which it can be a collective organizer are structural: a center is established, a network of contacts is formed, a means is provided for raising money, etc. But most important is the political sense in which a publication builds a unified organization. Properly used, it establishes a "line" which Lenin likens to the line used by brick-layers so that the wall they all work on individually or in small groups and at a distance from one another will come out straight and true and strong and will in fact be one wall. A more thorough article on this subject would be useful, because so much of what we are is based on our taking care of the structural aspects without paying attention to the political aspects of organizing. For example, chapters or sub-groups organized around one magazine or principal article are often in contradiction to those organized around another. For example, the pamphlet "Hard Times"[4] is wholly consistent with the line that "Scientists are Workers" as put forward in many issues of the magazine, but it is contrary to the line that scientists are part of the new petit bourgeoisie, also present (in fewer places, such as the Mayday '73 issue). Another example is the global description of imperialism as a total system that comes through in such articles as the one on the E.N.A.C.T. conference in the October '70 issue [5] or in the article on racism and busing in the March '75 [6], versus the view that it is simply a system of overseas economic piracy, that comes through in many other articles.

We should be proud of our five years of publication. That we have sustained publication over that period is good and has advanced the struggle. We should also learn from the weaknesses that have become evident over these five years. Among those by far the most important, and the one which has had the greatest consequences, is the failure to consolidate the magazine (and thus the organization) around clear consistent politics. This should be our goal for the coming period.

Herb Fox

FOOTNOTES

1. For a historical article, see Mayday 1973 issue, p. 35.
2. Vol. II, No. 2, Aug. 1970, p. 19.
3. SESPANews, early 1970, undated. Out of print.
4. For example, "... our jobs are becoming the scientific and technical equivalent of wage labor", p. 18 of "Employment, Unemployment and Professionalism in the Sciences", a SftP pamphlet prepared by N.Y.C. chapter. Available for \$1.00 from the Boston office.
5. "Science for the People at Ann Arbor" E.N.A.C.T. Conference," Vol. II, No. 2, p. 3.
6. Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 32.



PLANTS: FOOD FOR THOUGHT

We are two research associates in a group at MIT which is attempting to apply the methods of molecular genetics to agricultural problems. We gave a three week mini-course (6 3-hour sessions) on plants and food during Independent Activities Period at MIT. For this period in January normal classes at MIT are replaced by a variety of educational activities including lectures, mini-courses, and demonstration engineering projects given on a voluntary basis by and for members of the institute community.

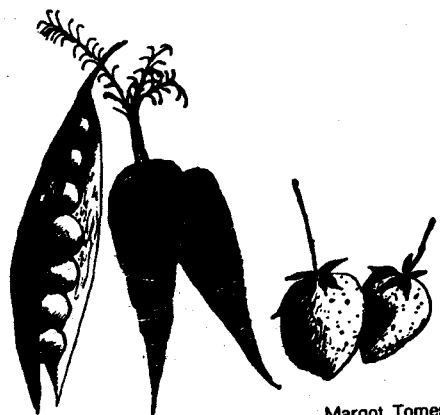
We gave this course because MIT has no regular course in plant biology, because we had some new teaching ideas, and because we wanted to discuss technological and political aspects of the world food crisis. Since we are at an elite institution and we were teaching under informal circumstances we had various advantages. We had well-equipped labs, a \$200 budget for materials, and students who came of their own free will. However, we also felt nervous since we were competing with a variety of other interesting educational experiences. We had to hold our students' interest in order to keep them coming back.

We planned to stress several basic points: 1) plants require only mineral nutrients, light, water, and air to grow; 2) as such plants are the food basic to all animal life because only plants can change carbon dioxide to organic molecules; 3) agriculture, the science by which a small number of types of naturally occurring plants are sown and raised for food is a basic activity of all people and their societies; 4) crop improvement research is continuing with a variety of new genetic techniques; 5) new techniques will not end the food crisis unless there is fundamental political change in the structure of society. Early in the planning process we decided to incorporate a lab as part of the course. We were sure that practical experience with plants could not be replaced by talk. However we had both suffered through innumerable boring and useless laboratory exercises justified by such

statements. We decided that "take-home" experiments, for which students did more or less as they chose, would be the basis of our course.

We developed a number of experiments which were started in the lab but then taken home and monitored by the students. The basic necessary material was two pounds each of a variety of edible seeds from a local natural foods cooperative. We chose seed crops which are of major agricultural significance because they are staples of most of the world's people—cereals such as rice, wheat, corn and legumes such as kidney beans, lentils, alfalfa, and soybeans. Simple experiments which could be done in any classroom included: 1) germination of seeds in paper cups filled with vermiculite, a soil substitute which holds water but provides the plant with no mineral nutrients; 2) starvation of seedlings for various mineral nutrients (this requires 3-week-old seedlings since younger plants are provided for by the seed) to demonstrate the need for fertilizer; 3) effects of gravity and light on the growth direction and development of dark-grown seedlings; 4) sprouting of seeds for eating. The plants were remarkably beautiful and with some care students could actually harvest "crops" from some plants. We included other experiments which are basic to our own research but do require equipment and materials for the preparation of sterile media. Actually with the availability of disposable plastic petri dishes, the only necessary equipment is an autoclave (in a pinch a large pressure cooker will do the job). These experiments provided demonstrations of nitrogen fixation by bacteria which live symbiotically in the roots of legumes and the effects of plant hormones on the growth and differentiation of plants grown in tissue culture. Another class activity was a picnic for which everyone involved made a plant dish. We had bean casseroles, various breads, beer, fresh-ground peanut butter, soy milk, and bean sprouts — it was a memorable event! Our students know that plants provide more than lettuce and tomato on the hamburger.

In lectures and discussions we did not attempt to cover all of plant biology but focused on lab results and our



Margot Tomes

own interests. We talked about what plants need to grow and germinate, the effects of plant hormones, nitrogen fixation and its relation to fertilizer requirements, human nutrition, particularly how to mix plant foods to obtain complete protein and the relative nutritional value of seeds and sprouts, and the politics of food and population. Since we had students of varying experience including graduate students, freshmen, and school teachers it was often difficult to give our lectures at the right level. At this point it was particularly valuable to have two teachers since one of us was free to ask questions and start discussions. We certainly raised more questions than we answered.

We had most difficulty with the political discussions. On further analysis we think there were several reasons for this. 1) Our students were remarkably naive about the relationship between the use of technology and the economic structure of society. We did not have time to develop the necessary understanding. This understanding could probably have been developed best by concentrating on a few problems such as the ecological and sociological problems with the Green Revolution, inequities in the distribution of U.S. food aid, and the need for land reform in developing countries. 2) We were somewhat ambivalent about how much political discussion was appropriate — at times the discussion lacked content, at other times we may have overpowered the discussion with our own opinions. 3) We avoided giving our students reading material—this was an intentional decision because we felt that MIT students are normally overburdened with reading. By the end of the course our students were demanding a bibliography so that they could gain further information by reading. We were gratified that they were inspired to read further but we still feel it was important for these students to obtain information in other ways. One of these ways could be the use of *Feed, Need, Greed, Where Will It Lead?* (a teaching method available from the Science Teaching Group of SESP/STP.) Although originally developed for elementary school students, this method would have been useful for our class. Student teams learn different facts about food and population which are then presented to the group in various creative ways (skits, radio shows, posters, etc.). Discussions are stimulated and raised to a higher level because everyone in the group now knows the same facts.

Our course was unusual at MIT because we did discuss the ends as well as the means of science. We also broke down some of the mystique of scientific expertise, we exposed our uncertainties, we openly challenged the opinions of experts, we showed that experiments can be done with simple materials, and we stressed a basic human need — the need for food. We look forward to an opportunity to expand this course and to increase its political content.

Kostia Bergman
Renee Sung

SUGGESTED BOOK-LIST

- The Living Plant* (1972) Peter H. Ray; Holt, Rinehart & Winston. A short, clear introduction to plant physiology.
- Composition of Foods, Agriculture*. Handbook #8, USDA. The bible of nutritionists; cheap, from the government.
- The Oxford Book of Food Plants* (1969) Nicholson et al.; Oxford University Press. Beautiful pictures & interesting text.
- Feeding Ourselves*, Berkeley Womens Health Collective. Available from New England Free Press. Nutrition and politics made palatable.
- The Great World Food Crisis I* (1975) N.Y. Review of Books 21, 20 1/23/75. Clear analysis of energy/food crisis. A second article is coming.
- Two articles documenting the energy inefficiency of the U.S. food system:
- Food Production and the Energy Crisis* (1973) Pimental, D. et al., Science 182, 443.
- Energy Use in the U.S. Food System* (1974) Steinhart & Steinhart, Science 184, 307.
- The Limits to Growth*, Meadows et. al. (1972) New American Library, N.Y. Definitely a must to read and reflect on. If only to see some "instant facts" presented in graphic form. Hard put-down of technological optimism.
- The Limits to Capitalist Growth*. Jhirad, D. et. al. Science for the People May 1975; An alternative interpretation.
- China: Science Walks on Two Legs*; A report from science for the People (1974) Avon Publishers, N.Y. How they do it in China.
- The Biosphere*. Scientific American 9/73. Now also a book. Various cycles including nitrogen.
- New Advances and Future Potential in Biological Nitrogen Fixation*. Journal of Applied Bacteriology, Vol. 37, p. 185, 1974.

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letters

Letter to the editors of SftP,

In the editorial, "About this Issue" of the March, 1975 issue of *Science for the People* there appears one of the clearest and most succinct statements of philosophic Idealism that has, for many years now, been contending with Marxism in the activities, organization, and publications of SESP/Science for the People:

Unless the working people of the U.S. and the world can overcome and destroy the legacy of "bourgeois ideology" — ideas like racism and sexism that are reproduced in people's heads by the social and economic institutions of capitalist societies, there is no hope for dealing with food shortages, global depression, war and fascism of any form, or any other potential or developing disasters.

In short, "there is no hope" that imperialism can be destroyed until "the working people" are properly educated. Since the search for clarity is the common goal that unites opposing views in constructive political struggle, those of us who oppose this view and uphold the Marxian view can only welcome the quoted paragraph. In a short letter like this it seems appropriate to juxtapose that which is probably Marx's most succinct criticism of this doctrine concerning the changing of the material circumstances of oppression *and* the ideas that uphold them:

[This doctrine] forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that the educator himself must be educated. This doctrine has therefore to divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society.

The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing can only be comprehended and rationally understood as revolutionary practice. (Theses on Feuerbach, III)

It should be noted that Marx not only identifies these notions as incapable of changing society but also as being elitist. One might add that the presence of such conceptions in our organization is entirely consistent with the fact that our social base is among those whose primary experience in receiving and transmitting ideas is in the schools and not in the direct social practice of material production.

The narrow conception that racism and sexism, etc. are "bad ideas" or just "bourgeois ideology" is paralyzing and reactionary; these are material things — beatings, lynchings, rape, super-exploitation, etc. — and it is the material conditions of exploitation that gives rise

to the ideologies. Of course the ideas can influence the way people act, but their persistence is rooted in the persistent material oppression rooted in imperialism. For Science for the People to take up the struggle "on the ideological front" is of course correct, but to oppose it to concrete activities against the material oppression, of which the ideologies are just a reflection in the sphere of ideas, is entirely incorrect. A statement that puts forward that "there is no hope" for fighting all the destructiveness of imperialism "unless working people... can overcome and destroy... ideas..." disarms the working class and the oppressed minorities or, more accurately, disconnects those who put forth such notions from the social practice through which they could better overcome their own form of "bourgeois ideology".

... the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew. (The German Ideology p. 69)

Most of us recognize that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China consciously put into practice this basic tenet of Marxism. But we should also not fail to recognize that it was through a protracted violent revolution resulting in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat that the Chinese working class and its indispensable ally, the peasantry, were able to begin to rid themselves "of all the muck" like racism and sexism. When we in Science for the People become allies of the working class in its concrete struggles, we too will begin to get rid "of all the muck". But the quote from the March '75 issue suggests that we will have to get rid of some of the muck before we are even able to become part of the struggle.

Herb Fox
Boston, Ma.

Dear People:

I received a letter and literature from you (Mike Teel) in July, 1974. I now want to join. I need to join for sanity's sake. I am enclosing \$12.00 for membership (subscription), \$1.00 to pay for July's literature and \$2.50 for five buttons at \$.50 apiece. I need to publicize my new found sanity.

Thanks for being,
Fred Guy
Franktown, Va.

Dear Science for the People,

I'm writing . . . to reply to T. Solo's letter (*SftP* January 75) criticizing my article which you published in Sept. 74. ["Science: Political & Personal", *SftP*, Vol. VI, no. 5]

Solo writes, as though I would disagree, that "science is clearly subordinate to the character of the social system and the relations of production under capitalism." I not only agree with this, I think it is more *radically* correct than Solo realises. The whole development of science as we know it has taken place in the context of a capitalist, imperialist society. My viewpoint is that this historical, material context has influenced not only the *applications* of science "after the event" of discovery, but has moulded the very content and manner of functioning of scientific research itself. The alienated features of the practice of science that I tried to talk about are essentially *consequences* of a class society, although the relationship is complex because I do also think that these features serve the class society in return.

My disagreement with Solo is symbolised when he calls Marx, Lenin and Mao "scientific." The irony here is that Marx, Lenin and Mao are so far from conforming to the practice of bourgeois science as I described it that their works (let alone their practice!) are excluded from bourgeois universities *precisely on the grounds* that they are "unscientific." In other words, this "science" that Solo wants to defend is exactly the tool used to *exclude* Marx, Lenin and Mao.

To conclude: my thesis is that our bourgeois science is no more neutral than the bourgeois state. Solo says that I am "anti-Science" — and I *am* anti-bourgeois-science in the same way that a Leninist is anti-bourgeois-state. To imagine that socialists can "take over" this science (i.e. that "politics rules science" in a simple way) is exactly like imagining that socialists can "take over" the bourgeois state and its institutions. Thus if we are exchanging labels (hopefully in a comradely spirit because I think we are essentially on the same side even if Solo does call me "reactionary"), I find Solo's position "Stalinist" or "reformist/social democratic." But I am aware too that this debate is pretty abstract. We will *find out* what sort of science is "socialist" when people — "the workers" in a broad sense — create it themselves in response to *their own* need to take *their destiny* into *their own* hands.

Finally . . . I would be glad to make contact with SftP/SESPA people active over the "genetic-engineering" issue. Now that the California conference has given a "green light" following the Berg moratorium, these dangerous experiments are going ahead — here in France at the Institut Pasteur.* The dangers (of creating an infectious cancer, among others) are international; maybe we can respond by mobilising internationally too? (*there is an embryonic protest movement — about 20-strong so far!)

Amities!

John Stewart
Draveil, France

. ON BUSING

Dear Friends:

We have received the first issue of *Science for the People*. Thank you very much. We are glad that a subscription has also been granted. We are certain that your journal can play an important role enabling us to follow a well-defined political line which is one of our objectives.

Your article entitled: "Behind the Boston Busing Crisis" is most graphic of what we mean by a well-defined political line. While your article is lucid and scholarly it lacks to mention the reactionary line implemented by certain self-proclaimed communist groups like the Revolutionary Union. A line which fomented nothing but confusion among the masses of working people, joining forces with the Wallace forces and the labour fatcats. The question remains of what is the main danger within the mass movement of workers. One must remember that in seeking ideological clarity one must never abandon the principle of historical materialism.

In Struggle,
Secretario F. Bustillo
U.S. Penitentiary
Manon, Ill.

Please forward all correspondence to:
Chicano/Latino Cultural Group
c/o Mr. R.W. Musgrave-Sponsor
P.O. Box 1000
Marion, Illinois 62959

Dear Group on Busing and the Racism Issue:

I thought your article on the Boston Busing Crisis was an important attempt by *SftP* to address the issue that dominates the consciousness and created deep tension in the lives of most people in Boston over the last eight months. In a year when the domestic economic crisis and the deepening crisis of Henry Kissinger and the U.S. ruling class' "structure of peace" internationally might have commanded the attention of activists and working people, political life in Boston was focussed on the various forces around court-ordered busing to achieve racial balance. Your article went into many of the issues raised and called for response and action — a healthy sign for *Science for the People*, or any progressive group active in Boston.

One of the important keys to understanding the depths of the resistance to busing in South Boston, East Boston and Hyde Park is the organization called R.O.A.R. They're the most effective group in calling rallies and creating confrontation about the issue and have recently made a grab for the national leadership of the racist movement in the U.S. The persistence and scope of the leadership of R.O.A.R. explain why the crisis around busing in Boston reached greater proportions and

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became so much more of an arresting national issue than it did in Denver, Pontiac, Michigan, or any of the southern cities over the past few years. And by investigating R.O.A.R. progressive groups can learn much about how the U.S. system works, as well as how thoroughly rotten Boston's local political system is.

For these reasons, I'd like to urge you to reprint the "Investigation of R.O.A.R." done by the Weather Underground Organization and recently published in *Oswatomie*. It probably wasn't seen by many of the readers of the SftP publication yet it contains much valuable information. If we're going to address the task of building an anti-racist movement, we're going to have to understand the leading organization of the racist movement. We'll be seeing more of them on picket lines and next fall around the buses, so now's the time to get prepared.

Keep up the good work.
Fraternally,
Dick Clapp

To the Editors in response to the Chicano/Latino Group and Dick Clapp:

The positive comments expressed above represent the dominant response to our article. We interpret this response as encouragement to continue our research and analysis and for the magazine to present in depth analytical articles with definite programmatic conclusions.

Because we were required to keep the article short, we did not develop an analysis of all contending lines and of which organizations hold which lines. We should have identified the October League as the originator of the

Fred Hampton Contingent. The OL was able to lead this massive mobilization of anti-imperialist forces because of its correct line on the National Question in general and on the busing issue in particular. We also should have noted that it was in the political struggles around forming the Fred Hampton Contingent that we came to understand the deeply reactionary content of the line of the Revolutionary Union (RU). The RU has in essence taken up the neo-Trotskyist line of the Progressive Labor Party that "all nationalism is bad." Having fallen into the swamp of great-nation chauvinism the RU is now almost totally isolated from the minority communities.

Another reason for our not discussing RU explicitly is that our article is, in its criticisms and its programmatic proposals, more directed to the particular constituency of Science for the People. The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) with its white-skin privilege line has more influence among that constituency, but it seemed to us more appropriate to expose the SftP form of this line directly rather than dragging in WUO. It is evident from *Oswatomie* that WUO does not see the struggle against national oppression as an integral part of the struggle of the *entire* working class — it falsely poses it as a struggle against "white racism" carried out by Third World people and a handful of white "revolutionaries". As for their "revelations" on ROAR's inner workings, our article was in part based on similar details on ROAR and other rightist groups in the segregationist front. The WUO's self-serving and irresponsible publication of information in a way that revealed that the segregationist movement was infiltrated was a more effective blow than a police roundup in cutting us (all of us) off from further inside information.

We do not agree with the concept that the activities and persistence of the rightist fringe are responsible for the "greater proportions" of Boston's crisis around busing than occurred in other cities. It is the crisis in imperialism that causes the imperialists to turn to more vicious tactics and it is the weakness of the forced assimilationist strategy and the merging of the liberation movements with the working class struggle that causes the imperialists to rally around a segregationist strategy.

We would like to point out how two apparently opposed views are, in essence, the same: RU sees the bands of racist white fascists as "the working class" and as a result abandons their proletarian internationalist obligations to take up the struggle against the special oppression of the national minorities. The WUO doesn't see the genuine class forces at work and identifies ROAR as defending the "alienated rights of white people". Consequently they oppose the interests of Black people to those of white workers which also abandons proletarian internationalism. In both cases isolation from the multi-national working class leads these groups to hold back the emancipation of the working class *and* of the national minorities. RU tails the imperialists and WUO tails the liberals and the Black bourgeoisie.

Fox, Lambert, and Olivier


Dear Comrade,

I have just finished reading the article in the March issue on busing ["Behind the Boston Busing Crisis," *SftP*, vol. VII, no. 2]. While the article itself is fine,* the preface by the editorial collective raises serious questions. In part, the article itself makes these questions possible because of a tendency to be non-historical in its analysis of the current situation in the United States. Many of us choose to call this system *imperialism*, and we give this term a wide range of specific meanings, which include the rule of large banks and corporations over the economy, foreign economic and military adventures, and the domestic repression of the struggle for democratic rights by minorities and women. For making use of this term in such a broad way, others criticize us for jargon and assigning new meanings to old words, and it is to this criticism that I wish to respond. Linked with this are the questions of how we, members and friends of Science for the People, are to work to "eliminate racism" and fight against the use of science for ruling class aims.

Political language does not exist separate from real political events. Over the course of history, the change in social systems changes the context of events and thus it necessarily changes the way language must be used to describe these events. Thus an analysis, to determine the proper use of a political term and lay out the correct strategy for a political movement, must be completed *along with* stages in the struggle for concrete gains. As Annie Stein pointed out in that same issue, "The battle must be

part of an overall strategy for final victory, The enemy is defined His strategy and tactics are exposed and the people are better armed to win the next battle."

Such is the case with the term *imperialism*. Part of the problem with SESPA's non-historical approach to politics is that we have failed to make use of political works done in previous generations. For us it seems that the New Left was really "new", in the sense that nothing appeared to have been done before. But we failed to note that the term Left originated during the French revolution, to refer to those with a political position closer to the needs of the common working people and peasants. Imperialism, though long in common use (since the days of the Roman empire), has been increasingly used since the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, an important ideological struggle was fought between sections of the international socialist movement over what imperialism was and how to use the term. This struggle reflected a profound change in the social system which was taking place at that time. Where formerly foreign adventures and military attempts at annexation had taken place on a small scale, with petty wars and the expansion of small business and small trading, the imperialism of the last half of the 19th century was of a different sort. It was part of a general trend in Europe and North America, carried out by every government on a large scale and involving large amounts of territory in Africa and East Asia. This trend went along with a tremendous growth in the scale of business concerns, cartels and trusts, and a



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rise in the importance of banks. Thus, imperialism became a systematic trend, not just a policy of individual governments.

Thus there were two sides in the ideological struggle in the early 20th century. On the one side, were such older socialists as K. Kautsky of Germany, who argued that imperialism was a policy, striving after annexations. On the other side was V.I. Lenin, of Russia, who put forth in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* the view that imperialism was not a policy but an inevitable stage into which capitalism must evolve. To support this view, he amassed a large amount of information, making his book a scientific study of the international political situation at that time. Many of the things he says are still very true today; in fact, his basic observations have been borne out by the course of history. In writing about imperialism in our magazine, we should certainly be careful to support the use of political language with a historically concrete analysis of the processes which we seek to describe. In doing so, we should not forget people such as Lenin who laid the foundation of a truly scientific revolutionary theory of socialism. In this light, I see the use of quotations from Georgi Dimitrov in the busing article as a very good thing, because it puts the struggle in a larger historical context.

In line with this, I must ask the question: If racism is linked with imperialism, and imperialism is a *stage of capitalism*, and not a policy, does it make sense to try to eliminate racism as an "ideology" or a "policy", instead of fighting to destroy the system of which it is a part? When the question is clearly posed, the answer seems obvious — no. Racism permeates the whole of our society. Black millionaires are extremely rare, and they are small millionaires when they do exist. The masses of black people are workers who are, as a rule, much worse off than their white counterparts. Black schools are not as good as white schools because the economic base in a black community reflects the racism of our society, as does the separation of the races, which is a systematic trend, not a conscious policy. Yet the violent struggle to perpetuate that trend creates a policy in support of the trend, and such is the case in Boston. To suggest that the struggle against this policy is "forced integration", as the collective does in the "statement" "About this Issue", is to further support this trend and aid the policies of the racists, who seek to divide the people and hide their real enemy from them. This enemy is a *system*, consisting of a large financial structure which engages in foreign adventures and the domestic repression of democratic rights as a *matter of course*, consciously and unconsciously. It is not enough to be anti-imperialist or anti-racist if we do not see the systematic trends of our political system and organize to fight against them. This is where theory on the national question, the relative strengths and importance of classes in the United States, and the correct strategy must be approached concretely and immediately.

Thus, while I would criticize the article for not being historical enough on the basis of imperialism and its sup-

porting structures, I am more seriously criticizing the editorial collective. They sought to undermine the article by presenting doubts about the language in a purely formalistic fashion, seeking to perpetuate the myth that political terms can mean what you choose to make them mean and that such meanings should not be changed in spite of changes in the political context. And in other ways, a cloudy view of the political situation was presented which tended to strengthen our appearance as a 'scholarly radical group'. I am distressed at this image, for a scholarly radical group does not engage in struggle but stands on the sidelines and kibbitzes. I do not want us to kibbitz; I would like us to act now, as we did during the Vietnam War years, when we were courageous fighters against US imperialism in Southeast Asia. Now is the time for us to be equally courageous fighters against US imperialism here at home. And we must guide our actions by a revolutionary theory which gives clear answers to questions about the nature of our society, its characteristics, and the prime enemy, as well as what allies we may expect to gain. A large order, but the times call for no less.

In love and struggle,
T. Solo
Washington, D.C.

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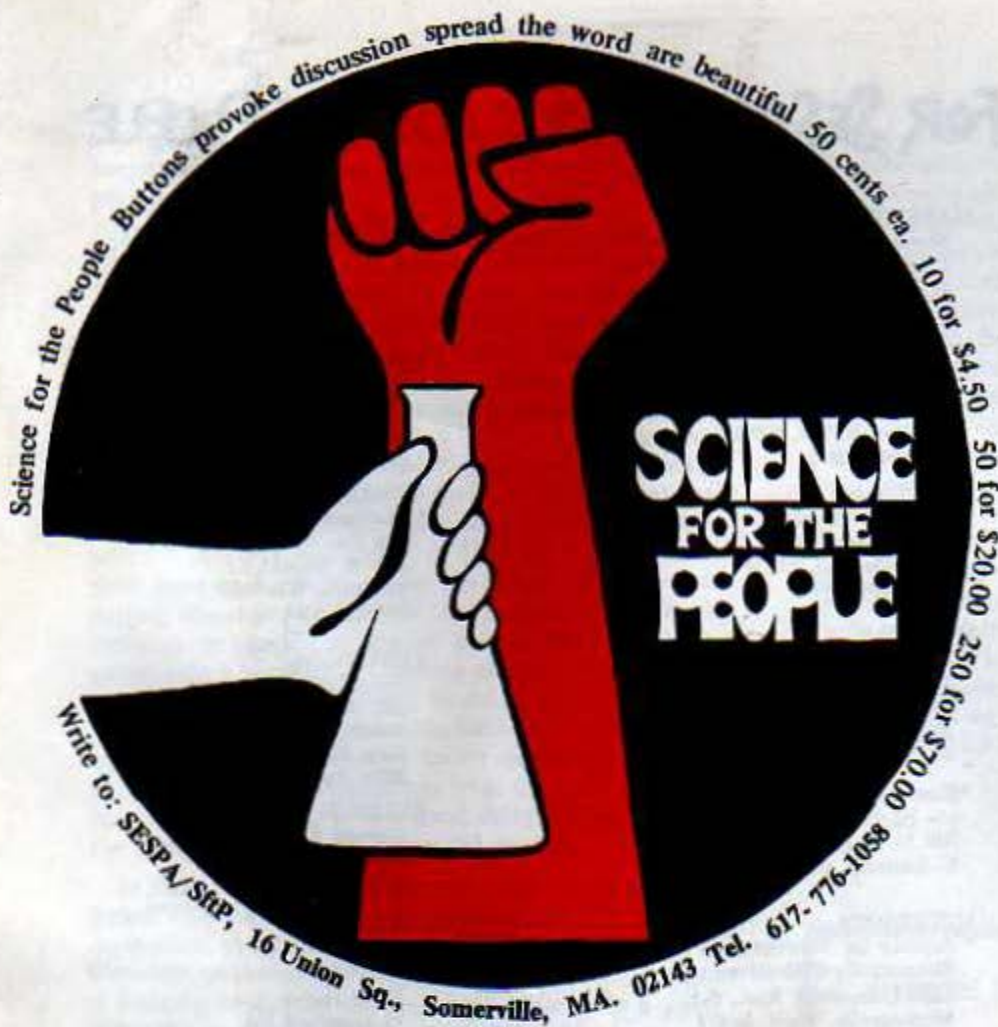
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The magazine keeps us all in touch. It encourages people who may be isolated, presents examples of activities that are useful to local groups, brings issues and information to the attention of the readers, presents analytical articles and offers a forum for discussion. Hence it is a vital activity of SESPA. It is also the only regular national activity.

We need to know who the members are in order to continue to send *SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE* to them. Please supply the following information:

1. Name:

Address:

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Occupation:
 (if student or unemployed please indicate)

2. Local SESPA chapter or other group in which I'm

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3. I am enclosing money according to the following scheme:

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5. I am attaching a list of names and addresses of people who I believe would be interested in the magazine. Please send them complimentary copies.

Please add any comments on the magazine or SESPA or your own circumstances. We welcome criticism, advice, and would like to get to know you.

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