



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

No. 122

(Vol. 3, No. 20)

Published weekly

September 18, 1981

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French

ISSN 0193-3485

50¢

U.S. Imperialism Takes Rugby Underground

Apartheid's Secret Tour



September 5, a section of determined demonstrators in Auckland, New Zealand, clash with police en route to Eden Park, site of Springboks match.

Bruised and battered, the 36-member South African Springboks rugby team snuck into the U.S. on September 14, after 8 weeks of being relentlessly pursued the length and breadth of New Zealand by tens of thousands of outraged people. The bruises sustained by these ambassadors of apartheid were political, and came not on the rugby field but in the streets. In fact, the final matches of the South African team's tour showed that far from waning, the

intensity and militance that had previously been displayed in opposition to the apartheid regime and its so-called "sportsmen," had blossomed to new heights. The city of Auckland saw back-to-back weekends of massive demonstrations, capped on September 12, by a most fitting send-off for the Springboks. New Zealand's police chief described that final day as "the worst street violence in the history of the country." After 8 full weeks of "the

worst street violence in the history of the country," the last game in Auckland is obviously one that the Springboks and the New Zealand rulers are likely to never forget.

For the final matches Eden Park in Auckland was like an armed compound. Its perimeter was strung with double rows of barbed-wire; over half of the country's 5,000-man police force had been sent to protect the game; at-

tack dogs tugged restlessly on their leashes; and jumbo steel bins had been filled with sand to keep them from being overturned and placed strategically near the stadium's entrances. On September 5, for the first time ever, New Zealand's pigs were issued riot shields. And, in an attempt to intimidate demonstrators they announced

Continued on page 16

Begin Visit, AWAC Sale

Can They Get Consensus on "Strategic Consensus"?

In the days before the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to the United States for talks with President Reagan, the U.S. press was brimming with ill-tempered criticism and outright condemnation of the Begin regime. *Newsweek* pictured Begin with the

headline "Roadblock to Peace?" but this was really a charge for being a roadblock to something else. Begin was being hit for actions which U.S. imperialist policy-makers perceive as harmful to the grand designs of uniting Israel and the pro-U.S. Arab regimes of

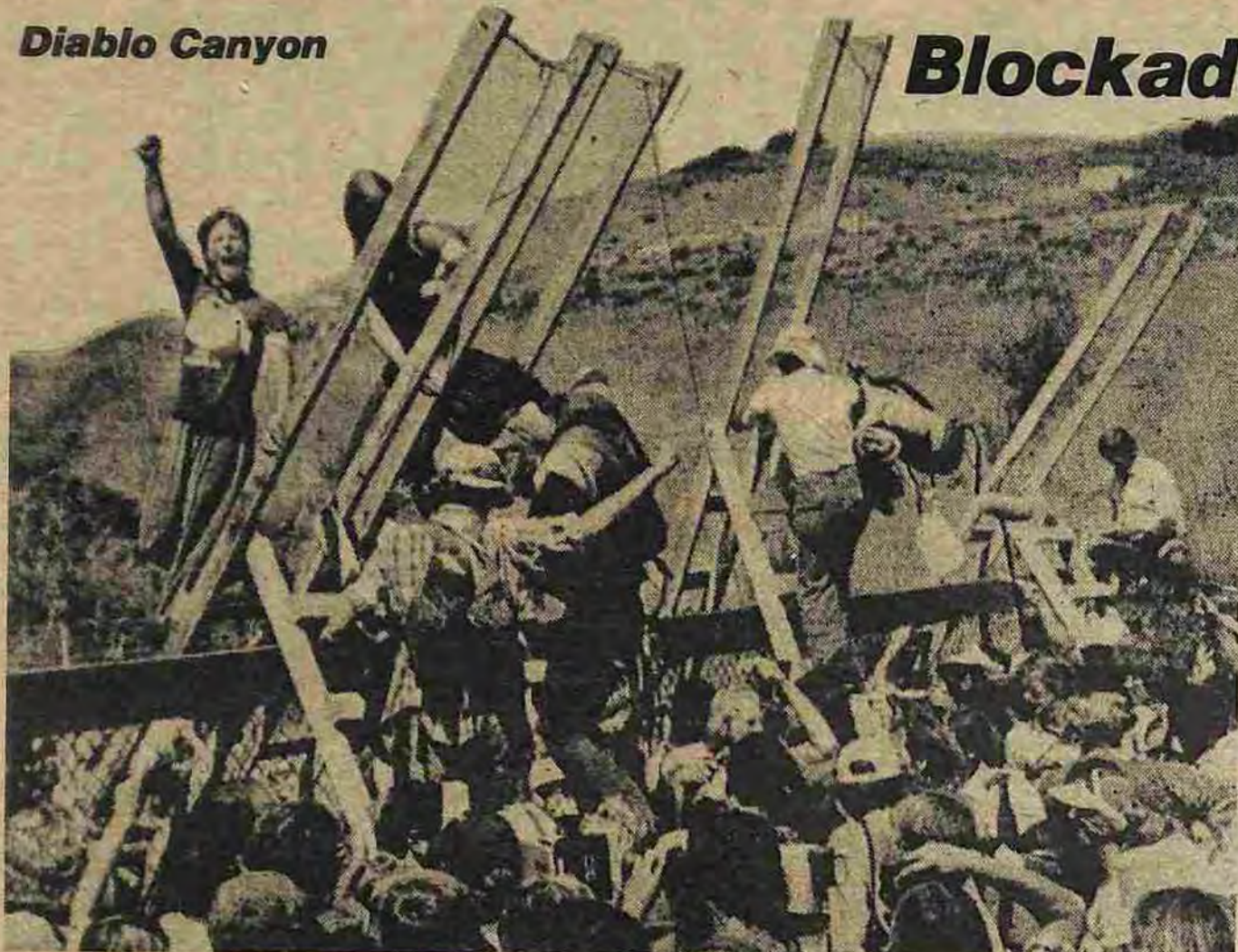
the Middle East in an anti-Soviet political and military alliance—so-called "strategic consensus," a high priority item in the U.S.'s general preparations for the imperialist war they are preparing.

Both *Time* and *Newsweek* rolled out

the carpet with long-winded feature stories explaining how Begin's refusal to agree to the proposed sale of U.S. Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) craft to Saudi Arabia, Begin's refusal to compromise with the Arab regimes on some sort of autonomy agreement to be imposed on the Palestinians, Begin's politically embarrassing air raids on civilian targets in Beirut, Lebanon, and Begin's general reluctance to subordinate Israel's own expansionist dreams to the greater glory of U.S. strategic interests had at last

Continued on page 20

Diablo Canyon



Scaling the fence at Diablo nuclear facility.

Over 1,000 people hit the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Reactor on Tuesday, Sept. 16th as the long awaited and much debated Diablo blockade was finally launched. It was an action that took place under the gun. The sea blockade, boats and swimmers converging on the reactor from the Pacific Ocean, had to enter a Coast Guard imposed "safety zone" to get into the sea around the plant. The law allows the Coast Guard to impose this zone in the event of hazardous waters—and to fine owners of boats that enter it up to \$50,000. Since everyone except the Coast Guard said the sea was smooth as glass on Tuesday, it was obvious just what the source of the hazard was—and just how flexible and reliable bourgeois law can be when it comes to serving the political necessity of imperialism.

On land, at the entrances to the reactor, the blockade was met by the long mobilized, coordinated forces of local sheriffs, California Highway Patrol, and National Guard. National Guard Huey helicopters and PG&E helicopters zoomed overhead, all day long, making a show of the massive military force that had been prepared to defend the plant and sending out a constant reminder of who's got state power and a military reminder of why they need their nukes. The helicopters also had the practical task of searching the hills around the plant for the hundreds of demonstrators who went overland—who climbed PG&E's fence and hiked through the woods toward the plant. On Wednesday, another wave of blockades, much smaller, hit again by both land and sea, and Wednesday afternoon the blockade office estimated that 650-700 people had been arrested but that about 400 people were still at large in the woods, and a group of sea blockaders were swimming in the cove right outside the intake tubes of the plant.

The massive military buildup, besides revealing rather starkly the apparatus of violence that the U.S. government ultimately rests on, and will bring to bear to deal with even non-violent protest, acted as the backdrop for the intense political struggle that they are waging with the coordinated efforts of the police, media, and at times a section of the leadership of the blockade. The ruling class, from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, to the Coast Guard, to PG&E and the likes of Jerry Brown, is dead set on jamming through Diablo Canyon, in the face of the growing sentiments and movement in opposition to war and war preparations. Although the blockade press spokesmen do not talk about it, nearly all the blockaders see some connection between this plant and war, and are blockading partly because of that. This only makes the ruling class more deter-

mined to have Diablo Canyon stand as a monument to the futility of opposing war preparations and imperialist war. They have been fighting tooth and nail to use this occasion to send this message out to all of society. Lenin's statement to the effect that never are the ruling classes so in need of "the 'peaceful' submission of the oppressed classes," as in the time of war hits exactly at the battle they are fighting politically. So in need are they to deliver their political message that the press was already summing up the Diablo blockade as a failure before it even started. The newspapers in California all wrote about the "disappointing turnout," "far below expected numbers"—comparing the turnout to inflated predictions made in advance by the police.

But far more important than this numbers game has been the political picture which the media has loudly broadcast of a, not only futile, but respectable, flag waving, and ultimately "loyal to America" group of blockaders. It must be pointed out that the media's eagerness in this regard is in direct proportion to the real and growing potential of not only a section of the demonstrators themselves, but a significant section of people who are watching this whole thing unfold, to break loose from the imperialists' road and program in a fundamental way.

Indeed, as this protest has unfolded, the battle between the line of capitulation to imperialism on the one hand and revolutionary internationalism on the other has sharpened considerably. Increasingly, as the showdown with the authorities approached, a section of the blockade leadership, governed by a pacifist outlook, chose in this case to draw the line—not against the forces of the state but against the revolutionary forces and the internationalist line. This social-pacifist outlook, together with a line which attempts to appeal to the mainstream of American society is a combination which has attempted to narrow the significance of the protest to such issues as the safety of these nuclear plants; endless emphasis on non-violent tactics, tactics, tactics; and insistence on raising the American flag over the protest, on the basis of attempting to appeal to the average. This flag waving has been justified in some cases by trying to "capture" the blood-soaked rag in the name of the people and in others by just plain national defensism and American chauvinism. Nonetheless, objectively, and among the protestors and more broadly throughout society, the events at Diablo are a significant example of where the imperialists have thrown down the gauntlet on their preparations for world war, and where they are determined to teach the people a lesson one way or another.

One case of the concerted effort to

Blockade Throws Up Questions

major political questions and the fight being waged by the advanced elements in the camp to uphold a revolutionary line, as the Diablo struggle continues. The morning of the blockade, Party supporters sleeping in the camp were awakened to find several people seeking bundles of *RW*'s and red flags to take on the blockade.

The battle over which flag to raise has been hot. The advanced have fought in various creative ways against the raising of American flags. Bands of anarchist youth have taken credit for the fact that *OLD Glory* happens to disappear in the night. One group walked up to the gate of the camp, saw the American flag flying, and said, "What's the flag of U.S. imperialism doing here?" When they heard that the RCP had been thrown out of the camp, they left the camp and went to sleep on the beach. There they found the carcass of a dead seal, decomposing in the sand. They put it in their car, and drove to the camp where they dumped it in the parking lot as their comment on the political line coming from certain quarters.

Political discussions over internationalism vs. patriotism have been consistently broken up by organizers who call urgent meetings to discuss minute details; mass political debates over the nature of imperialism have been surrounded by "facilitators," monitors who have organized singing—even of the Star Spangled Banner—to try to keep bourgeois politics in command. One man was thrown out of the cluster his affinity group was in for selling the *RW*, which they claimed was "written violence," and distributing the red flag, which they claimed was "visual violence." This is very helpful. It has helped to clear up the class nature of all this talk about non-violence. For it is really astounding, with the red, white and blue flag of U.S. imperialism—which is a symbol to millions and millions worldwide of an imperialist class that makes Hitler look like a boy scout—flying at the head of the blockade camp, that some people have the nerve to talk about "visual violence." What they don't want is *revolutionary* violence and *revolutionary* politics. Imperialist violence and imperialist politics is apparently another story.

All this is of course only a small reflection of the struggle which is intensifying on a world scale. Many of the rebellious ones, who were not deterred from participating in this protest, reflect broader political concerns. One example of this was the sign painted on an old bus, covered with anti-nuke slogans which included "U.S. Out of El Salvador." Another was an anarchist affinity group that has long been part of the anti-nuke movement that renamed itself "Love and Rage" in honor of Carl Harp, a revolutionary prisoner at Walla Walla who was murdered by the authorities in prison.

Many have expressed opposition to the "mainstream" line and the desire to unite with the proletariat and the oppressed masses. One woman told an *RW* seller, "I stand with Blacks and Chicanos; I came over to talk to you because I see you are swimming upstream. I swim upstream too." In the course of this battle, which is certainly not over at this writing, for those who have long wanted to transform the character of the anti-nuke movement and raise its political level, increasingly broader vistas have opened up. Old and static thinking about "gradually building the mass movement" around this or that issue has been shaken and the question of making all-around preparation for revolution is being discussed and debated. For, as we pointed out last week; what is being shown to be ultimately at stake here is far more than whether or not the bourgeoisie has the temporary ability to open a nuke, but fundamentally the question of the political power of the imperialists in society as a whole.

keep this protest in line was a press conference by the blockade leadership held several days before the blockade was actually to begin. The purpose of the press conference was two-fold: one, to widely and publicly announce a very strict adherence to the carefully orchestrated non-violent tactics and two, to announce publicly that the RCP would be forbidden from participating in the demonstration. This was picked up and blasted out in the media in L.A. and San Francisco, who suddenly found the Party a rather "newsworthy" item. The message was quite clearly intended for broad consumption: this protest was going to proceed along carefully orchestrated lines, "under the thumb." It was inevitable that this would discourage the angry and rebellious ones among the youth and various oppressed sections of the people in particular from even coming. But, still, it was a futile attempt to forbid revolutionary politics from this arena of struggle. Leaving aside the fact that the question of non-violent tactics at the demonstration was never made an issue in the agitation and propaganda of the Party (as anyone who reads this newspaper well knows) and also leaving aside the fact that some people would like to have others believe that the role of the police is to assist protestors in carrying out non-violent exercises, one is first and foremost reminded of the lines from a poem by Mao Tsetung which go like this, "Stop your windy nonsense! Look, the world is being turned upside down."

Nonetheless, such announcements are always welcome because they serve to draw the lines sharply and bring important matters to the fore.

Not only has this attempt to forbid revolution from this protest failed in the sense that Party members and supporters were back in the camp the next day, and the *Revolutionary Worker* never left, as many outraged over the expulsion of the RCP took up and distributed papers because they felt it was important for revolution to be debated and struggled over and crucial for the RCP to be in the camp; but since then, there has been some significant widening of political struggle. Some of this has entailed a see-saw battle over how much revolutionary activity will be "allowed" in the camp. Some in the leadership of the blockade have threatened to call the police to throw out the RCP; others have made a point of publicly having long political discussions with Party supporters. One woman said, "If my friends back home in DSOC (Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee) knew I was doing this, they would be really upset. I'm talking to you to make a point."

More significant however has been the mass debate which has raged over

INDIAN OCCUPATION OF STOLEN LAND

YELLOW THUNDER RUMBLING
IN BLACK HILLS

On April 4, 1981 a large car caravan of American Indians left Porcupine, South Dakota and traveled to the Black Hills National Forest nearby where they set up Yellow Thunder Camp. Here they declared their determination to fight against a time-honored tradition that is as American as Old Glory itself—the theft of Indian lands. Soon after the camp was established Mathew King (Noble Red Man), a traditional elder and headman, filed a claim with the U.S. Forest Service for 800 acres of land on behalf of the Oglala band of the Lakota (Sioux) Nation. When asked by the media if he thought the claim would be honored and the camp allowed to stay, Mathew King replied, "This is our land!"

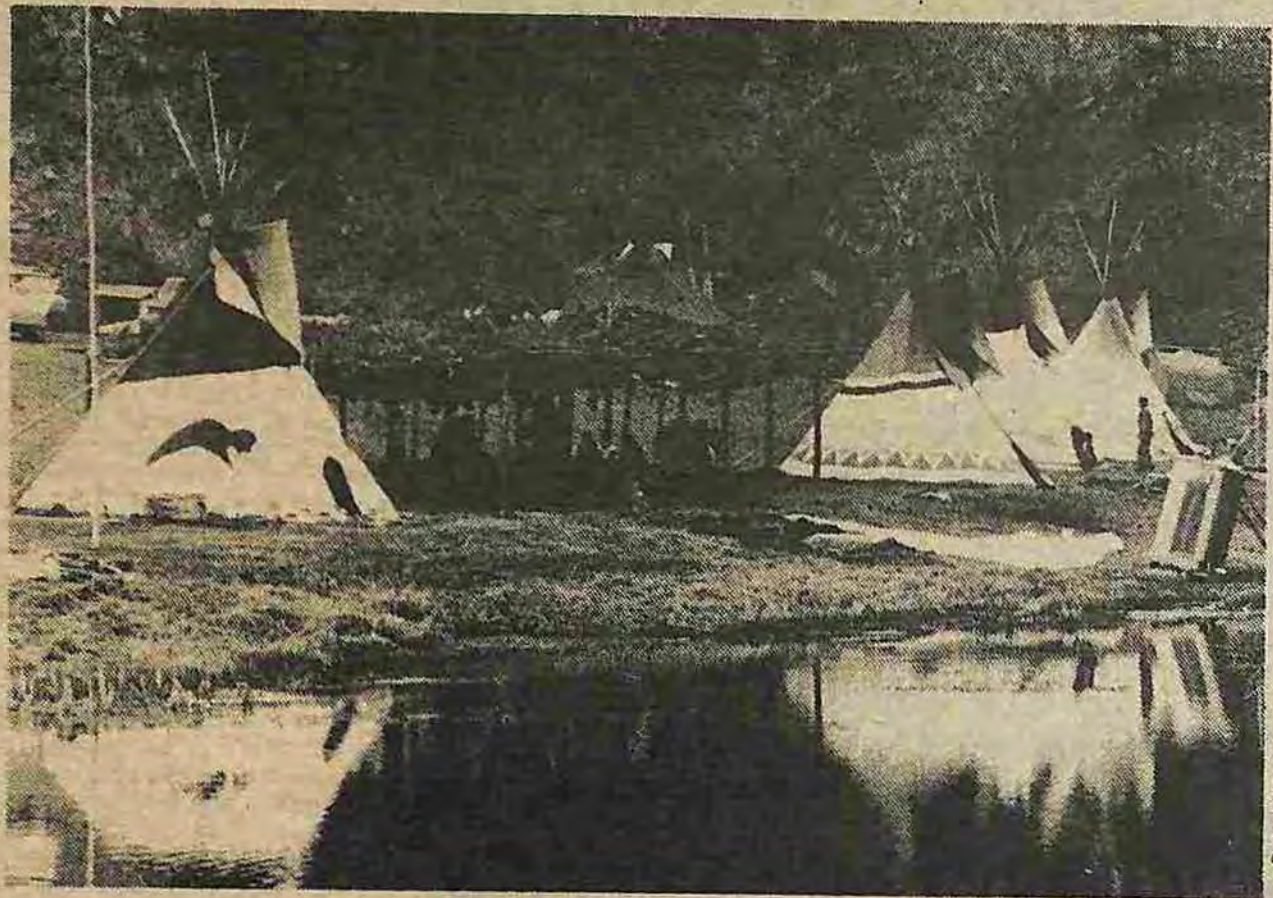
The decision to establish Yellow Thunder Camp was made at the Wounded Knee Memorial on February 27 of this year attended by the national American Indian Movement (AIM), the Dakota American Indian Movement and Lakota people. Dakota AIM has called the camp "the first step toward the legal resettlement and reclaiming of the Black Hills."

The Black Hills has been a focal point of struggle between the U.S. Government and the Lakota nation ever since the U.S. unilaterally broke the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty more than a hundred years ago. This treaty supposedly guaranteed Indians the lands in South Dakota west of the Missouri River plus the use of territories in present-day Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota and Nebraska forever—"as long as the grass shall grow." Forever ended abruptly six years later when the U.S. violated the treaty—as it has broken all or part of every treaty ever signed with the Indians—and resumed its bloody campaign of extermination against the tribes.

The Yellow Thunder camp immediately set up tipis, tents, a cook shack and a sweat lodge used in traditional religious ceremonies. As AIM explained in filing its claim, the Paha Sapa (Black Hills) is of special importance as it is held as sacred land central to Lakota spirituality. On April 22, a "Special Use" application was filed with the U.S. Forest Service for permission to build 83 permanent structures, including homes, schools and ceremonial buildings. Yellow Thunder Camp has stated that its goal is to build "a spiritual and educational community in harmony with the environment."

While the FBI has kept up heavy surveillance on the camp, including sending in as many as six agents at a time armed with automatic rifles, the encampment was allowed to stay until, predictably enough, the Forest Service turned down the land claim. This claim, the Forest Service noted, would "disrupt or displace" present activities in the 800-acre area.

Yellow Thunder Camp was ordered to vacate the premises by September 8 or face eviction. But AIM leaders vowed that the camp would stay, with or without permission. The September 8 deadline passed without incident. Instead of proceeding with the eviction, U.S. District Attorney of South Dakota Jeffrey Viken has sought a permanent injunction to prevent the camp from occupying any portion of the Black Hills. In return, Yellow Thunder Camp has appealed the Forest Service's decision and has filed for a temporary restraining order to prevent any action against the camp while the appeal is pending. At this point a standoff exists at least until September 28 when Yellow Thunder Camp must respond to the government's injunction.



Oyate Wicaho

Yellow Thunder Camp.

Given the broad support that has been generated for the encampment during its 5-1/2-month existence, the government must move cautiously in this situation. While forty to sixty people have remained steadily in the camp, many more have come to visit and express their solidarity. In April, a meeting was held to discuss the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty with more than 300 people attending from all of the interested nations within the treaty area. Support has also come from a broad array of progressive forces in the church and the anti-nuclear movement and from several Indian chiefs. Even 38 U.S. Congressmen have felt obligated to sign a statement in support of the camp. Meanwhile, as the legal moves

continue, 40-50 camp members have volunteered to stay through the winter and have been making preparations by chopping and stacking wood and building winter tipis.

In what authorities definitely see as a bad omen, Yellow Thunder Camp has also inspired two more encampments in the Black Hills. Even though these two were relatively short-lived, they are an indication of the depth of anger and discontent brewing on the reservations. On June 1 of this year, the U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals threw out the Oglala Sioux Tribe's suit to regain the land of the Black Hills instead of the money offered by the government. On June 25 about 100-125 members of the Lakota nation and the Oglala Sioux

Tribal Government moved into the Wind Cave National Park in the Southern Black Hills. Here they set up a second camp, called Crazy Horse Camp, to protest the failure of the government to live up to its treaty obligations. Already this radical move has caused a split on the Oglala Tribal Council, and some are trying to impeach its president, Stanley Looking Elk, who supported Crazy Horse Camp.

On August 28, Crazy Horse Camp decided to abandon its Wind Cave spot in favor of a better winter campsite at Sheridan Lake located in the Black Hills National Forest—a spot called "illegal" by the authorities. To escape

Continued on page 18

Murder and Repression on the Pine Ridge Reservation

In the wake of the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, the U.S. imperialists unleashed a campaign of terror to smash the American Indian Movement (AIM) and its supporters on Pine Ridge Reservation. The well-known tactics of mass arrests, frameups, prison beatings and harassment were widely used; and at the heart of this campaign was murder committed on a vast scale.

We can thank William Janklow, then South Dakota's State Attorney General, for clearly articulating the government's strategy. He campaigned for office with the promise that, if elected, he would "put American Indian Movement leaders in jail, if not under it." Janklow is now the governor of South Dakota.

According to the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) there were 61 people killed on Pine Ridge between 1973 and 1976. There is a telling story behind these cold statistics. Using only these officially documented murders would give the reservation a murder rate of

170/100,000 people, or a rate nearly nine times higher than Detroit's in 1974. At that time Detroit was reputed to be "the murder capital of the United States."

The vast majority of the murder victims were AIM members or supporters. Many of the cases have been "under investigation" for years; many of the cases listed "closed" have simply been summed up as "auto accident," or "hit and run" or "unsolved." In only four cases out of 61 have the murderers been given prison sentences of more than 10 years.

But these statistics only tell half the story because, according to activists on Pine Ridge, the actual number of murders committed on the reservation is twice as many as what is officially recorded. AIM also estimates that 80 more people were murdered on the reservation from 1976-79.

The goon squad, set up in 1972 under the administration of the U.S.-puppet Tribal Chairman Dick Wilson, was funded by the U.S. Bureau of Indian

Affairs to act as the hit men for the imperialists. Here is how the goons arranged a typical "auto accident," one of their favorite tactics. On January 31, 1976 Byron DeSersa was driving his car with five passengers, all unarmed. Suddenly he was chased by six cars driven by known goons who forced him into an accident. After the car was wrecked, the goons prevented DeSersa from getting medical attention and he bled to death. Byron DeSersa's father was the editor of a monthly newspaper published on the reservation which had often editorialized against Wilson and his goons.

Every effort to take action against these murders was blocked by Wilson who got into the act himself by personally supervising the beatings of legal workers and attorneys. In February, 1975 after spending a day of investigation on the reservation a team of legal workers returned to their small plane to find it riddled with bullet holes. When they tried to leave by car, their path was

Continued on page 19

Widespread Outrage Over Murder Of Carl Harp

It has been less than two weeks since Carl Harp was brutally murdered in his cell at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla (see *RW* No. 121), but already the repercussions of the murder of this revolutionary prisoner are being felt not only across the state and across the country, but internationally as well. In the days following Carl's murder, leaflets and bulletins exposing this vicious slaying have appeared in places as far away as Quebec, and a deluge of protests and demands for an investigation—letters, telegrams, phone calls—have rained down on state, federal and local officials. One activist in the prisoner's support movement in Seattle told the *RW* she has received

calls from people as far away as Chicago and New York who are organizing protests and exposure of the murder.

Plans for memorials to Carl, to be held next month, are scheduled for Seattle and Montreal, and may be held in Vancouver and Toronto as well, organized by prisoner support groups who worked with Carl. And—while prisoners at Walla Walla are still on lockdown, confined to their cells for almost 24 hours a day—statements of anger and of the determination to have this murder exposed have gotten out of the prison.

Despite the difficulty in getting information out of the prison, more of the

facts surrounding the murder are beginning to emerge. The supposed "suicide note"—the linchpin of the prison administration's transparently fraudulent claim that Carl took his own life—is now being analyzed by a handwriting expert in Seattle. Arrangements to have a second autopsy done (to counter the as yet unannounced results of the official autopsy) are being made, and lawyers have volunteered their time to conduct an investigation into the murder. Also, letters written by Carl the day he died have arrived to friends in the Seattle area, letters which clearly show that while Carl was well aware of the prison administration's plots on his life he was determined to resist and expose the attacks he was facing.

It has been learned by the *RW* that not only were prisoners connected with the racist Aryan Brotherhood brought into Walla Walla by the prison administration from Arizona prisons (as was reported in last week's *RW*), but that guards with Nazi connections are being hired and imported from the Southwest as well. Clearly these moves on the part of the prison administration are closely connected with the widely-known fact that guards have put out contracts on the lives of a number of prisoners who are looked to by other prisoners for leadership, again indicating a conscious plan to use selective assassination of prisoners in an attempt to break the resistance of Walla Walla inmates.

State officials are clearly getting freaked out by both the widespread reaction to Carl's murder and the possibility of even more evidence of their role in the murder and the whole nature of the regime at the prison being exposed. Their reply has been two-fold: in public they are attempting to appear as if they are actually investigating the "possibility" that Carl was murdered, while out of public view they are attempting to stifle and intimidate opposition, particularly opposition within the prison.

Shane Green, who along with Carl seized the Counseling and Parole Building of the prison in May of 1979, has been thrown into Segregation. Several guards came to Shane's cell, told him he was being punished for "threatening a guard," and took him to the hole in chains. The entire contents of his cell were seized, including statements Shane had gathered from other prisoners on Carl's death. Both before and after being thrown into Segregation guards have been subjecting Shane to a constant barrage of vile and sick remarks about Carl's death.

Another example of the prison administration's tactics occurred when Carl's wife went to the prison to collect Carl's personal property. When she asked if she could move her car up to the front door of the prison so as not to have to carry the boxes as far, she was told that a guard would help her load

the boxes into a state car and then drive her down to the visitor's parking lot. The guard chosen for the assignment? The same guard who tortured Carl in July of 1979 by forcing a night stick up his rectum. Needless to say a number of things were missing from Carl's possessions, pictures, a page ripped out of the front of a journal he was keeping, etc.

At least one statement on Carl's death which was sent out by a prisoner has not arrived after several days. In a second case a prisoner who was able to make a phone call out told the person he was talking to that guards were listening in and if he said anything about Carl's death he would be cut off.

Meanwhile prison officials are publicly attempting to put themselves in the best light possible. The director of the Department of Corrections in the state capitol had a 1 1/2-hour meeting with one prisoner support group attempting to convince them that it was impossible that Carl was murdered. The new prison superintendent has also had more than one long conversation on the subject with people calling to protest Carl's murder. Under normal circumstances these officials wouldn't bother to give the time of day to such people, and their present actions are a sure sign that they are getting very worried. The county coroner has announced that he will hold an inquest into Carl's death, this also being a virtually unprecedented move, though a date has yet to be announced and the coroner undoubtedly hopes to put it off as long as possible. (The funeral director who is holding Carl's body, and who has a contract with the penitentiary, has been vainly attempting to pressure Carl's wife into having the body cremated before a second autopsy can be done—another illustration of the state's combination of the pretense of reasonableness in public and maneuvers carried out behind the scenes.)

Finally, there is the bourgeoisie's news media, which has been concentrating on repeating the official lies about Carl killing himself and on portraying Carl as a murderer (based on the frameups which sent him to prison). And while the broad reaction has forced some mention of the "possibility" Carl was murdered, there have also been some open calls to support Carl's murder, particularly a column run in the *Seattle Times* under the headline "No Tears For Harp." This column was reportedly written under the instructions of *Times* editors after a previous column had been run suggesting that Carl could in fact have been murdered. The *Seattle Times* also happens to own the only Walla Walla newspaper, the *Walla Walla Union-Bulletin*.

Carl Harp's revolutionary stand continues to have growing influence and the exposure has only begun in this case. □

Subscriptions

One Year—\$20

Ten Weeks trial Subscription—\$4.00

- English Edition
- Spanish Edition
- Chinese Edition
- French Edition (monthly)

Foreign Subscriptions—

\$80 Airmail

For Institutions—

\$30/year

Contact your local *Revolutionary Worker* distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* or write to:

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Order Chinese edition, from:
Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Pl., San Francisco, CA 94108,
Order French from:
Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., New York NY 10003

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker*

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654
IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- Alabama: P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, AL 35201 (205) 787-0202
- California:
 - Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
 - Los Angeles Area, Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 384-3856
 - San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
- District of Columbia: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
- Georgia: *Revolutionary Worker* P.O. Box 10743, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 767-6784
- Hawaii: Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- Illinois: *Revolutionary Workers Center* 542 S. Dearborn, Room 906, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 922-1140
- Kentucky: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
- Maryland: *Revolutionary Worker* P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
- Massachusetts: Revolution Books 118 Massachusetts Ave., Box 137, Boston, MA 02115 (617) 492-9016
- Michigan: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2286
- Missouri: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
- New York:
 - Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205 (716) 895-6561
 - NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books 16 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 243-8638
- North Carolina: P.O. Box 5712, Greensboro, NC 27403 (919) 275-1079
- Ohio:
 - Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books 313 Calhoun St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
 - Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 431-6910
 - Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 274-8046
- Oregon: *Revolutionary Workers Center* 4728 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97211 (503) 282-5034
- Pennsylvania: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 849-3574
- Texas:
 - Austin, *Revolutionary Worker* P.O. Box 5914, Austin, TX 78763 (512) 477-3105
 - El Paso, P.O. Box 2357, El Paso, TX 79952 (915) 566-3377
 - Houston, P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77023 (713) 641-3904
- Washington State: Revolution Books 1828 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 323-9222
- West Virginia: P.O. Box 617, Beckley, WV 25801

West Berlin Speech

Haig Peps (and Preps) the Allies



West German youth respond to Secretary of State Haig's visit to West Berlin.

When your team is suffering from a serious morale problem especially brought on by a noticeable lack of support from the fans, when there are grave doubts about the proposed game plan and the fans are taking to the streets in opposition to it, and all this is happening while the Big Game is coming up fast on the schedule—well, just what is the coaching staff supposed to do? As every old-time movie buff knows, it's time for a *pep talk*, a stirring combination of reassurances about the moral values and strengths of *our* team and the contrasting immoral values and weaknesses of the enemy—er, opponent. It's time for a call to "win one for the Gipper,"—in fact, it's time for a whole rapidly escalating series of such calls—and who better to carry the ball than Asst. Coach and Secretary of State Alexander Haig?

When the team is the U.S. war bloc, Coach Haig is definitely the most experienced pep-talker. His well-publicized "sensitivity" to the political difficulties of the U.S.' imperialist allies in the recent neutron bomb decision and still ongoing "debate" over the MX missile can certainly be made use of here. And let us not forget his sharply delineated explanation of the vast differences between pro-Soviet "totalitarian" dictators and pro-U.S. "authoritarian" dictators, or the constitutional reassurances of leadership he has offered from Washington, D.C. to the Middle East. Yes, sports fans, Al Haig is our man in the locker room and his latest morale-booster, delivered on September 13 to the Berlin Press Association and widely publicized throughout the bloc, achieves heights of hypocrisy unsurpassed by anything he has uttered before. Of course, this new world record will probably not last too

long—just wait until his next speech.

The *New York Times* reported that Haig and his aides worked on this speech for weeks, trying to come up with "a philosophic defense of Western values" in contrast to the "Eastern values" of the Soviet-led bloc. It is indeed fitting that after the lengthy brain-racking and hair-pulling that such a search for a "difference" must have entailed, the centerpiece of Haig's "contrast" is that the Soviets are using chemical warfare in—get this—Southeast Asia. "For some time now, the international community has been alarmed by continuing reports that the Soviet Union and its allies have been using lethal chemical weapons in Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan. . . . We now have physical evidence from Southeast Asia which has been analyzed and found to contain abnormally high levels of 3 potent mycotoxins—poisonous substances not indigenous to the region and which are highly toxic to man and animals." Oh, *really*. Were the 12 million gallons of Agent Orange—just a small part of the total number of chemical agents—that the U.S. dropped on Vietnam part of the indigenous substances of the region? Perhaps they were just harmless "defoliants" not really poisonous at all, and the birth defects, liver cancer and other symptoms shown by both the Vietnamese people and the U.S.' very own cannon-fodder are just illusions. Actually, we had to wait until the day after Haig's speech to discover the real *link* between U.S. and Soviet "values" about chemical warfare in Southeast Asia. According to the State Department, the Soviet toxins are spread around by means of a substance referred to as "Yellow Rain." Obviously, it is much more humane to poison people with

orange chemicals than with yellow.

Haig was quick to point out that the "use in war of such toxins is prohibited by the 1925 Geneva Protocol and related rules of customary international law," but he neglected to point out that the U.S. didn't even sign the 1925 Geneva Protocol until 1975! Even then, they excluded their infamous "defoliants" as well as "riot control agents" from the agreement. Nevertheless, this didn't prevent Haig and his State Department assistants from also accusing the Soviets of using "riot control" chemicals in Southeast Asia. Maybe they are the same ones used against those who protested Haig's appearance in West Berlin. At any rate, the manufacture, stockpiling and actual use of chemical warfare is obviously a crucial part of the "values" of both imperialist blocs, and today as the massive Autumn Forge 81 NATO war games proceed in the European countryside under conditions of simulated chemical and biological warfare environment, it is indeed quite ironic to point the finger at someone else.

Haig's chemical warfare accusation has gotten the most publicity in the bourgeois press, but there was much more to his West Berlin pep-talk than just *this* cheap and flimsy propaganda ploy. In addition, there were a lot *more* cheap and flimsy propaganda ploys. The point is that it is not so easy to deal with the widespread and growing opposition to U.S.-bloc war moves in Western Europe, the most recent focuses of which have been the scheduled deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe by 1983 and the neutron bomb announcement. In the last couple of months, the U.S. press has been filled with fearful expressions of anxiety over a growing

"pacifism"—or "neutralism"—in Western Europe. Not only are the masses insufficiently appreciative of the Western imperialist necessity to defeat Soviet imperialism, but their growing upheavals on this front are giving rise to some feverish political maneuvering within the European ruling classes. Certainly these classes overwhelmingly recognize that their own imperialist interests can only be served by defeating the Soviets & Co., and that their only chance to do this is as part of the U.S.-led bloc. But there are differences stemming from conflicting imperialist interests over the terms of all this and the mood of the masses in Europe requires that the rulers there step cautiously with some even opposing this or that particular move by the U.S. At the same time, the Soviets are trying to make use of this contradiction and others which will inevitably exist among the Western imperialist allies. West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who has been a fervent backer of virtually every NATO escalation, has been especially vulnerable to all this maneuvering, and a section of his own Social Democratic Party is threatening to overturn his support for NATO missile deployment on West German soil at an upcoming party convention. Some of these people have even taken to leading public protests against the U.S., but, of course, rabidly opposing the targeting and exposure of *West German* imperialism in the process. Perhaps they are contending with the "far-right" for the title of Best German Nationalists.

It is difficulties like these that Haig is trying to deal with by reminding the allies that they have a lot more in common with each other (in particular with the U.S.) than they do with their Soviet rivals. Using key code words like "values," "democracy" and "the rule of law," Haig is stressing that the Western imperialists (and their propagandists—it's no accident that this speech was given before the Berlin press association) had better start emphasizing their common purpose in life and knock off the infighting. And like all good coaches, Haig sees that a little amateur social psychology is in order here. "Every healthy society goes through periods of the most arduous soul-searching. But when this becomes compulsive, an end in itself, dire consequences inevitably follow. Excessive introspection, as the American people have sadly learned, paralyzes the will and thereby threatens the peace. On such occasions, we must remind ourselves of our values. We must work to restore the balance in society that makes for creativity. And we must be careful not to cross the fine line between liberty and license." In other words, a little "soul-searching" over the best way to exercise and expand imperialist domination is okay, but when this turns to "excessive introspection"—as in the case of the lingering effects of its defeat in Vietnam and the massive exposure that accompanied same in the U.S.—then this has to be eliminated post-haste. We can't have our "will" paralyzed now, can

Continued on page 19

The Armed Struggle In The Horn of Africa

The following is the final part of a series of articles analyzing U.S.-Soviet contention in the Horn of Africa and the anti-imperialist democratic movements which have developed in that region. See RWs No. 120 and No. 121 for Part I and II.

The contention between the U.S. and Soviet blocs has arrayed both super-powers against every revolutionary attempt to destroy the framework of feudalism and national oppression which is the basis for imperialist domination of Ethiopia, strategically located on the approaches to the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf. The 1974-75 seizure of power by the Dergue, a military junta backed first by the U.S. and now by the Soviet Union, has only served to intensify the oppression of the

Eritrean, Tigrean, Oromo and other nationalities kept in subjugation by the Ethiopian state, as well as the exploitation of all its 27 million people, whose per capita income is \$100 a year and whose average life span is only 38 years.

This situation has called into existence powerful national democratic movements, corresponding to the objective necessity faced by the masses of driving out foreign imperialism, destroying feudal relations and ending the forcible subjugation of nations. As such, these movements are today striking powerful blows against the worldwide system of imperialism and are strategic allies of the worldwide proletariat.

Eritrea

The first of these powerful movements broke out in Eritrea. A country of 3.7 million people, Eritrea lies along the Red Sea coast. It includes

both the Christian, Tigrinya-speaking peoples of the Western highlands and the Moslem Arabic-speaking peoples of the coastal depression. Unlike Ethiopia, which was deliberately retained under the rule of a feudal lackey of imperialism, Eritrea was directly colonized by the Italians. The traditional communal land tenure system called *diesa* gave way to private property and the differentiation of the peasantry by wealth. Large commercial farms were developed for Italian settlers like those for British colonialists in Kenya and Zimbabwe, while the education of Eritrean children beyond primitive literacy was forbidden.

Italian capital investment also had the effect of creating and concentrating an Eritrean working class. An economic infrastructure of railroads and highways was built, and by 1940 20% of Eritrea's population was urban. Imperialist war also exposed Eritrea's peo-

ple to the wider crimes of imperialism, as 60,000 Eritreans were conscripted by the Italians to serve as cannonfodder in the conquest of Libya. Today, Eritrea has one of the largest working classes, both percentage wise and absolutely, in Africa, although many Eritrean workers have gone abroad to Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in search of work.

Armed struggle in Eritrea began on Sept. 1, 1961, when 14 men carrying 9 obsolete guns attacked a small Ethiopian military post in the western highlands. This struggle quickly expanded under the leadership and name of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) which had been proclaimed by exiled Eritreans living in Cairo. While the ELF received substantial support from several Arab nationalist regimes as well as a groundswell of popular support, its development was greatly restricted by the feudal outlook of its leadership which sought only the most narrow aim of national independence from Ethiopia and opposed every move toward the democratic reform of Eritrean society. The inevitable result was that the potential of the masses could not be mobilized. Serious military setbacks occurred in 1967, resulting in the first wave of Eritrean refugees into Sudan.

Beginning in 1968 a series of splits occurred within the ELF which eventually resulted in cadre breaking away to form the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in April of 1970. The response of the ELF was to declare war on the EPLF. The Eritrean civil war which lasted until 1974 ended in disaster for the ELF, many of whose members either refused to fight the EPLF or went over to it. But, pretending again and again to make peace, the ELF has continued to exist as a force and has continued to receive large quantities of foreign military assistance, mainly through Syria. The ELF is reported to have been engaging in compromise talks with the USSR and the Dergue.

The end of the civil war provided the first opportunity for the EPLF to implement democratic measures on a broad scale. The results were immediate and dramatic, with the forces of Haile Selassie suffering a sharp defeat at the hands of the EPLF in 1974. As recounted previously in this series, the reactionary Dergue followed in the footsteps of the emperor in attempting to hold Eritrea captive. It launched a series of attacks on Eritrea in early 1975 which likewise met defeat. With the liberation of Nacfa in September, 1976, the EPLF went over from guerrilla and mobile warfare to positional warfare, and in July 1977 Keren, the second largest city in Eritrea, was captured. By the beginning of 1978 the capital of Asmara was surrounded and fighting was raging in the streets of the port of Massawa.

With the massive Soviet and Cuban backed attack of early 1978, the EPLF leadership decided to make a strategic withdrawal back toward its most secure base area in the northern highlands rather than trying to defend fixed positions around the towns. The position of the EPLF was made even more difficult by the utter rout by the Dergue of the ELF from positions it held, forcing even further tactical adjustments by the EPLF.

Throughout 1978 and in 1979 the



Cultural program for TPLF fighters.



Organization for children under 15 (Tigray).

We regret that photographs from the struggle in Oromia were unavailable at the time of this printing. We hope to provide photographic coverage in the future—RW.



Eritrean fighters.

Eritrean people threw back five major offensives by the Soviet-Cuban backed Dergue which employed MIG-23 fighter bombers, T-54 and T-55 tanks, BTR armored cars, BM-21 multiple rocket launchers, as well as napalm and defoliants. All together 51,000 Ethiopian soldiers were put out of action. Then in January of 1980 the EPLF routed the Ethiopian army in a battle near Nakfa and again went on the offensive, proving once again that in war it is people and not weapons that are decisive. Today the EPLF once again controls the bulk of the countryside. The Dergue's troops are restricted to the major cities.

The EPLF has conducted land reform in the liberated areas by returning to the *diesa* system under which land is redistributed once every seven years. Land is given to every individual. Following the organization of the poor peasants and the women (who made up the majority of the landless peasants) the traditional village councils were reorganized to break the grip of the rich peasants and of the *restegna* ("original settlers" who alone had been represented in the council). In the liberated towns, the EPLF nationalized the major institutions and organized the urban population into five mass organizations for workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, women and youth. These mass organizations then elected representatives to the town council. Profit rates, wages and prices are regulated by the government, but patriotic small traders and businesses are not expropriated.

Among the most significant achievements of Eritrea's democratic revolution are the liberation of women and the promotion of education. A 1978 marriage law established women's rights to divorce and banned the various feudal practices. In a break with traditions women (as well as unmarried men) have been given land. Women are given first priority in the EPLF cadre school. They make up better than 20% of the Eritrean People's Liberation Army (EPLA). Schools have been established throughout the liberated territory, and literacy is a basic requirement of all EPLA fighters. The EPLA also teaches captured Ethiopian prisoners to read.

The objective necessity for the Eritrean masses to engage in armed struggle against Soviet social-imperialism has made the question of the Soviet Union a sharp one for the Eritrean struggle. For the Soviets, the maintenance of the Red Sea ports under the control of its client the Dergue is strategically important. This is why Soviet war ships in the harbor of Massawa opened fire on EPLF forces, even while the EPLF appealed the justice of their cause to the "fraternal" Soviet Union. To this date, the Soviet response to such appeals continues to be a hail of bombs and napalm.

Tigray

Eighty percent of Tigray's five million people are peasants, with the rest small traders and businessmen. Most of Tigray's small working class are working abroad. Tigray shared a similar history of feudal development

with the Amharic kingdom, but was subjected to conquest by the Amharas in the last century. While the land was not confiscated and settler colonialism was not imposed upon Tigray as it was Oromia, the Tigrean peasants were nonetheless impoverished, the Amharic language was made compulsory, and the Tigrean people were subjected to every form of national oppression.

Armed struggle began in Tigray on Feb. 18, 1975, when the first armed propaganda team of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) took to the field in Dedebit, a mountainous area near the Eritrean border. Many of the TPLF founders had been activists in the Student Union at Haile Selassie University where mass meetings of politicized students often raged all night debating questions like the nature of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and particularly the national question and its resolution in that prison house of nations—Ethiopia. Debates on the national question became so sharp that students from the oppressed nationalities refused to speak in Amharic and the debates had to be carried on in English as a "neutral" language. These future TPLF cadre spent their summers in the countryside, ostensibly conducting literacy classes, but in reality making social investigations and doing political work among the peasants. In 1976 the Dergue sent its first military offensive against Tigray, which was to become the first major source of weapons for the TPLF.

A host of reactionary forces also raised their heads in Tigray. The first was a gang of petty feudalists calling themselves the "Tigray Liberation Front" which had been set up by their bloodbrothers, the ELF. The TLF, like the ELF, wanted to exploit the national struggle of the masses to cast off the rule of Addis Ababa while keeping the feudal fabric of Tigray society intact. Even more formidable was a 12,000 man army of deposed Amhara and Tigrean feudalists, compradors and high army officers called the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU). Covertly backed by the U.S., the EDU tried to set up shop in Tigray and only after a series of desperate battles which threatened the very existence of the young TPLF were they smashed and driven out of Tigray. Other groups met the same fate.

The TPLF holds that the principal contradiction in Ethiopia is the national contradiction, a contradiction that has in fact been intensified by Soviet intervention. In elaborating its programme for national self-determination and democratic revolution, the TPLF has expressed its preference for principled unity based on equality with the

other nationalities of Ethiopia, but has also expressed its determination to establish an independent Tigray if such unity cannot be achieved.

In the liberated areas of Tigray, which now constitute 85% of the territory and comprise 3.7 million people, the TPLF has carried out a massive programme of land reform, distributing land to 2.4 million peasants already. Mass organizations for peasants, women, youth and the militia have been built. The TPLF runs a series of clinics and hospitals. They conduct extensive political education among the peasants and soldiers, and publish several different periodicals.

The TPLF held its first congress in 1979. Its public position on the Soviet Union was stated in the communique of the congress which condemned "the fascist Dergue and its supporters—the Soviet Union and its allies."

To date the TPLF has fought off six military offensives by the Dergue, the last beginning on August 22, 1980 and lasting through March of 1981. In this campaign the Soviet Union introduced for the first time in Africa the MI-24 helicopter gunship and the second phase of the operation was directed by 70 Russian officers. Yet the sixth offensive was crushed by the TPLF, resulting in the capture of a great amount of military equipment and two Russians.

Oromia

It is hard to say just when the armed struggle of the Oromo people began since it never really stopped following the forcible annexation of Oromia in the 1880s and 1890s. The 18 million Oromos make up a majority of the Ethiopian state. They are perhaps the largest single nationality in all of sub-Saharan Africa.

Because the conquest of the Oromo in the imperialist division of Africa took the form of settler colonialism by the Amhara nationality, the question of land has long been at the heart of the Oromo national struggle. The agricultural potential of the Oromia is vast; it already is the source of Ethiopia's entire coffee crop. The seizure of the land by the Amhara lords and its parceling out to Amhara settlers, called *neftengas* (literally "gun carriers"), produced a nation of landless tenant farmers. With the introduction of foreign owned mechanized plantations in the Awash (great rift) valley in the 1950s, the emperor decreed that only those who speak Amharic (Amharas or "assimilados") could be hired on as wage workers. Thus a situation was created which forced the Oromo peasant to either fight or starve. The Bale revolt of 1963-65 was suppressed only with the help of U.S. and

Israeli advisors. In 1974 the programme and structure of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) were drawn up and military commands organized, though it was not until 1976 that the existence of the OLF was made public.

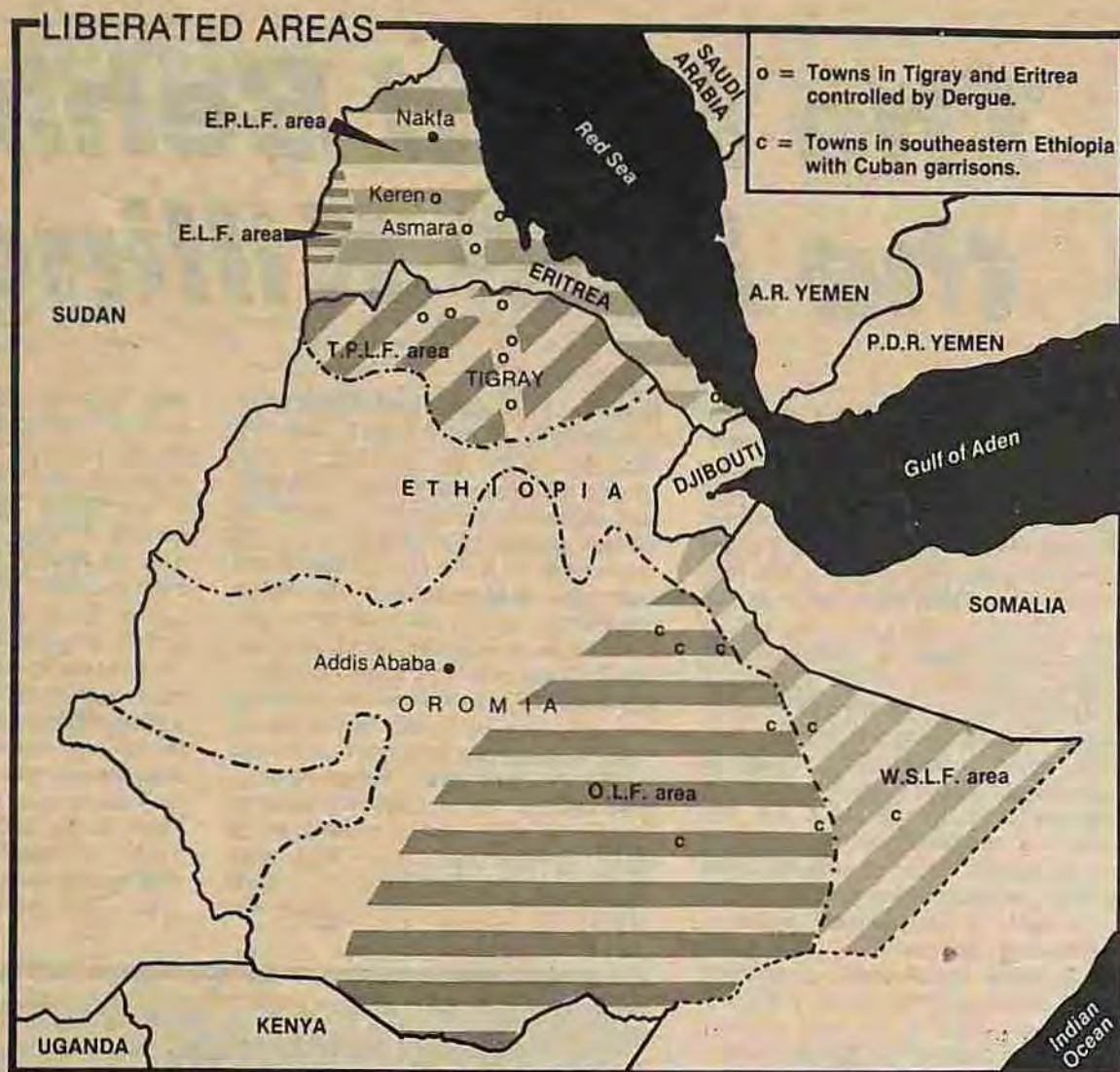
The upsurge of 1974-75 provided both great opportunities as well as special problems for the Oromo struggle. The immediate response of the Oromo peasantry toward the Dergue was one of optimism. This was because the land nationalization proclamation and the abolition of tenancy at first seemed in line with the aspirations of the Oromo masses. The fact that the army had taken power was also seen as encouraging because it was widely known that the army was 75% Oromo (since the only chance a landless Oromo youth had to get land was by army service).

In response, the OLF sent cadre into the organizations created by the Dergue, the peasant association and the urban *Kebeles* (neighborhood committees). Sharp questions were soon raised when the land nationalization program, conducted with the formal equality of nationalities, resulted in a new wave of Amhara settlers from the overcrowded highlands being awarded land shares in Oromia. Then after the foreign owned plantations of the Awash valley were nationalized, the Dergue moved to expand them greatly, hoping for increased foreign exchange. The expansion of the state farms resulted not in "land to the tiller," but in "eviction to the tiller" as thousands of Oromo peasants were forced to either move to new lands or become wage workers on the state farms—generally managed by Amharas.

The political results were confrontations like those that occurred in 1978 in the Harrage area when a peasant responded to a government lecturer by saying: "You told us that our enemies are imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism. We have never seen any of them. What we have seen, to tell the truth, is the Amharas who came here and took our land. Anyway, is that what all this means: Amhara?" The crowd of peasants applauded. The peasant speaker certainly had a clear grasp of at least one immediate aspect of the Dergue's "socialism."

For the OLF a major tool for organizing the peasantry is its newspaper *Bakkalcha Oromo* (Oromo Star). This is the case even though the vast majority of the peasants are illiterate, for the stories are read aloud to groups and then passed on orally from person to person until millions are familiar with them. The mass organizations of the OLF include organizations

Continued on page 17



The Hand Behind the KDP Killings

The trial of Jimmy Ramil and Ben Guloy—the two assassins who gunned down Filipino activists Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes on June 1st in the Seattle office of the Alaskan Cannery Workers Union—is drawing to a close after lasting well over a month. The real question in this trial has never been the guilt of Ramil and Guloy, but rather who's behind them in plotting these murders. The course of the trial itself, the appearance of a number of surprise witnesses, recesses lasting several days while lawyers revised their strategies, the arrest of a third person, Filipino gang leader Tony Dictado, for the murders in the middle of the trial—all this indicates the sharp contradiction faced by the authorities and the unexpected turns in the political situation surrounding the trial.

The ruling class—working through the prosecutor and the press—is hoping that by revealing in this trial a small part of the conspiracy that led to the murder of Viernes and Domingo, it can keep much more hidden. According to the official story, the plot to kill Viernes and Domingo was solely the product of a conspiracy between the president of the Cannery Workers Union, Tony Baruso, and the Tulisan gang. A reform of the union's corrupt methods of dispatching workers to Alaska was making it impossible for Tulisan members to bribe their way into jobs in Alaskan seafood canneries, where the gang members would supervise gambling games in the workers' barracks and then divide the profits with Baruso. Thus, according to the prosecution's arguments, Baruso and Tulisan leader Dictado, sent Guloy and Ramil to carry out the gangland-style execution of Viernes and Domingo.

What the government is attempting to hide is that these murders were carried out in a desperate bid to maintain the hold of a network of reactionaries tied to the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines on the Filipino community.

As reported in the *RW*, the murders of Viernes and Domingo, both of whom were officers in the Cannery Workers Union and members of *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (the Union of Democratic Filipinos, KDP), unleashed a wave of outrage throughout the Filipino community and among much broader sections of the people as well. In the weeks that followed, hundreds of people attended the memorial and funeral services held for Gene and Silme, and in the tense political atmosphere the demand that the forces behind the murders be uncovered and punished was widespread. Even various reactionaries in the Filipino community, including union President Baruso himself, were obliged to issue self-serving calls for an "investigation" of the murders in the hope of covering their own involvement.

While the reactionary network within the Filipino community found itself thrown on the defensive, the authorities quickly realized that any attempt to only prosecute Guloy and Ramil and then attempt to end the matter there would meet with widespread opposition, and be a glaring exposure of the state's own interests in the murders. Still the police and prosecution said almost nothing in the month and a half following the murders, as the press, TV and radio all attempted to divert public attention from the political nature of the assassinations, painting Viernes and Domingo solely as "union reformers" and the reason for the murders as simply a question of "union corruption."

Then on July 11th, Baruso, who was already widely suspected of being involved in the murders, was arrested.

Baruso's .45 caliber pistol turned up in a trashcan in a Seattle park, and this then was identified as the murder weapon. Baruso was released three days later without being charged, supposedly because of lack of evidence.

A month later the trial of Ramil and Guloy got under way. Each day saw an overflow crowd in the courtroom and the case once again became front-page news and the center of public attention. But while the prosecution was unveiling its explanation of the murders as merely a plot worked out between Baruso and the Tulisan gang, it was becoming painfully obvious that nobody was going to swallow a story about "justice being done" if only Ramil and Guloy were brought to trial, and so, in the middle of the trial, Tulisan leader Dictado was

also arrested and charged with aggravated murder. The arrest and charging was clearly a result of political consideration on the prosecution's part, for it was readily admitted that there was no new evidence leading to the arrest, only the same evidence that was already been presented in the trial of Ramil and Guloy. What all these machinations are aimed at hiding, at what is in fact being brought out more and more into public view, is an apparatus including not only a network of pro-Marcos organizations in the Filipino community, but also the active involvement of Seattle police, the seafood canning industry in Alaska, the local Philippine Consulate, and, behind it all, the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines and the U.S. imperialists.

Even looking at the gambling activi-

ty, which the prosecution would like us to believe is the sole reason behind the murders, it is blatantly clear that much more is at work than is coming out in the court. The gambling in Alaska canneries is traditionally managed by the foremen in the canneries, and in the trial it was revealed that one cannery worker had to pay thousands of dollars in bribes to Dictado and Baruso in return for getting a foreman's job in Alaska. Clearly the canning companies themselves are up to their necks in this activity, encouraging and supporting both the gambling and the gangs that thrive off of it as a method of both maintaining control of their workers and as a means of cementing their hold in the Filipino community. And the gambling not only goes on in Alaska but in the Seattle-Filipino community as well. Both Ramil and Guloy have claimed that they were working at the time of the murder at a gambling club in Seattle's International District which is connected with the Tulisan gang. Obviously all of this gambling activity cannot go on without the knowledge and consent of the Seattle police. In fact, rumors of payoffs to the police by the gambling house operators are widespread, and a few years ago Seattle police involvement in the gambling even became an election issue. On the day

Continued on page 17

Attica Prisoners Commemorate Rebellion

The ten-year anniversary of the revolutionary prison uprising at Attica passed the weekend of September 13, with at least two sharp outbreaks of struggle punctuating the tense atmosphere at the prison. The authorities were unable to suppress the prisoners' commemoration of the Attica Rebellion (September 9, 1971), and the events that went down left them openly fearful of an even more powerful explosion.

The first outbreak occurred in the 118-cell Special Housing Unit—the "Box" as it's known—where the most rebellious and politically active inmates are systematically punished and held in round-the-clock solitary confinement. On Friday, September 11, 15 "Box" inmates refused to allow business as usual on this occasion. They first broke their cell windows and then, as guards came in the cellblock with breakfast trays, they hurled the shards of glass and piles of human excrement at them. Attica's orange jumpsuited Correctional Emergency Response Team (CERT) was immediately called in to quell the inmates. They ordered the men out for strip-searching, and, when 10 refused to comply, they let fly with teargas canisters into their cells. Upon coming out, the prisoners responded in kind, punching and kicking the guards who moved towards them. A number of the "Box" inmates were beaten and State Police were called in as back-up—threatening criminal charges against the inmates. While the media reports tried hard to paint the incident as just typical of the "Box's" reputation for violence and "problem" inmates, Friday's clash was only a prelude of more powerful ones to come.

That same Friday morning, in one of the two mess-halls of the general prison population, the breakfast meal was greeted with a silent tribute to the Attica Rebellion. By evening meal, the silence had spread to both mess-halls, evoking memories of resistance in the hearts of the prisoners (especially the ones who had been there more than 10 years) and evoking stone-cold terror in the hearts of their keepers. For, it was exactly in this way that Attica inmates united in outrage and solidarity when news of the murder of George Jackson spread from the bowels of San Quentin Prison in California to Attica.

Indeed, Jackson's murder was a key element in shaping the Attica Rebellion

10 years ago. From the morning the word spread, the heat inside the walls of Attica was beginning to rise. As the men filed out for breakfast on that day, they organized themselves into two columns, a Black prisoner heading each one. By noon, everyone in the over 2,000 inmate population knew that they were observing a day of mourning and outrage over Jackson's murder. Inside the mess-halls, hundreds of prisoners sat in total silence, fasting, and seething with unreserved hostility at the very system that had murdered their comrade and incarcerated them. Then it all erupted.

"We are men," L.D. Barkley, a leader of the revolt wrote. "We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten and driven as such... What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those oppressed." Overcoming the long-fostered and exacerbated racial divisions, the prisoners rallied around a multi-national political leadership. They immediately set to organizing political discussion groups about the world and the events shaping it. A public address system was rigged up, observer committees established, hospital and mess facilities were thrown into gear, and their hostage-guards were given infinitely better treatment than they deserved.

The massive armed assault four days later by combined forces of New York State troopers and National Guardsmen, was designed for an audience far beyond the walls of Attica. Thirty-four prisoners were brutally murdered in the attack. A number, like L.D. Barkley, were singled out and assassinated for their roles as leaders and revolutionaries. Nine of the guards were also killed by the attackers who spared no firepower in their retaking of D Block. The Attica Rebellion and the vicious suppression leveled at inmates sent reverberations around the world. Indeed, a visiting delegation of Americans in revolutionary China one month after the uprising, was greeted by high school students chanting: "Right on to Attica!"

While the silent commemoration of the rebellion continued inside at every meal over the weekend, outside, on Sunday morning, a reactionary scene was unfolding. A memorial service was being held for the dead hostage-guards, with Attica guards in full-dress regalia.

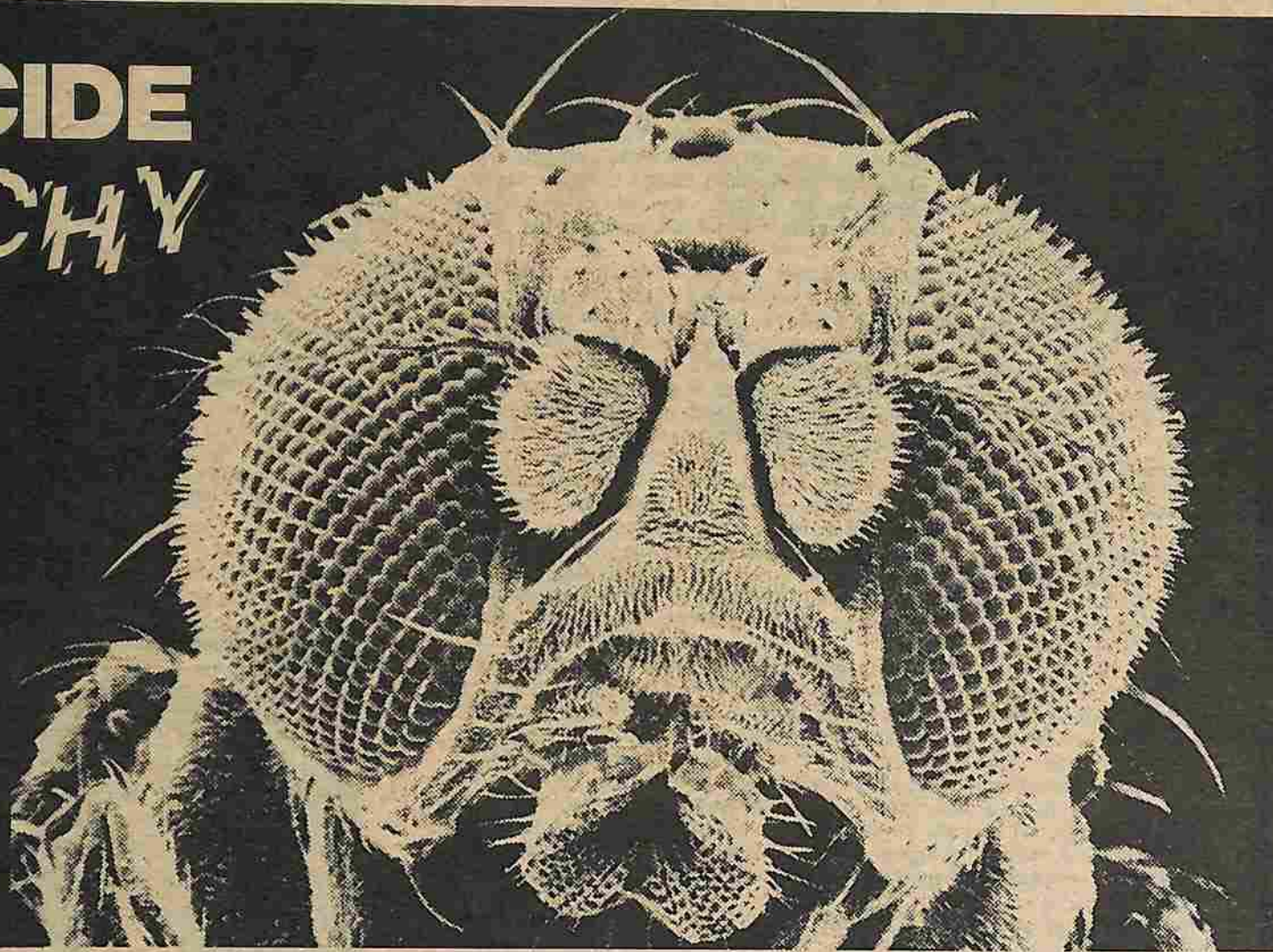
As the bugler played Taps, surviving former hostages placed wreaths on the huge monument to those "killed in the line of duty." This wooden ritual pale amidst the rumblings of the imprisoned.

The next day, September 14, the growing unity among the prisoners inside Attica exploded into the second major upheaval of the four-day period. While the scope and full intensity is still unclear, the *RW* has been able to ascertain that a political rebellion did take place in the A Block mess-hall that morning. (A Block, it will be remembered, was where the pigs organized a gauntlet and forced naked prisoners to run under their brutal clubbing right after D Block was retaken after the rebellion.) While news accounts reported the mess-hall disturbance as a fight among prisoners, there are too many inconsistencies for this explanation—the most glaring one being that after A Block mess-hall was cleared the entire prison population was placed under 24-hour lock-in. In fact, the last lock-in occurred in February 1980, when prisoners, in retaliation to guards provoking inmate fights, staged a mess-hall rumble to draw the guards in deep and then pounce on them. What appears to have gone down is that some prisoners were agitating for more assertive ways to commemorate the rebellion and other prisoners (no doubt under orders from guards) began bad-mouthing the idea of refusing breakfast. It was the cue for the CERT squad to swoop in and clear the mess-hall, except 50 inmates refused to be moved out. They defiantly remained there for two hours. The two-hour struggle to get the prisoners out of the mess-hall was clearly a portent of a situation spinning out of the jailers' control. As State Correctional Services spokesman, Lou Ganin described it: "The situation has not settled down. This is precautionary... we decided to shut it down for a couple, three days."

Attica continues to seethe in the wake of these recent struggles. In the midst of rotting decay of the U.S. empire and its heightening repression both inside the prison and outside, it was clear that the 10th anniversary of the Attica U. would not pass without a statement by the inmates. Rebellion, the true spirit of Attica, is irrepressible. □

Medflies and the Plight of U.S. Imperialism

PESTICIDE ANARCHY



During the past several weeks, the State of California has really got down on the job of aerial spraying the pesticide malathion in the "final solution" to the war against the Medfly. After fumbling through two years of other eradication methods, the whole of U.S. imperialism's highly developed agricultural technology has finally managed to lurch into gear on the air attack for which most high-priced "experts" and all agribusiness have been calling all along. The results have not been phenomenal.

Right now, over 1200 miles of urban area running from Oakland down past San Jose, on one side of San Francisco Bay, and halfway up to San Francisco on the other, including the densely populated Fruitvale section of Oakland, are being regularly sprayed by both helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft with the chemical, which is mixed with a sticky-sweet substance to attract the flies. 3300 square miles are under federal quarantine—cars leaving the areas are stopped in lines sometimes miles long at "Checkpoint Charlies," and each are subject to search by state police. Recently the smiling "Ag" inspectors have begun to be replaced by branches of various state police agencies with instructions to be "firmer and more stern"—including with the right to cite on the spot.

The helicopters continue to fly chiefly at night, in formation, using a sprayer, two guidance craft, searchlights, and increasingly, as in Santa Cruz County, tailed by Sheriffs' helicopters checking for snipers, all flying so shudderingly close to rooftops that, as one person put it, "The pilots could see you flip them the bird." The campaign has taken on the martial air of a two-pointed attack: one against the fly, and one against the people on the ground who hate being sprayed with chemical poison. (Although the most open mass opposition has temporarily abated.) On one night alone, September 15, two craft suffered damage, one hit by sniper fire over Santa Cruz County, and one destroyed on the ground by fire.

Major radio stations carry regular announcements, assuring listeners that the spray is perfectly safe—and then warn that children and pets must be kept indoors during the spraying, that yards and schoolgrounds must be thoroughly washed the following morning... people cannot be blamed for wondering about all these precautions over something so "perfectly safe."

However, with all this, the little fly has popped up almost everywhere the authorities hoped it wouldn't—both where they've sprayed and where they haven't. In the middle of July, the fly made an appearance near Los Angeles,

an extremely sensitive point since L.A. is the shipping point for California fruit. The Medfly also spread to Florida, and to the Central Valley in California, the heart of California's \$14 billion agriculture industry, where, according to some estimates, if entrenched the fly could consume 10 to 20% of the crop.

The battle against the Medfly has certainly come at a most inopportune time for U.S. imperialism. A Medfly infestation would be a serious problem at any time (including in a socialist country), but coming right now in the midst of deepening crisis and war preparations, the fly infestation has had the effect of shining a light on a number of imperialist sore spots, and stretching things even further. One such glaring contradiction is the wretched mess imperialism has made by chemically poisoning the environment and the masses of people, and despite this (in fact, largely because of it) their near-helpless floundering in the face of something like the Medfly.

This was re-emphasized last week, when the chieftains of the Medfly campaign met in Los Gatos to figure out what they had accomplished in the Medfly war so far, and what to do over the winter. And they had to announce that they really didn't have any idea what in hell they had done or what to do now. They are not sure how to phase out areas from the spray campaign, they are not sure how to tell if the fly has been eliminated. They do not know the length of the life cycle of the fly in the winter in northern California and they do not know whether to hope for a cold winter or a warm winter. They do not know whether it's necessary to spray each area 12 times or 6 with malathion. State Medfly eradication director Jerry Scribner said, "I think the technical committee is on the horns of a dilemma right now... stopping spraying is like letting go of a cobra."

There's something more than a little fishy here. Why is it easier to start spraying 1200 square miles of urban area with pesticide than to stop? Why have \$150 million already been spent to fight a fly whose life cycle isn't even understood after 1-1/2 years of intense effort? What makes this even more striking is that this is typical of the present state of affairs in the U.S. in relation to the problem of agricultural pests as a whole. And just why this is true, and why "stopping spraying is like letting go of a cobra," reveals some of the most fundamental features of U.S. imperialism—the incredible anarchy of capitalist production, and the way imperialism chokes the development of the productive forces and controls the development of scientific knowledge, including suppressing many important developments.

Multiplying Pests by Pesticide

One good example of the mess the imperialists are in in this regard is the Central Valley, the rich agricultural land that stretches down the middle of California. This is one of the most capital-intensive, and most profitable, areas in all of U.S. agriculture. It is also the area most intensely sprayed with pesticides in the world. In the Central Valley today, there are 25 agricultural pests that cause over \$1 million in crop damages per year. 24 of these were not major dangers to crops until pesticides were widely used—nearly every major agricultural pest in California today has been turned into the crop destroyer that it is by the use of pesticides! And this is true not only in California. In almost every place in the world where regular, systematic, periodic spraying of pesticides has been done (and this is the method used in not only the Central Valley, but in every major agricultural area in the U.S., and in many of the U.S. neo-colonies), after a certain number of years of spraying, the damage done to crops by pests is worse than before the spraying started. In the U.S. as a whole, in the period since WW II, the use of pesticides has increased 10 times, and the damage done to crops by pests has doubled.

This happens because of some fairly simple biological laws. Blanket spraying of pesticides kills a whole broad spectrum of species of insects, especially at the beginning of spraying of an area. In fact, it kills almost all the insects there. But in any field there are many kinds of insects, most of which don't pose any danger to crops, either because they don't eat crops, or because they are held in check by predatory insects (or birds or animals) that eat the crop-eating insects. So when a field is hit with pesticides, and most insects die, a clear field is left for a small number of potential pests which are resistant to the poison for one reason or another, but whose predators have been killed off by the poison. These crop-eating insects can eat and multiply without much competition, and pass on their most pesticide-resistant traits to their progeny. As this repeated through years, whole new varieties of insects that destroy crops and get along fine with pesticides are created by the kind of spraying that American agribusiness enforces. In fact, history has shown that the stronger the pesticide use, the more quickly and more voraciously new pests are brought forward.

This is basic science. So why is American agriculture—supposedly so advanced and scientific—so hopelessly addicted to pesticides? It's an addiction that has come straight from the cut-

throat, anarchic nature of capitalism, and the viciously pragmatic nature of imperialism, as finance capital moved into agriculture in a big way, particularly in the period since WW II. When pesticides were first introduced into the fields in a massive way at that time, bugs dropped off the plants like, well, flies, when hit by such miracle chemicals as DDT (now banned for use in the U.S. because it started killing birds, showing up in deep-ocean fish, in meat like beef, and in fatty tissue in human beings, and in higher concentrations in the milk of nursing mothers than the government allowed in cow's milk sold in stores. It is still sold all over the world by U.S. chemical giants, however). Because they "worked" so well at first, and because massive, highly mechanized spraying of pesticides fit so perfectly into the influx of big capital into agriculture in the period after the war, the use of pesticides quickly became very widespread, and part of the way in which imperialist domination of agriculture was secured. Very little labor was required, it wasn't necessary to do any scientific investigation of insects or other pests, and it wasn't even necessary to conduct systematic investigation to see what insects were in the fields (in fact, this kind of approach quickly became something that had to be suppressed, as the real long-term effects of these pesticides revealed themselves). Just nuke 'em, and they'll die.

Once this system got established, and even as it began to get clear what the real relationship was—just nuke 'em, and they come back bigger and worse than ever—it was very difficult for a single farmer to pull out of the whole pesticide syndrome. The basic anarchy of production under imperialism meant that each farmer had to survive and make a profit each year, or in many cases the farm would come under the control of a bank. Pulling out of the whole pesticide system usually meant taking some losses, often very big ones, especially where pesticide use had been heavy. The soil was leached with pesticides, some crops couldn't grow in it, and the traditional crop was now vulnerable to both the pesticide-created pests, and the old pests that had been held in check by the use of pesticides. Pulling out of the system, to an indebted farmer, often means going out of business.

Further, the banks actually demanded pesticide use. Pesticide companies set up a system of agents who go to farmers throughout the country, providing the only advice many farmers get on how to deal with insects and other pests. They, of course, recommend reg-

Continued on page 23

The RW received the following press release from the San Francisco Poster Brigade.

Internationalist Art Show*Anti-WW3**

New York City

The Parsons School of Design Exhibition Center in New York City was open to serve the people through the month of July 1981—not without struggle or the threat of cancellation... even all round demolition and clouds of white plaster. But there it was standing proud, fresh new art from "... the four corners of the four directions of the wind..." finding freedom in the struggle; and the password is—internationalism.

There were hot fluorescent colors exploding in orange and pink sparks from the smouldering art and incendiary poetry; a celebration of the liberating of the mind in preparation for the trials before us. Take courage from the realization that you are one of many in a battle that is world-wide in scope "... calling across many manacled centuries of the western world's history..."

Imagine a future "where gold shall be no measure of such things that are the fruit of the land to be"*** Here is the art of rebel slaves many who have risked their lives to participate, sending veiled out profound messages around the world. From Bulgaria came the people's angry shouts for liberty from the mouth of a soldier; and from the US bloc came posters of defiant GIs—fists clenched in power salutes with ANTI-WW3 looming on the horizon. The victims of Imperialism from all over the world have contributed satire so sharp and corrosive—it dissolves the grinning mask of the oppressors and lets us see their naked greed. The truth speaks here—what a radical, startling and dangerous thing! (No wonder the bourgeois press shrinks from it.) The intention of the show is to confront not just the enemy but the whole bag of demons he has paid to suck on our minds.

This is an epic collage—the spectators find themselves in a position where they can make comparisons, seekout solutions, alter their thinking and in turn realize their capacity for altering the world. Much of this art arouses our capacity for action—we are brought to the point of recognition. A woman wrote in the comment book "you drag my mind out of the everyday doldrums and shake the dust off my mind and soul!". TV and film, as tools of the oppressors, traditionally serve as a substitute for action, fostering empathy and a sense that our reality as slaves is "only natural" and will never change. In contrast, this show was mounted in such a way that it argues against the idea of a predetermined and inexorable fate. It employs and encourages those thoughts and feelings which transform the world.

"We are Internationalists! That's right!" said a Black worker reading from the spray-painted walls. Within the school that houses the exhibition center (a place traditionally serving as a factory-manufacturing artists for Madison Ave.) there was debate about revolution and the possibilities of civil war. A teenager from Coney Island said that he had thought that he was alone in New York City but after experiencing the show he found that there are people who feel as he does all over the world.

People jammed the Exhibition Center for the last open mike poetry reading—a woman from Harlem began reading her poetry by expressing her joy at joining the Internationalist art movement. 19 poets read to a responsive and diverse audience eager to hear poetry of defiance and rebellion. Students and contributors from the surrounding areas brought their entire family down to see the show. A number of people returned many times acting as guides for each group of friends they brought along. On opening night, a composition class for newly arrived African students came from Brooklyn with the project of writing an essay recording their experience and perceptions. An art class came from a business school on 43rd Street came to view the exhibit. The show had been successful in generating heated debate between people who would otherwise not have the occasion to speak to one another. Overseas tourists, young intellectuals, revolutionary artists, high school students, Vietnam vets, workers, physicians concerned about the consequences of nuclear war, art teachers, designers, etc.—people joined in arguments and sat for hours discussing all manner of subjects relating to the possibilities before us. More than 5,000 people visited the show.

During the show, there was quite a struggle among artists about the relationship between the intent behind and the results of particular works—and who should art serve? This kind of debate is an extraordinary thing in the clamoring "me first" climate of NYC art and "anti-art" scene. Artists who have narrowed their vision to the behinds of the workers have shown an uneasy fascination for the strong and exuberant defiance and unabashed rebellious beauty that characterizes the show. Suggestions made in the comment book to tone down this revolutionary thrust and steer people into petitioning the rulers had been sharply rebuked by people emboldened by messages from rebel comrades worldwide.

All manner of people have pointed out their desire for art that depicts enthusiasm and revolutionary optimism for the future. What people don't want is world weariness and hopelessness. When art is applied to exposing the enemy—artists need to analyse and show not only the duplicity and the bankruptcy of the system but the inevitability of its defeat. We need art that portrays the capacity of the people to rid themselves of a decayed system and that shows people's ability to bring a new truly free world into being. The possibilities

are boundless—life offers so many examples that artists can draw from to reveal the contention between what is dying and what is struggling to be born. What is needed is art that concentrates the new things—in the streets of England, in Ireland, El Salvador, South Africa, Iran and all over the world in the hearts and minds of the people who will make the future possible.

Work is continually being accepted to keep the show current and vital as it continues to travel.

Send: Xerox, photos, drawings and paintings on paper, poetry, music, etc., on cassettes...

To: SF Poster Brigade
PO Box 31428
San Francisco, CA 94131 USA.

- * Survival Poem—Art Goodtimes
- ** Up From The Sea—PD Murphy
- *** Gather Into Fists—David S Raymond

Cover of the announcement for the poetry reading at the show.

Camera-Shy Migra Agents React To Exposure

"I don't think it warrants much conversation. It's pretty routine," stated an INS (Immigration & Naturalization Service) official. No doubt—it's "routine."

On August 20, Octavio Gomez, a Mexican citizen and reporter for the Los Angeles Spanish-language newspaper, *La Opinión*, was manhandled and threatened by INS agents as he photographed the INS busting up a protest against the deportation of Salvadoran refugees. The protestors, nuns and other churchwomen, had blocked a driveway of the Federal Building in Los Angeles to prevent INS vans from leaving for the airport with their daily death shipment of Salvadoran deportees. As the INS pushed and shoved the protestors out of the driveway, trying to tear

banners out of their hands and grabbing the camera of a free-lance photographer, one agent put his hand over Gomez's camera. When Gomez pushed it away, he was grabbed by 4 INS agents, shoved against a van, his camera taken, and he was ordered to show "identification." No, not a press pass—they wanted his immigration papers, and they threatened Gomez with deportation, saying, "From today, you are on 'limited status.'"

A week later, Gomez was driving to work when he saw the INS conducting another "routine" operation—a sweep of a liquor store and bus bench. All those who appeared to be Latino were jacked up and four were hauled off in an INS van. When Gomez started photographing this operation (the INS is supposedly prohibited from accosting people on the basis of their appearance), he was again jumped by INS agents and his camera was grabbed (the agents tried to remove the film but

couldn't figure out how). One INS agent told Gomez, "I know you. I'll have you fired." Another squealed, "I'll break your fucking camera and I'll break your fucking face."

In response, *La Opinión* filed a complaint with the U.S. Attorney's office. The very next day the INS launched a raid on *La Opinión*. INS agents stationed themselves outside *La Opinión's* offices, and when two workers went outside they were grabbed by the INS for deportation. "Purely coincidental," said the INS, of the first raid on *La Opinión* in the newspaper's 55-year history.

The INS, part of the Department of Justice, is an expert at such "routine" operations. And, of course, it is another branch of the Dept. of Justice, none other than that master of dirty tricks, the FBI, which now is to "investigate" *La Opinión's* complaint. And it is the Dept. of Justice itself which oversees immigration policy and which has

formulated the policy of denying refugee status or political asylum to Salvadorans. "It's a family," said Gomez.

This is not the first such "routine" operation. Gomez himself has been quite well known to the authorities for a long time. In fact, he was the cameraman for Ruben Salazar—another Latino journalist who refused to keep quiet about the brutal national oppression carried out routinely against Latino people—when Salazar was murdered by L.A. sheriffs during the 1970 Chicano Moratorium. A year ago, on the 10th anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium, and of Salazar's death, Gomez wrote an article in *La Opinión* exposing that murder.

Gomez said that INS agents had tried to prevent him from photographing raids on garment sweatshops in the past, but only in the last month have they intensified their attacks to manhandling, threats of deportation, or worse. This, along with the INS raid on *La Opinión*, makes it clear that the government is desperately trying to clamp down on exposure of its immigration policies. □

Correspondence on Brecht

In RW No. 91 (February 6, 1981) we called on revolutionary-minded artists and others to debate within the pages of the paper the role of the playwright Bertolt Brecht—to contribute to an evaluation of his works and theories. Brecht wrote during the critical years surrounding the last world war, associating himself with communism and struggling to apply Marxism to the creation of revolutionary art. Today, as we approach another such critical juncture, his works are being widely performed and his methods and theories are being hotly discussed. The questions involved are far from resolved, either broadly or among communists and revolutionaries. At the heart of the struggle around Brecht lie overall questions of revolution vs. revisionism, particularly as applied in the sphere of art and literature. Such an evaluation necessarily confronts, for instance, the matter of the Popular Front pursued by the international communist movement during the period he wrote, and the legacy of that line today as it applies to the struggle in the cultural arena.

We urge those of you who are involved in doing Brecht or grappling with questions of revolutionary art and politics to assist in this evaluation. For earlier contributions, please see RWs No. 99, 101, 104 and 116. Following is the most recent contribution to this debate.

Central to judging any work of art is the objective effect that it has. And the effect is conditioned by the times we live in, the questions of the day and what is actually challenging the old order. I think this is the way we have to try and evaluate things, including the role of Brecht, and not look around for ready-made formulas for revolutionary plays.

Both (of the longer) letters on the Brecht debate (RW No. 104 and 116) fall short in doing this. The first letter sums up that Brecht was a revolutionary whose work should be upheld (true), but it glosses over his shortcomings, and basically excuses them by saying that it wasn't Brecht's fault that he was writing before the Cultural Revolution and in a period where revisionism ran amuck (also true). But don't the theoretical developments since Brecht demand that we sum up the role of his plays in light of this? The letter does not begin to address the question of whether Brecht needs "major surgery," and if so, what it should consist of.

The second letter is almost unbelievable in its attempts to use the advances of the Cultural Revolution as some kind of "revolutionary" yardstick to conclude that Brecht doesn't fill any of the "criteria" of the model works. In fact he was a revisionist. Useless. Throw him out.

I write this letter as an attempt to speak both to Brecht's contributions and his shortcomings and what was the basis for both; and why we should not only popularize the best of Brecht's works today, but also be bold in criticizing and remodeling them.

It is interesting that the first letter (RW No. 104, May 8th), in upholding Brecht's contributions, spends a great deal of time explaining the development of Epic Theater. It concentrates

Brecht's goals and the reasons he developed this new form of theater very well, but it also tails them. It sums up: "All of these changes revolutionized 20th Century Theater. They also earned him the accusation of being a formalist from many of the communist critics of the day. Almost anyone who tried anything new and adventuresome in the '30s and '40s was accused of formalism. The correct model was supposed to be socialist realism."

Yes, Epic Theater did revolutionize 20th Century Theater. It is hard to find a modern play which has not been influenced (not necessarily consciously) by Brecht's revolution in form. But many of these plays using "Brechtian" forms are still shit in terms of content.

Brecht did tend to fall into formalism. And therein lies some of his weaknesses, for there is no form that is inherently revolutionary. I don't think Brecht (or the person who wrote the letter) grasped the essence of socialist realism, and tended to view it in terms of form rather than world outlook and class content. In Brecht's lecture, "On Experimental Theater" (reprinted in *Brecht on Theater*—a collection of essays, interviews and lectures by Brecht), he notes the bourgeoisie's aesthetic definition of theater as being "a place of entertainment and instruction." He then traces the history of experimental theater in post-war Europe, saying of expressionism that "the theater's educative value collapsed." There was, he says, "a crisis of half a century's experiments" and that "the development tended toward a fusion of the two functions, instruction and entertainment." It was in the course of grappling with this problem (as Brecht saw it) and taking part in the experimentation that he developed a new approach, the Epic style, of which he says in conclusion: "The solution here aimed at is only ONE of the conceivable solutions to the problem, which can be expressed so: How can theater be both instructive and entertaining? How can it be divorced from spiritual dope traffic and turned from a home of illusions into a home of experiences? How can the unfree and ignorant man of our century, with his thirst for freedom and his hunger for knowledge; how can the tortured and heroic, abused and ingenious, changeable and world-changing man of this great and ghastly century obtain his own theater which will help him master the world and himself?"

But is the "problem" as Brecht raises it here in fact the central one for the working class in its struggle to develop revolutionary culture? In *Yenan Talks* (1942) Mao poses things very differently. He says, "The first problem is: Literature and art for whom?" I doubt Brecht had the opportunity to read Mao, but from the second half of the above quote it's clear that the question of "for whom?" was on Brecht's mind. And I think his greatest contributions to theater flowed from his attempts to consciously try and serve the working class with his art. His deep-rooted hatred for capitalism and a burning desire to change the world led to plays that are rebellious, challenging; that dare to question and dare to expose; and it is these ideas (and not the Epic form) that make them so popular among progressive and revolutionary-

minded people today.

However, Brecht's lack of clarity on the relationship between form and content led to serious weaknesses in some of his plays. For example some of his more didactic work confuses the role of art with agitation, and in so doing dulls the artistic power of theater. And the failure to firmly grasp the central problem led to Brecht devoting a great deal of time and energy in attacking the symptoms of bourgeois theater: that it numbs people out and pacifies us with fantasies, etc. But what is essentially wrong with bourgeois theater/bourgeois realism is not this, not its "realism," but its outlook. In fact what is "real" is doomed to be extremely limited because all the bourgeoisie can do is concentrate its own view of reality, which is superficial and static. The most they can do is give us a glimpse "at a world of self-seeking individuals, which is by no means the greater part, or certainly the essence of reality." (Bob Avakian)

In particular, the question of empathy was a big thing with Brecht. He saw as one of the worst things about bourgeois theater its method of mindlessly "sucking people in" to identify with the characters and situation. But is it empathy itself which is the problem, or which class is using it? What about the revolutionary ballet from China, *The White Haired Girl*? We weep with her when her father is killed; when she rebels against the landlord we rebel too; when she escapes we are nervous and excited; and when the Red Army liberates the village and the people rejoice, we rejoice too. What's wrong with that? Isn't this part of what art is all about? For just as the essence of bourgeois realism is its outlook and not its "realistic" form, so is the heart of socialist realism its outlook.

Does this view of socialist realism mean that in terms of theater every play should have a red flag on stage? Do the masses always have to be shown rising up, guns in hand? Is a play without a central proletarian hero just lagging behind what's needed? This brings me back to the second letter (on the *Good Woman of Szechwan*) which would have answered "Yes, yes, yes" to all the above questions. It uses the lessons of the Cultural Revolution in an extremely dogmatic manner which beats down Brecht and will get us nowhere in developing revolutionary culture. Viewing things this way the letter concludes: "The 'good woman' is a dimwit who gets herself (and others) into trouble by giving away what she doesn't have and who allows herself to be fucked over, literally and figuratively, by the masses..." For starters, only a dimwit could miss the fact that this play is a parable and take Brecht's device of the Gods, and the questions of good vs. evil so literally. I began this letter by saying that objective effect is central to judging any work of art. Contrast the letter's view of *Good Woman of Szechwan* with a local production I saw recently. Produced by a city college drama department and with a youthful, vigorous, multi-national cast, this production chose to highlight the woman question and how our dog-eat-dog society forces women into a certain position; that despite Shen-te's goodness (and there really are people who are

goodhearted and give a shit about others... millions of them) she is forced by the society she lives in to "play the game" of trying to make it in a man's (capitalist's) world. She fails. This production took (and understood) the essence of the play and sharpened it... choosing to draw out certain themes more sharply. They were not slavish to Brecht's script, and in fact the director wrote his own finale, which strengthened their production. Its effect was overwhelmingly positive.

What is so wrong with the letter (RW No. 116) is not just that someone missed the point, but that the approach taken leads to a failure to unite with, or even recognize, what is actually out there and playing a progressive or revolutionary role in the cultural arena. We have to apply Marxism in a living way to this question of Brecht. His plays can't be taken wholesale; neither can we throw them out. Brecht addresses many key questions of the day in his works, but they vary a lot in how clearly and sharply they do this. We have to analyze them play by play and ask: What is this play about? What role can it objectively play in the class struggle today? Does it correspond with what's needed? Does it in the main serve the interests of the working class or the capitalists? We have to act in the spirit of Brecht himself and take what is good and use it and popularize it. (Most of Brecht's plays are based on stories that he adapted, borrowed from or set in a different era, etc.)

I want to end by using one of Brecht's best known and most popular plays as an example: *Mother Courage*. This play would most certainly be dumped by whoever wrote the second letter, for *Mother Courage* is far from a proletarian hero. In fact Brecht wrote her as a negative model. But this is also a play about war—a huge war—in which the people are shown to have no interest in fighting for either side. Indeed, both sides are shown to have the same interests; that "war is a continuation of business by other means" (Brecht's words taken from his notes on the play); a play that exposes the futility of the petty-bourgeois outlook of clinging to and trying to preserve its meager and pathetic position, and "profit" by war. (This is concentrated in the central character of *Mother Courage*); but alongside this we have her daughter, Katrin, symbolically portrayed as mute to represent the extreme repression of the masses, who rises above all the muck and the mire and gives her life to warn a whole city of people that they are about to be attacked.

Doesn't this speak to many of the key questions facing us today? I think so. Such works should not only be upheld in word... they should be performed... broadly. And we must take advantage of elements like Katrin, who I think is a proletarian hero even if not the main character. And we can and should be bold in making changes and adaptations wherever this will make the line of the play sharper, the lessons clearer and therefore its effect more devastating.

A member of the
Red Flag Theater ensemble
San Francisco

From 1973 Chinese Scientific Journal:

Matter Is Infinitely Divisible

—by Bian Sizu

A proton gets "smashed" into energy neutrino, being
(See key at bottom of page)

Recently an important collection of scientific articles from Mao's revolutionary forces in China has come to our attention. These articles were published in ten (and possibly more) volumes of a Shanghai journal, *Dialectics of Nature*, from 1973 through the end of 1975. To our knowledge, they have not been published anywhere in English, even though they speak to some of today's most pressing scientific and philosophical questions. For this reason we are asking for people to contact us to assist in translating more of these articles for publication not only in this newspaper, but in other forms as well—getting these articles into various arenas where they should be seen.

Some of the topics covered in other articles include: "On Necessity and Contingency in Mutation", "Motion is not Eliminateable—Commentary on Black Hole Theory", "Cancer is Knowable, Cancer is Curable", "Practice Raises our Understanding of the Brain's Function", "Critique of Einstein's World Outlook", "Can Physiology Give One Intelligence?" "On the Conservation and non-Conservation of Motion—also comment on the 1st and 2nd laws of thermodynamics", "The Internal Factor and the External Factor in the Evolution of Living Things". These are just a few of the titles from the tables of contents.

Dialectics of Nature was mainly a journal for the broad popularization of scientific knowledge and scientific outlook among the Chinese people. It also contained theoretical work on the most up-to-date scientific questions. Linking science with the masses and putting it at the service of the laboring people was a revolutionary principle in China. This was not only a question of spreading scientific knowledge, but an important question of the class struggle within China. There was a serious struggle to break the monopoly of the exploiting classes on the leadership and the outlook guiding science, which was being used by these class forces as capital in contending with the pro-

letariat for overall leadership in society. There was also a question of breaking down superstition and unleashing the role of the masses as the main force in scientific experiment. Beyond combatting the idea of science as private capital, the revolutionaries also struggled within scientific circles against metaphysics and idealism and for dialectical materialism to play a guiding role, leading scientists to break new barriers and make further advances in scientific theory.

These documents, along with other, more technical ones, need to be rescued from the bin the current leadership in China has dumped them in in their attack on the achievements of the Cultural Revolution.

The paragraph immediately below was an abstract preceding the original *Dialectics of Nature* article. All footnotes were in the original text except those indicated by "translators note".

This article mainly talks about the fact that material structure in its micro-aspect is infinite. Looking at the structural levels of matter, there is qualitative difference between each level. Going deeper through such levels, it is again an infinite, continuously divisible process. Judging from the concrete structural types of matter, there is the discrete form of matter and also the object form of field, and each level is the unity of these two forms. Judging from the structural characteristics expressed by matter in motion, wavicles (generally called "elementary particles") are expressed both as discrete particles and as continuous waves. Therefore, matter is always one divides into two, it is always the unity of the discrete and the continuous. There is no end to man's understanding of the structure of matter, neither is there an end to the development of science.

Matter Is Infinitely Divisible

by Bian Sizu

(Appeared in *Dialectics of Nature* magazine No. 2, Nov. 1973)

Human understanding of nature is, on the one hand, advancing continuously from the immediate to the far-reaching, expanding into broader categories, and marching into the broadness of nature; on the other hand, it is continuously advancing from shallowness to depth, more and more reaching into the ever deeper levels of material structures, and marching into the depth of nature.

The history of the development of natural science is a record of man's triumphant march into the depth and broadness of nature. Human beings initially saw only different things. Later, man reduced various different things to several million kinds of compounds, and these compounds were in turn found to consist of the atoms of tens, hundreds of chemical elements. After further advancing deeper into the structure of atoms, man also understood that all these many atoms are composed of protons, neutrons and electrons—the most important so-called "elementary" particles. With science's further development, not only does the number of "elementary" particles continuously increase to several dozen, but also it is increasingly demonstrated that an "elementary" particle is not elementary and can be further divided. This name itself is very unscientific. At this point we know these particles not only as particles, but also as waves. Some people simply call them "wavicles" which ac-

tually reflects the key characteristic of these micro-objects.

Discreteness and Continuity

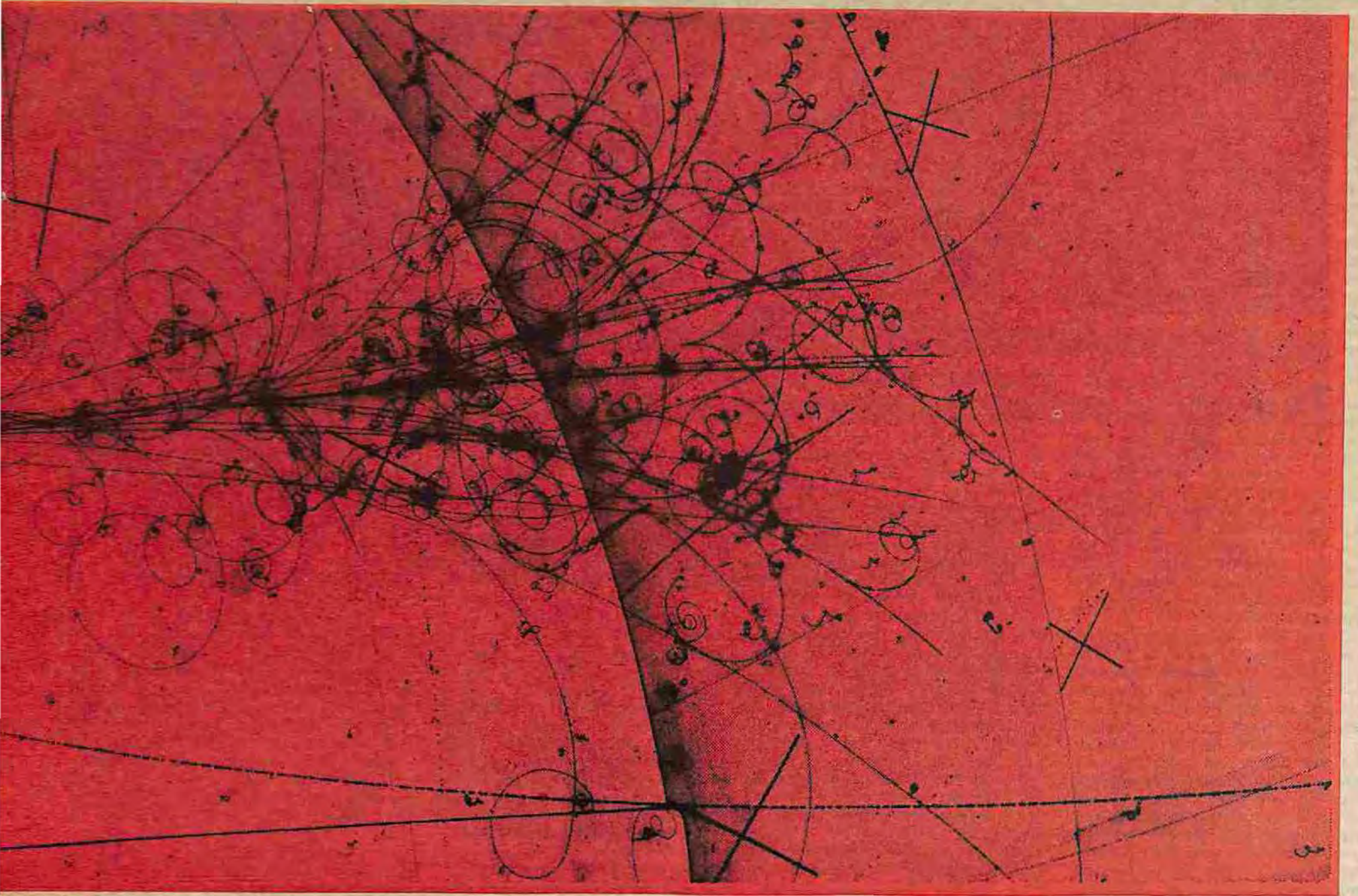
There are various types of things in the world—celestial bodies and dust, mountains and oceans, organic beings and "dead things". Behind these varieties of things, is there some common thing? Is there a unity within this infinite diversity of things? This question pushes man to advance step by step into the essence of things through various stripes and colors of superficial phenomena. As Engels has said, "Here, therefore, is already the whole original spontaneous materialism which at its beginning quite naturally regards the unity of the infinite diversity of natural phenomena as a matter of course". (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers p. 186).

The diversity of the material world can only have unity in matter. Things have a myriad of differences, but they are all matter. However, in ancient times, due to the low level of production practice, men were still not able to abstract the concept of "matter" out of its various concrete material forms. They inevitably "sought [this unity] in something definitely corporeal, a particular thing." (*Dialectics of Nature*, p. 186). They always sought to find a thing "That of which all things consist, from which they first emerge and into which they are ultimately resolved." What is this "element and principle of all being"?

Initially some people conjectured that it is a kind of absolutely continuous matter. In ancient Greece, Thales declared that water is the basis

1. Wavicle refers to micro-particles one level below the atom. For example, the electron, photon, proton, neutron, etc. They are generally called "elementary particles," meaning the smallest particles that cannot be further divided, and this name is rather unscientific, because the out-

standing characteristic of these particles is that in motion they express themselves both as particles and as waves. Therefore, some people call them "wavicles" (combining two words: wave and particle). This article adopts this name.



1." This picture shows a proton, hit by a high energy particle, which divides into many different sub-atomic particles. The tracks are identified by the bubbles, which identifies some of the particle tracks.)

While the particles themselves are not visible in this picture, their motion is recorded in trails of bubbles, which form in superheated hydrogen along the path of a charged particle.

of all things. Anaximenes took air as the principal and basic element. In the Warring States period² of our country, the author of *Guanzi* also thought that water is the "blood and air of earth"; Yang Quan of the *Three Kingdoms* period³ thought that "water is what builds heaven and earth". And still more materialists in our ancient times thought rather this material is air. They inherited the thesis of Sung Xing and Yi Wen in the *Spring and Autumn* period⁴ that air was "the essence of matter"; they thought that heaven and earth were "Nature constituted by air", that air was the "essential substance" of the universe, and all things were the "objective forms" (accumulated, dissipated, and changed) taken by a single essential substance—air.

They sought to find the oneness among manyness in the material world, i.e., the expression of the unity of matter. This was materialism. Unlike [dis-jointed solid] objects, these fluids such as water, fire and air were all continuous. "Flowing water without interruption". It could be measured by volume (as in a container), or it could be divided into drops and iotas in a seemingly infinitely divisible way. As Han Fei⁵ said, "Any thing with a form can be easily tailored and divided". Why? "If it has form, then it has length. If it has length, then it has size." For example, a one-foot-long stick. If we cut away half of it today, and tomorrow another half of the remaining half, then we can go on in this way for 10,000 years, still without exhausting the full length of one foot.

2. (Translator's note)—475-221 BC when China was divided into different states at war with one another.

3. (Translator's note)—AD 220-265

4. (Translator's note)—770-476 BC. As a reference, Confucius was born in this period.

5. (Translator's note)—around the same time as Confucius. Han is a founder of the Legalist School.

Matter is indeed infinitely divisible. Ancient men utilized some concrete forms of matter to express their thinking on the infinite divisibility of matter, thereby objectively expressing dialectics. But to reduce everything into one certain concrete form of matter is to over-simplify the question. Whether water or air, if it is divided in this way, then water still remains water, and air remains air. There exists only the partition in quantity and no change in quality. Engels called it "abstract divisibility, bad infinity" (*Dialectics of Nature*, p. 203). This kind of "infinite divisibility" is completely formal, deceiving, and in essence is not divisibility at all. If everything consisted of this universal plasma, then how could there be diversity in the universe? Such a "unity" becomes one-sided; it only recognizes the unity and abolishes the diversity, and hence it turns into its opposite.

Following the road of this abstract divisibility, one will land in relativism and sophism: The macrocosm (big world) is like this; the microcosm (small world) is also like this. The small world is only the reduced image of the big world. Back in ancient Greece, there were some people who imagined that each particle was also like our entire world: There exist inhabited cities, plowed fields, and there are sun, moon, and stars. You say your world is big, but residents of a small world won't feel their own world is small either. Therefore, there is no difference between the big and the small. "The whole earth is no bigger than the tip of a hair; and Mount Tai is small" (*Zhangzi*⁶). A needle point is as big as the whole world. "Within a pore of Buddha's skin, there exist all the Buddhas, all the places, all the time, and all the benefits" (Buddhist Teaching). A pore is as big as the whole world. The big is also small, the small is also big, and there is no objective standard of things. They become unfathomable things.

6. (Translator's note)—ancient Chinese philosopher.

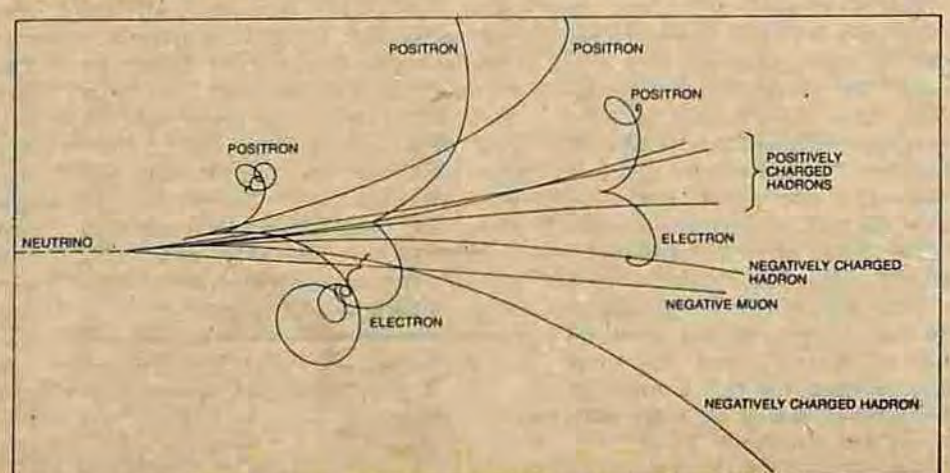
Moreover, the argument that the whole world is nothing but a kind of "elementary matter" also opens the back door for idealism. Since this "elementary matter" is so all-capable, it is no longer ordinary matter. It must become a special thing, above matter, a thing above nature. Aristotle called it "ether", or a supernatural thing, a thing above nature, specially made by god. The Confucians, in our country, sometimes also took the "air" that materialists were talking about, and transformed it into something mysterious, beyond matter—"Great Air"—a universal spiritual substance. They either preached that the world was united in the inseparable God, or in "Heavenly Will".

Some materialists opposed this thesis of absolute continuity. You say that a foot-long stick can be divided infinitely, but after being divided into sawdust, it obviously cannot be divided further! Take air as an example. We can see in the sunlight that there are dust micro-particles in the air. In a garden, we can smell the fragrant micro-powders that come out of the flowers. All these indicate that there exist some indivisible things. Starting from these experiences, they drew the opposite conclusion;

Everything in the world consists of micro-particles that cannot be further divided after being divided to some extent. These micro-particles were called "atoms" by Leucippus and Democritus of ancient Greece. The Mo School of our country in the later Spring and Autumn period called it "the end that cannot be chopped off." "The end of divisibility", meaning it has reached the bottom and cannot be divided any longer. They saw the aspect of relative indivisibility of matter. This viewpoint was, at that time, critical, aiming at the sophistry of abstract divisibility. There is an objective standard of the size of matter. There exist differences in quality; a needlepoint is different from the world. This reflects the indivisible aspect of matter. When we divide water down to water molecules, as far as water is concerned, it can no longer be divided. If we divide a water molecule further, it becomes two hydrogen atoms and one oxygen atom and is no longer water. Engels said, in physics we accept "certain...smallest particles"; "In chemistry there is a definite limit to divisibility". (*Dialectics of Nature*, p. 245). Because of this relative indivisibility, there can be molecules and

Continued on page 14

KEY TO PHOTO



Matter

Continued from page 13

atoms, a starting point of development for physics and chemistry.

But the indivisibility of atoms can also only be relative, not absolute. If one makes this indivisibility absolute, regards matter as absolutely discrete and denies the continuity of matter, then one will go into metaphysics and idealism. Newton was like this. He thought that the smaller matter becomes as it is divided, the firmer it gets. When its size is reduced to a certain micro-state, then it becomes so solidly firm that no force other than god's can divide it. This is the logic of objective idealism. Subjective idealism distorts indivisibility from another aspect. Berkeley and Hume both thought that since matter is no more than complexes of sensation, therefore, whatever is the smallest point that man can see, is indivisible. "A thing cannot exist apart from the mind that perceives it." (*New Essay on Vision*, Berkeley). Mach simply denied the existence of atoms. The reason being that he couldn't perceive atoms. These philosophers' outlook is: They can't see how matter is further divided, therefore matter is indivisible.

On the basis of the theory of atoms, Newton painted a "picture of the atomic world": All celestial bodies are constituted of discrete atoms, spottedly filling in the vacuum of the universe, moving incessantly in absolute space according to the laws of mechanical motion. All change and development of things in the world is no more than aggregation and dissociation of atoms. No matter how much things change, the origin of their change remains the same. Atoms themselves never change since they are created by god. Therefore, as long as man understands the motion of atoms, he can "know the past and future", know everything. In this way, Newtonian mechanics had become "final truth".

It thus seemed that absolute continuity is untenable, and absolute discreteness is also untenable. This is a contradiction. Kant perceived this contradiction in a deep way, and proposed an "antinomy": It is correct to say that everything in the world is composed of indivisible, absolutely simple things; because only an absolutely simple thing can be an elementary thing. Otherwise there could be no complex things composed of such elementary things, and there could be nothing in the world. By the same token, it is also correct to say that there exist no absolutely simple things; everything is some infinitely divisible complex thing, because no matter how simple a thing is, it must occupy some volume in space and thus can be continuously divided. Kant's "antinomy" exposed the contradiction and formulated this question. This was a necessary condition to advance to dialectics and push man's understanding forward. But Kant didn't solve the contradiction. Whether objective things are divisible or indivisible, continuous or discrete? His answer was: One doesn't know. He thought that objective things were unknowable anyway. If you insist on knowing, then the contradiction is produced. Therefore, this contradiction only comes from the "a priori illusion" of man's subjective cognitive ability. Thus Kant began by exposing the contradiction, but ended in covering up and reconciling the contradiction and fell into idealist apriorism.

On this question, still it was Hegel who said it right: Discontinuity and continuity "by themselves don't contain truth, only in their unity is there truth". Engels affirmed this viewpoint by saying that "matter is both divisible and continuous, and at the same time neither of the two, which is no answer, but is now almost proved". (*Dialectics of Nature*, p. 245). Subsequently, every step of development of natural science has continuously proven this scientific assertion of Engels', and has continuously revealed the rich content of various forms of matter as being both continuous and discrete.

Object and Field

To understand the structure of matter, man initially classified matter into two opposing concrete forms.

In the beginning, man abstracted the concept of "object" [real thing] out of all the various forms of matter. The characteristic of objects is being "solid". Newton put forward that all objects are built up from atoms, the smallest object-particles. An atom is an absolutely discrete material point particle. It is "solid, block, hard, impenetrable". This is to say that the atom is an idealized solid thing, it is a highly concentrated object. Its fundamental characteristic is indivisibility; there is no "open space" inside. "Water can't be poured in, nor can a needle be inserted into" its inside. However, there can be no "solidness" without "void", no "what is" without "what is not". Objects are not hollow; all the emptiness has been pushed outside them. In ordinary life we see one thing after another, stars, mountains, houses, sand... all these are objects. But they can't fill up all space. What fills in between sparsely scattered stars is vacuum, between bushes there is vacant ground, even within a pile of sand there exist openings. If there are objects, there must also be the void. Therefore, in proposing the theory of atoms, Democritus said that in the world "only atoms and the void are real". The void is a necessary supplement to objects. This illustrates that the material world is always the unity of the discrete and the continuous. If matter is viewed as absolutely discrete objects, then it is necessary to realize the continuity of matter through the void in an upside-down way. The opposition of solidness and void is the opposition of the real and the empty, "what is" and "what is not". It is the initial "one divides into two" in the process of man's recognizing the material world.

But how do the solidness and the void, or "what is" and "what is not" unite together? Which one is fundamental? Lao Dan answered that "everything in the world is derived from 'what is,' and 'what is' is derived from 'what is not'". (*Laozi*, Chapter 40). That is, the void is fundamental, the object is derivative. This is idealist monism. Fei Wei of the Jin Dynasty [AD 265-420] wrote "On Promoting 'What Is'" to oppose him, saying that everything in the world must be derived from "what is", and cannot be derived from "what is not". This is materialist monism.

At bottom, Newton was a pro-"what is". He regarded the atom as the overall representative of objects and used it to paint an overall picture of nature, whereby matter is purely discrete and continuity is given over completely to the absolute void. The unity of discreteness and continuity in the internal structure of matter is described by him as the opposition of matter and nothingness. On the one hand, there is the absolutely dense object; on the other hand, the void of absolute nothing. The world is partitioned into two mutually exclusive unrelated halves. Newton couldn't unite these contradictory aspects. Finally he had to treat the void as higher than matter, and he slid from "advocating what is" down to "worshipping what is not".

Actually, how can Newton's absolute space be "absolute"? First of all, there is the mutual gravitational attraction among celestial bodies. Secondly, celestial bodies radiate light into the vast vacuum. These two phenomena must also manifest certain types of continuity of matter. Faced with this fact, Newton, in order to safeguard his absolute space, could only very artificially explain as follows: The attraction between celestial bodies is a kind of "action at a distance" exerting its force over space which is still empty; the ray of light is a kind of particle current ejected from celestial bodies and thrown into unbounded emptiness. The success of Newtonian mechanics in explaining mechanical motion did temporarily cover up the inconsistencies of his argument on these two questions.

7. (Translator's note)—This means "pair of opposites" but also connotes tension, opposition between them.

But where is this so-called absolute emptiness in the world? Doesn't air fill up all space near earth? Man therefore further imagined that in the vast space of the universe there probably existed some kind of continuous matter everywhere—ether or air.

The universe was said to be a continuous ocean of ether, a "Nature constituted by air". As Zhang Zai said: "The Empty Universe cannot be without air". Later Descartes of France and Huygens of the Netherlands proposed that all the space of the universe is filled with ether particles which join with each other and form a continuous medium; the particles squeeze one another, forming vortices. And these vortices sweep the moon to circle the earth and sweep the earth to circle the sun. As for light, it is waves of ether caused by the vibration of objects, just like a breeze of wind "blows waves in a pond of water". Up until the 19th century, more and more experimental facts demonstrated the wave-motion character of light; that light is just like a water wave and can go around obstacles. The theory of the wave motion of light achieved a decisive victory. The void was replaced by ether. The opposition between object and void gave way to the opposition between object and ether. Thus, the material world is divided, yet uninterrupted links are always there. The contradiction between discreteness and continuity in the structure of matter expressed itself as the opposition of two different kinds of material forms, and this, compared to the mysterious absolute emptiness, was of course a big advance.

In the 19th century, the research done on electromagnetic phenomena further advanced man's understanding of the continuous forms of matter. For example, when electrical current goes through a wire that surrounds a magnetic needle, the needle turns toward the direction perpendicular to the plane of the wire. What is this force that deflects the magnetic needle? Newtonian forces can only act along the direction of the straight line that connects the two objects. Obviously, this is another kind of "force" with completely different characteristics, i.e., the electromagnetic force which is completely different from the mechanical force. This is active in the vicinity of magnetic poles and electric charge. In order to describe the effect of the electromagnetic force, Faraday introduced many "magnetic lines of force" and "electric lines of force", imitating the method in fluid mechanics of using "stream lines" to describe fluid motion. Magnetic needles or electric charges are acted upon by a force along the direction of the magnetic lines of force and electric lines of force. The denser the "lines", the stronger the "force". Therefore, based on the configuration of magnetic and electric lines of force, the electromagnetic motion of objects can be graphically depicted. In this way, accumulating lines into planes and accumulating planes into volume, a "field" is constructed. Electric fields and magnetic fields mutually transform into one another, hence an electromagnetic field is formed. It was very artificial to use the vibration of ether to explain the motion of light waves in the past. Now it was much more straightforward to treat electromagnetic fields as a kind of medium that fills space in such a way as to transmit the electromagnetic effect. Thus, the field was developed from ether and replaced ether to become the overall representative of the continuous form of matter.

The discovery of the field as a form of matter was a very great achievement in science. It rejects mysterious emptiness, mysterious action at a distance, mysterious ether, and finds a practical, reasonable link between discrete objects, giving the continuity of material structure a material basis. One material world divides into two. It is no longer the opposition in appearance between matter and the void outside matter, but rather the opposition between two different kinds of material forms in the material world. It is the opposition between the discrete form and the continuous form of matter.

But then, that same old question comes back again: How do these two kinds of material forms unite? Some people imagined that object-particles

are like bricks and stones, and fields are like cement, and the universe has been built up by the gluing together of the two. In this way, discreteness is realized in objects, and continuity is realized in fields, but the two remain essentially absolutely separated and disjointed. The unity between discreteness and continuity of material structure remains as an external link of two completely different material forms. This is still a dualism on the question of material structure. Einstein felt unsatisfied with this. He tried to use the field, this kind of material form, to unify the world. He built up a "unified field" that embodies everything and paints a "world-picture of the field". Compared to Newton's world-picture of atoms, it reflects the continuity aspect of matter. But, the field cannot exhaust human understanding about material structure either. Einstein's "unified field" not only crudely wants to dissolve objects into the field, reduce object-particles to "condensations of field", but also crudely wants to "unify" everything. In this way, the field becomes like the ancient man's fire, water or air. It has again become the absolutely indivisible origin of everything. Once you recognize this unified field, then you can know everything from the universe down to particles, and exhaust final truth. As such, Einstein walked into a blind alley just like Newton did with his theory of the atom.

In the last several years of the 19th century, the gate of the atom was opened, man probed deeply into the secret of the atom. It turned out that the atom is not some absolute object; inside there are also particles and fields, another whole world. Electrons were the first to be found by man. This was the first resident of the atomic world which men recognized. Later it was discovered that in the center of the atom there is a hard core which contains over 99.95% of the mass of the atom, but occupies only several quadrillionths of the atomic volume. This is the atomic nucleus. The atomic nucleus carries positive charge and the electron carries negative charge; an electric field exists between them which links them together. From this, people proposed a planetary system model of the atom. The atomic nucleus is like the sun, and the electrons are like planets which circle the atomic nucleus along certain orbits through the action of the electromagnetic field, just like planets circle the sun through the action of the gravitational field. "A dust, a world", a tiny little atom is a small solar system! Later it was also discovered that the atomic nucleus is not something absolutely discrete and indivisible either. Within it there are neutrons and protons firmly bound together by the strong force—the mutual action of the meson field.

How can there be absolute [absolutely solid] objects? Within "solid" objects there are still more objects and fields. Within the material structure, these two are interconnected, interpenetrating, interpermeating, and interdependent. Take the hydrogen atom as an example. Its diameter is about 10^{-8} cm, but its nuclear diameter is only 10^{-13} cm, i.e., 100,000 times smaller. That is to say, adding the objects (the atomic nucleus and electron) of an atom together, they amount to only one thousand trillionth of the total volume. The rest of that vast volume is all electromagnetic field and gravitational field. By analogy, if we magnify a hydrogen atom to the size of a big theatre, the atomic nucleus would be like a sesame seed in the middle of the theatre, and the electron would be like a piece of dust flying along the wall. How could such an atom be "solid"? The proton and neutron inside the nucleus also amount to only several tenths of the total nuclear volume, the rest being filled up by electromagnetic field, gravitational field and meson field. How can it be counted as a [solid] object? And these many wavelike inside the atom also themselves divide into two

Continued on page 22

8. (Translator's note)—A quadrillion is a thousand trillion or a million billion, i.e., 1,000,000,000,000,000. Text says "several trillionths". This is a typographical error. A "quadrillionth" is one out of a quadrillion.

Pushing and Pulling in Poland

As the first national conference of the Solidarity trade union began to unfold in Gdansk, it was the occasion for the dropping of some political bombshells unprecedented in the Eastern bloc. Before the first session was over the delegates had, among other things, drafted a resolution for free elections to the Polish parliament and local legislative bodies, demanded that the government hold a national referendum on the issue of the rights of workers to control the factories, and insisted on union control over the mass media. By far the most significant challenge on the part of the nearly 900 delegates—and one that sent shockwaves reverberating through the Soviet bloc—was the near unanimous adoption of a public appeal addressed to the workers of other Soviet bloc nations. It heretically declared that Solidarity was the “authentic representative of the working class in Poland” and announced support for “those of you who have decided to enter the difficult road of struggle for free and independent trade unions.”

The stream of invective was not long in coming. Poland's revisionist rulers responded that the declaration was “an attempt at interference in the internal affairs of other states” and that “The appeal sets Solidarity against the socialist world.” As 100,000 Soviet troops conducted maneuvers no less than 50 miles away in the Bay of Gdansk, the Soviet news agency *Tass* screamed that the Solidarity convention was being stage-managed by agents from the West and that the union was engaging in “an anti-socialist and anti-Soviet orgy”. An indication of the increasingly high stakes involved for the Soviets in containing any further outbreaks of the “Polish disease” was that the new tsars were compelled to more openly mobilize public opinion within the Soviet Union, for the first time holding public denunciations of Solidarity in response to the appeal. At factories in Moscow and at similar gatherings in Leningrad and other cities, workers were assembled to woodenly approve an open letter accusing Solidarity of being “counter-revolutionary” and of inciting the workers in the Eastern bloc to “betray socialism.”

Tass railed that the Solidarity convention was no less than “a review of forces that are preparing for the seizure of power.” But what stands out in the events that have led up to this convention is that the dominant forces grouped around Lech Walesa in the national leadership of Solidarity have deliberately held back from “seizing power.” At the conference Walesa reiterated (as he has several times in the past) that “We do not want to take over power, but we must assure that the authorities serve us... We are in for a sharp struggle. We can win it jointly by peaceful means only if we stick together.” Indeed, the direction in which Walesa was attempting to steer this convention was indicated in an editorial in the first issue of the convention's newspaper, *Free Voice*, which stated: “What in August appeared to be the crowning of the great workers protest (i.e., the official government recognition of Solidarity) was soon shown to be just the beginning of the road.”

The “road” being referred to here has been the one increasingly taken by

Walesa and other top Solidarity leaders over the past year. It has been characterized by utilizing the broad workers' movement to make sharp political thrusts and then by pulling back from the brink of confrontation to compromise and lie in wait, pushing for a greater portion of “shared power” while eschewing any attempt to “go for broke.” And the cutting edge of this strategy has been the ability of the leadership (Walesa in particular) to restrain the masses when they show signs of breaking through these established limits. Most recently, this skill was demonstrated during the food protests this summer where Walesa and others managed to defuse a potentially explosive workers' march on the headquarters of the Polish United Workers' Party in Warsaw, turning it into a big rally, and then after making various political demands persuading the workers to go home.

This course being pursued by Walesa & Co. is based on the conclusion that, given the balance of forces in the world (and, in particular, the Soviets overwhelming necessity to prevent Poland, by military means if necessary, from slipping out of their Eastern war bloc), Solidarity is not presently in a position to take over. As one delegate put it, the union should “deprive the political bigwigs who monopolize the life of society” of control over the economy, culture and information, but *not* over the army or the police “because this is a red hat to protect our country from more serious troubles.” This remark indicates that Solidarity leaders would consider an attempt to pull Poland out of the Soviet orbit most inopportune at this time (not to mention downright foolhardy) as far as preserving Poland's national-bourgeois interests is concerned. It also reveals that they have no intentions of dismantling the bourgeois state-apparatus in any event, only reorganizing it under a more “popular,” democratic banner.

All this has jibed quite nicely with the assessment of the U.S. imperialists of what they can achieve right now in Eastern Europe and with the basic thrust of their strategy of “destabilizing” Poland and keeping the Soviets off balance in preparation for war while continuing to strengthen pro-Western forces and make political inroads. Certainly the Soviets are right when they complain that there are “western agents” working both within Solidarity and in contact with it from the outside.

It was no coincidence, for example, that during the first session of the conference (which, as the *New York Times* pointed out, had much of the “flavor of a western convention”) a Solidarity representative marched prominently in the big Labor day parade in New York City where AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland openly bragged to reporters that “We've been in close touch with Solidarity all along. We've raised \$30,000 for them.” This hack “labor march” was also the occasion of the announcement that Solidarity would be opening a publicity office in New York—without the advance knowledge of the Polish government—with the help of Kirkland & Co. who conveniently arranged for the American Federation of Teachers headed by Albert Shanker (who marched alongside the Solidarity representative) to

provide office space.

On the other hand, it is certainly *not* true that Solidarity is merely some creation of western imperialism at the beck and call of the U.S. It is a broad-based popular movement consisting of a number of different trends and objectively fueled by powerful, though largely spontaneous, sentiments of the Polish masses—in particular, hatred of Poland's Soviet-style state-capitalist setup with its accumulation of privilege for the rulers and increasing misery for the ruled. One problem for Walesa & Co. has been the impatience of the workers who have been demanding immediate political and economic changes and pushing hard on the delegates from below, and this has been reflected in a good deal of infighting at the conference.

So far it appears that Walesa, while irritating many more militant delegates, has been successful in consolidating the union around his “moderate” line. He won out on several organizational issues that strengthened the power of central leadership (and thus its ability to control any “unauthorized” upheavals), at one point stating that “We need a strong body and we have to be a little bit dictatorial.” Likewise, when a number of delegates pushed for the revision of the union's pledge to respect the “leading role” of the Polish United Workers' Party because it was “a little absurd when we are fighting most of the party's ideas,” all discussion of this was immediately quashed. All this, however, was apparently not accomplished without some sharp struggle. At one point, an angry Walesa reportedly accused the convention delegates of “acting like a bunch of clowns.”

If there were any doubts that the U.S. rulers see Walesa's compromising strategy as the way to go right now in Poland and are signaling such, there was ample editorial evidence in the Western press. *New York Times* Poland-watcher John Darton, commenting on the “overtly political” nature of the convention and the fact that the Soviets might consider it “dangerously provocative,” remarked: “The six day session in Gdansk was heard round the world, with indignation and anger in the Soviet East and with admiration, but also anxiety, in the West. The congress poster showed a one-year-old toddler in a Solidarity t-shirt, wielding a big stick. This time, even some of Solidarity's supporters both inside and outside Poland wondered whether the stick wasn't getting too big...”

Even more pointed was a lead editorial in the British magazine, *The Economist*, entitled “Solidarity, Whoa!” which revealed a whole new twist—the Western rulers sudden (if hilariously tongue-in-cheek) “upholding” of the “leading role” of the Polish party. Here Poland is described as a country that is now “more pluralistic than most countries in the world—run by a communist party whose leaders are at least as democratically chosen as those, say, in Britain's Labour Party!” Ponders *The Economist*, “Has it (Solidarity) the courage to recognize the limits to its freedom that geography and history and now ordinary economics have so cruelly imposed?” Truly, the hypocrisy of the Western imperialists who profess such “concern” for Polish

“democratic freedoms” knows no bounds.

Beyond this, it was significant that a few days following the first session of the Solidarity convention, the “Polish Pope John Paul II” suddenly released his long-winded encyclical “*Laborem Exercens*” (“On Human Work”) in which he expounds at length on the proper role of trade unions. While this convoluted defense of imperialism is directed at the workers of both East and West, it is not insignificant that the world “solidarity” just happens to pop up in the text at least a half dozen times in such phrases as “...there is a need for ever new movements of solidarity of the workers...” etc., etc.—got it folks? His advice, however, on the goals of trade union activity generally, as well as for Solidarity in particular, was that “unions do not have the character of political parties struggling for power; they should not be subjected to the decision of political parties or have too close links with them.”

It is interesting to note here that ever since the advent of John Paul II's papacy in 1978 the Catholic bishops in Eastern Europe have been encouraged to drop the previous trend of calculated “cooperation” with the revisionist regimes and to take a more vigorous stand with the demands of the masses for democratic rights. But, from the thrust of this latest encyclical, it is evident that the point of all this has not been any concern for “democracy” but rather an attempt to bolster the standing of the church among the masses and thus enhance its ability to influence them when it comes down to carrying out some of the finer nuances of U.S. strategy—which in this case means telling the masses to cool it.

While it should be clear that Solidarity doesn't represent any kind of revolutionary movement, its emergence over the past year highlights an extremely fluid and contradictory situation in Poland, one tremendously influenced by the acceleration of world events, notably global imperialist rivalry. The rebellion and struggle of the workers (and others) in Poland, and the underlying forces propelling this struggle, poses big questions and challenges for revolutionary communists in all countries. Given the objective—and subjective—conditions in Poland, the political alignments which have developed there (and for that matter, throughout Eastern Europe) over at least the last 35 years, and its position vis-a-vis the USSR and the US, the development of a phenomenon like Solidarity and a figure like Walesa is no great surprise. It does, however, dramatically stress the international importance of a proletarian revolutionary line and organization, and, in particular, a correct analysis of Soviet revisionism. The importance of the influence of such a line in Poland today is obvious. And in the storms still to come—in the historic conjuncture that is shaping up on a world scale which is already providing unprecedented opportunities for revolutionary movements to develop, including in the cracks that are opening up in the revisionist bloc, such a development is by no means out of the question. □

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the *Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party* as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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

Tour

Continued from page 1

that arrests would be scaled down due to the fact that it cuts down the police manpower on the barricades—instead only *clubbings* substituted.

But on both weekends, over 10,000 people amassed each time to place Eden Park under siege. On September 5, the demonstrators failed to breach police lines as the cops stacked themselves 5-deep in an effort to keep from being pushed back. One man did make it on the field, disguised as a rugby referee. Just before game time he grabbed the ball and kicked it towards the official viewing box. While it fell just short of target, the Chairman of the Auckland Rugby Union, Ron Don, clearly got the message. On September 12, spirits were high. Demonstrators had come prepared, both politically and tactically. Carried in the crowd was a coffin and a number of wreaths in memorium of Steve Biko, a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, who was murdered by South African jailers on September 12, 1977, and who has become a symbol both of resistance and of what the apartheid regime's rule is built on—and exactly what the Springboks represent and promote. Many protestors also carried wooden shields, and many others wore inflated vests, breast and groin pads, helmets, and plastic face masks (similar to the ones worn by the goalies in hockey). Their aim for the final match—halt the playing of the game completely.

As protestors marched towards the Eden Park, a light plane swooped low over the field, dropping leaflets exposing the true purpose of the Springboks tour. They also dropped sacks of flour, with one decking a New Zealand player. Outside, the demonstrators clashed with police and rugby spectators as they pressed towards the entrances. At various times, some anti-apartheid demonstrators succeeded in getting on to the field causing delays in the match. And, while the game was played to its conclusion, outside in the streets of Auckland, the battle raged as rocks, bottles, flares and fireworks pelted the pigs. And once again, the TV station was seized and the rugby match prevented from being broadcast. By day's end, nearly 150 people had been arrested and about 45 people taken to local hospitals. Police casualty reports listed that a number of cops suffered broken bones, with one having to be airlifted from the stadium with an eye injury. The Springboks hastily retreated back to facilities provided by the Rugby Union, for it seems that for these last few games the Springboks could no longer stay in the customary fancy hotels but were forced to hole up on the stadium grounds on makeshift beds and cots. So thoroughly exposed were the Springboks that the first thing they did upon reaching their stopover in Hawaii was to ditch their Air New Zealand plane and grab another for their trip to the U.S. Thanks to the people of New Zealand, it's been a fine 8 weeks for internationalism.

On the same day that Eden Park was being stormed, Saturday, September 12, some 300 people demonstrated in downtown Chicago, led by the SART Coalition (Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour), marching to the South African Consul as both a prelude to the Springboks tour and also in commemoration of Steve Biko. Chicago is the Springboks' first stop for a match against the Chicago Lions of the Midwest Rugby Union, scheduled for September 19. Fearing that significant protests will greet the Springboks in the U.S., a number of desperate precautions are being taken. Some weeks before their arrival New York Mayor Koch backed out of allowing the use of city facilities there, citing potential security problems. The game set for Rochester, N.Y. was cancelled, too, being replaced by a game in an "unannounced Northeastern city." The same pattern continued with their arrival in Chicago. The Springboks announced that their flight would be in at a certain time, but they ended up sneaking into O'Hare Airport on a flight hours earlier than



As Springbok members stand in the background, one of the demonstrators, a priest disguised as a rugby referee, kicks the ball into the grandstands, aiming for the official viewing box.

their originally scheduled one. Of course, this led a number of media hacks to feign surprise that no one was at the airport protesting the Springboks' arrival. Indeed, since the Springboks first touched down in the U.S. the rulers and their assorted media mouthpieces have taken to flaunting instances of the rugby team avoiding demonstrations. When the Springboks had a stopover in Los Angeles from Hawaii, and bypassed demonstrators waiting at the Air New Zealand gate, they were lauded in headlines as having "outwitted" the protestors. And since their arrival in Chicago, after scurrying into town before sunrise, a couple of attempts have been made to rub the Springboks visit into the faces of people who are outraged that they are here. They made a series of surprise and then publicized appearances on their second day in town, news commentators openly bragged about how the Springboks had been able to practice in a public park. Television cameras even followed them to Wrigley Field, where they filmed them eating hot dogs and watching the Cubs play baseball. But while the media tries hard to create an image of the Springboks actually being welcome (or at least tolerated) in Chicago, as of this writing no one is breathing a word about the actual location of the match between them and the Chicago Lions. In fact, when word leaked out that the game might very well be played in Lake Geneva (a resort area in Fontana, Wisconsin, some 90 miles outside of Chicago), the owner of the Abbey Hotel there immediately cancelled the Springboks' reservations. Once again the Springboks match is thrown up into the air as to exactly where it's going to be held, as the scramble continues to find a safe hideout for their first game by Saturday, September 19.

As of this writing, the Springboks had been reduced to an "underground" U.S. tour when New York Governor Carey cancelled a game set for a municipal stadium in Albany, again citing "security problems." However, demonstrators who had planned to mass there were remaining on their toes and the SART coalition was calling for an Albany demonstration, in any case.

In the face of mounting outrage and opposition to the Springboks tour, the U.S. imperialists, obviously believers in the maxim that a good defense requires a good *offensive* broadcast, dished up their Monday evening *Nightline* news show on the eve of the Springboks' arrival. After trotting out the thoroughly discredited and exposed line about "sports and politics shouldn't mix," the main thrust of the show became patently obvious. In addition to pretending that no one has a memory (the U.S. Olympic boycott of 1980 was not advertised as a quibble between "sportsmen" but as clearly political), the U.S. rulers were using this see-through argument to say straight-up:

"We're going ahead with this tour. We don't have to justify anything, so, do what you can about it."

That the hypocritical rantings about the "purity" of sports and the unpolitical nature of the Springboks tour is just so much rotten tripe, was vividly demonstrated by the surfacing of information regarding the U.S.-South Africa rugby connection. As it turns out, last December, Louis Luyt, a South African millionaire (who has corporate interests in New York City), donated \$25,000 to the Eastern Rugby Union (ERU). Within a matter of days the ERU offered to sponsor a Springboks tour of the U.S. Of course, the money was all in the interest of promoting rugby and was not a reason for the Springboks tour. Right. Luyt has a long history of being a financial conduit and sponsor for things that the South African government doesn't want its blood-stained hands directly connected with.

Luyt has also been identified as one of the backers of the "Club of Ten," a project sponsored by the South African government's Information Department. The project was designed to create favorable public opinion about the South African regime's progress in the area of "human rights" and attract investment via the publication of pro-government ads in newspapers throughout Europe and the U.S. And sports exchanges have been a key part of cosmetizing the ravaged face of South Africa, with the offering of huge purses to boxers, golfers, rugby teams, etc., if they come and play. Luyt openly states that he has spent over \$2 million just in the past two years for such sports exchanges. While Luyt was caught up in a government scandal in the late '70s for using unauthorized secret funds from the Information Department in order to bribe more support for the regime, his role as public relations man has never ceased. In fact, if anything, it has even been stepped up.

Even as the Eastern Rugby Union accepts its dirty money, inside the rugby teams themselves a group has sprung up called Against South Africa Playing (ASAP), rugby players who are opposed to both how the ERU decision was made and to the tour itself.

Since the beginning of the year, at least 5 other teams from South Africa (less prestigious than the Springboks) have already toured the U.S. rugby circuit! And one of them, the Olde Edwardians, an all-white team, has been in the U.S. since September 2, when it played in the Schlitz Rugby Festival in Milwaukee. They just finished playing the Chicago Lions this past September 8, and were scheduled (at least before the announced cancellation) to be the "curtain raiser" when the Springboks play the ERU in Albany, N.Y., on September 22.

Of course, the Chicago Lions, et. al, have an already worked-out rationale for sponsoring rugby teams from South

Africa. As one of their public relations raps goes: "We hope that visits of South African rugby teams to Chicago will show our visitors how harmoniously different races can live together in large metropolitan areas." And, in order to depict graphically the Lions' idea of "racial harmony," the Olde Edwardians were issued a map on their recent visit here by their sponsors. Under the map's legend, listed as point Number 8, was the all-Black Cabrini-Green housing projects. And, in parentheses, the words "Humans Not Welcome." Besides taking a page from Mayor Byrne's recent attack on Cabrini-Green, it should come as little surprise that this racist garbage should permeate the Chicago Lions rugby club. After all, their team leader, Gert Grobler, is none other than South Africa's Consul-General, manning their consulate on Chicago's Michigan Avenue!

The cancellations of Springboks public appearances by state and local officials raises the important question *why*—a question whose true answer has been covered up by forces such as the revisionist "Communist" Party, USA with stories about "progressive" forces in the government. It is quite obvious that the main reason for these cancellations has been a strong desire to avoid the political consequences of mass action against these games. So instead the Springboks are encouraged to play hide and seek. But beyond this, it is not a question of some significant section of the U.S. imperialists being "against supporting apartheid" and others "for it." The fact is that *all* these forces are for the interests of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa, with among them some slightly different ways of pursuing them.

Apartheid is not something "foreign" to U.S. imperialism which it chooses to support or not. The South African regime is a major *outpost* of Western (especially U.S.) imperialism in southern Africa, imposing imperialist rule, oppression and aggression on the people of Azania and the whole area. Not only was this regime a creation of imperialism, but it would not stand for long at all without arms (often funneled through Israel), political support (in various overt and covert forms) and the massive economic investments of Western capital. In no way have forces such as Carey, Koch, the entire local government of Chicago, etc., come out against these imperialist relations. The only way these will be changed is by revolutionary struggle internationally—in Africa and here—in which all these forces are and will be confronted as enemies.

As the Springboks try to get a breath to lick their wounds from the last 8 weeks, forces are coalescing and actively seeking to expose this vile imperialist game of hide and seek. □

G.I. Writes on Reforger

"Can One Person Make A Difference?"

RW.

The following correspondence has been extracted from two discussions with one soldier who was deployed to Germany to participate in the NATO Autumn Forge '81 exercises. This soldier was in the process of writing this correspondence when his unit was ordered to deploy six days early. The thoughts expressed here, and the words are the very thoughts this young GI wished to convey, and in fact would have finished had not his unit been shipped out early. As an RW distributor I felt it was important to get his correspondence published now—right while the imperialists of both blocs are taking their respective troops through some concrete preparation for world war. The thoughts of this young soldier are not special to him, but are the very kinds of thoughts going through the minds of soldiers in both blocs...

... I am a soldier in the U.S. Army. I have been ordered to deploy to Germany for the Reforger exercises. I don't want to go. I'm really afraid to go and I can't explain it all, but I feel like I'm not going to be coming back. That while we are over there—something else will jump

off. I have been thinking about a lot of things lately and now that Reforger is here, it is really weighing heavy on me.

I've been thinking about these imperialists in the world, these people who have to want to take so much, these people who can't never be satisfied—I've been thinking why does it have to be this way—why can't it be different, why am I gonna have to kill somebody else just like me, somebody with a mother, children—somebody I don't even have a beef with.

I keep thinking about these politicians—somehow they end up in office—somehow they make it look like we voted for them, like they really do represent us—but they are not, and I don't think we really had much to do with the process at all. These politicians are doing what somebody else is telling them to do. And to me, someone is telling them to go to war.

I look at the patch on my shoulder. It is shaped like an hourglass. Well it has been turned upside down and the sand is falling out; I realized and I feel time is running out and soon we'll have to kill and be killed. I've been checking it out; I have been doing my own investigation, sitting silently and watching things

develop around here. There are signs of an impending war—you used to could get out of PT (morning exercises and physical training) by going to sick call and faking—but now the corpsman tells you he can excuse you here, but he isn't gonna be able to help you at all in combat, you are gonna have to be ready to go. I see the Fort band, the easiest job in the Army, and now even they are doing PT in the parking lot. My friend in Engineering told me last week that for the first time since he has been in the Engineers, they are being ordered to do 5-mile road marches. These seem like little things but they show me something, little grains of sand in an hourglass—falling quicker and quicker.

One thing I haven't been doing is telling my friends the truth. Some have come up to me asking me about this and that move happening on and off the post. I haven't really given them answers about the bigger picture. I haven't talked to them about the coming war, and I certainly haven't brought up revolution, but I think I should.

With Reforger coming and talking with you I get mad at the Army—I think about A.I.T. (Advanced Infantry Training)—I think about how we stood in line

with our bayonets drawn. We had to yell upon command when asked, "What's the most important thing a soldier has to remember?" Answer—"To accomplish the mission, sir." I didn't want to say that. I didn't want to say that—the most important thing is not to accomplish the mission. They don't even tell us what the mission has to do with anything—they don't want us to know anything. They want to keep us ignorant from what their real mission is.

I wasn't gonna give this correspondence to the *Revolutionary Worker*. I wasn't gonna take the risk a soldier has to take to contribute to the revolution. They are always looking for who's thinking what, who is saying what, who is handling the *Revolutionary Worker*; and if they think they have someone around who is doing any of that, anyone who is beginning to understand what's happening and is trying to spread his understanding, they go for him...

It was after I read "Crowns Will Roll By the Dozens on the Pavement... and There Will Be Nobody There to Pick Them Up" that I decided to contribute. Understanding that the crowns the article refers to are indeed the various imperialist countries in the world today gave me a glimpse of what might be possible.

To be honest though, as I prepare to leave for Reforger I must say there is something that lingers on in my mind, something I'm trying to understand—can one person make a difference? □

The Hand Behind the KDP Killings

Continued from page 8

after the trial began the Chief of Police was forced to publicly deny their involvement in the gambling, a denial which holds no more water than a series of similar denials issued over the past several years.

Meanwhile it has been learned that at least one Seattle gang member is a former member of the Marcos regime's hated Philippine Constabulary, where he was undoubtedly schooled in the fine points of beatings, murder and corruption. Further, it has been learned that one Tulisan member visited the Philippines at about the same time Gene Viernes was in the Philippines. Viernes was there contacting the illegal trade unions and the forces waging guerrilla war against Marcos. It is quite possible that the plans for the murders were discussed at that time of the Tulisan member's visit. It is known that each of the three major gangs operating in Seattle's Filipino community are related to "parent" gangs which operate in

Manila and other cities on Luzon Island in the Philippines.

The revelation of an ongoing business relationship between union President Baruso and Tulisan leader Dictado also sheds more light on these murders' connection to the Marcos regime. As previously reported, Tony Baruso is a key figure among the "community leaders" who serve as the enforcers for the Marcos regime in the U.S. Filipino community. Baruso was, until this year, the featured speaker at the local Philippine Consulate's annual celebration of Philippines "independence" day, a symbol of his importance in the pro-Marcos power structure. Baruso became president of Local 37 in 1975, when the previous president, also a notorious pro-Marcos reactionary, died. And he is past-president of the Filipino Community Council, the Filipino-American Citizen's League and the head of the local Lodge of Caballeros de Dimas Allang, all these groups being key parts of the pro-Marcos network. The Baruso-Dictado connection serves to il-

lustrate how the gangs, too, fit into this apparatus, serving as the street-level enforcers for the "legitimate" community leaders, and in this case as their executioners.

But in the wake of these murders this whole network of terror has taken a number of blows from the force of the mass anger sparked by these murders. The leader of the Tulisan gang and two other members have had to be jailed and Baruso is entirely discredited. (His image was not helped any when he was called to testify at the murder trial, only to have him plead the Fifth Amendment a total of 109 times.)

Meanwhile the tension and political polarization of the Filipino community, largely taking the form of pro-Marcos and anti-Marcos camps, remains high. The reactionary leaders in the Filipino community have during this whole period attacked the reform movement in the union and KDP in particular both through the local press (which has on more than one occasion printed front-page interviews with these forces) and through a number of newspapers they

control aimed at the Filipino community. Gang activity is still very much in evidence, while the canneries have attempted to take advantage of the situation to violate a number of contract provisions in the hope of putting pressure on and weakening the reformist forces within the union. The "investigation" of these murders itself, which includes not only the local police and the prosecutor's office, but also the FBI, also has helped to generate and maintain the climate of intimidation and threats.

Though the authorities may yet be forced to actually arrest Baruso—as they arrested Dictado—it just as well serves their interests to have Baruso out on the streets where he can serve as a symbolic and material threat to anyone who continues to go up against the pro-Marcos political apparatus and the interests it serves. The whole matter is far from closed and more about the real connections behind the murders could well come to light in the following weeks. □

The Horn

Continued from page 7

for students, workers, women, peasants and the militia. But in its mass work the OLF relies heavily on the study and promotion of *Gada*, the communal system of social organization which prevailed among the Oromo prior to the development of feudalism and the conquest by Ethiopia. Land is directly distributed to the peasants as their property. In regard to the national question, the OLF calls for secession and the equality of nationalities in an independent Oromo state.

At present the OLF operates militarily in half of Oromia, an enormous territory stretching from the Awash valley to the Somali nationality regions and the Kenya border, and carries out political work throughout Oromia. The OLF military strategy is to avoid completely the taking of towns. But they hold enormous rural areas, which are divided into military zones, and proper documents are required to even enter them. The OLF cleaned up as the Dergue abandoned mountains of equipment in its flight before the advancing Somalis in 1977. Then in 1978 the OLF picked off the equipment of the fleeing Somalis retreating from the Soviet-Cuban attack.

The Dergue and its allies have done everything possible to suppress any mention of the Oromo revolution, even

calling on the Soviets to not conduct Radio Moscow broadcasts in the Oromo language. The OLF attitude toward the social-imperialist bloc has gone through a process of development. When Cuban troops were first sent to Oromia in 1978 the OLF prepared an open letter to the Cuban troops which referred to the "leadership of the world renowned Fidel Castro" and tried to convince the Cubans of the error of supporting the Dergue "lest our fraternal forces clash in the battlefield."

But by 1980 an OLF spokesman could state unequivocally: "There were times in the past when the Soviet Union was considered a friend of the African liberation movements and Cuba too had the sympathy and support of both independent Africa and that of the liberation movements in her quarrel with the U.S. Now we are in a different epoch and all that has undergone traumatic change. Today the Soviet Union acts ruthlessly as a superpower with global strategic interests of its own and is engaged in cutthroat competition with the other superpower for zones of influence in many parts of the world. The Horn of Africa is no exception to this."

Somalis

The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) has a much more shadowy history. Formed in the early '60s following Somalia's independence,

it has often appeared to maintain a client relationship with Somalia. Its reputation was not enhanced by the fact that its main leadership surrendered to the Ethiopian government in 1970 in response to an amnesty offer. Nevertheless it was reorganized in 1972 and has continued armed struggle against the Dergue. The professed goal of the WSLF is the attainment of self-determination for the Somalis of the Ogaden who will then decide whether to remain part of Ethiopia, federate with Somalia or become independent. Despite occasional clashes with the OLF flowing from WSLF territorial claims on parts of Oromia, the WSLF has been considered by the other three liberation organizations an ally in the armed struggle against the Dergue.

Indeed, all of the fronts and particularly the three main ones maintain close fraternal relations despite their distinct histories and differing positions on some issues. This is particularly true in the north where the adjacent liberated zones of the EPLF and the TPLF allow for frequent political and cultural exchanges and the coordination of military activity. The TPLF has now proposed a formal united front to the four fronts engaged in armed struggle against the Dergue and its imperialist backers.

The anti-imperialist democratic revolutionary struggles in the Horn of Africa have not only been victim of a

conspiracy of silence by the imperialist powers, but have also been the object of vicious attack particularly by the Soviet Union and revisionist parties around the world. Denounced as secessionists and the tools of Arab reaction, they are charged with being narrow nationalists obstructing Ethiopia's "socialist revolution." Even some honest anti-imperialists question why the various national fronts in the Horn have chosen to mount separate national democratic revolutions.

But the blatant policy of national oppression carried out by the Dergue is one of the clearest examples of the reactionary nature of the phony "revolution" they've proclaimed and of the reactionary nature of the imperialists who support them. These struggles are hitting hard at a regime and system of bondage and exploitation that holds the masses of people of all nationalities in the Ethiopian state under its grip, to the benefit above all of imperialism. This struggle is not only against the common enemies of all the peoples under the heel of the Ethiopian state, it is also tearing holes in the whole worldwide fabric of imperialism. As both superpowers are locked in contention over the Horn of Africa, as part of their march towards a global showdown, the revolutionary struggles of the peoples there are playing a vital role in hastening forward the historic process which will bring an end to imperialism once and for all. □

YELLOW THUNDER

Continued from page 3

detection the main body of the camp was moved in the dead of night. When the camp members returned for the rest of their belongings in the morning, they found a National Park Service crew carting away the remainder of their things. While they were barred from entering the camp, the press and South Dakota Gov. William Janklow seized on this incident to attack the Indians with racial slurs and to charge them over \$4,000 for a "clean-up bill."

A third group known as the "Four Bands" from Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota set up camp in Craven Canyon in the southern Black Hills. They had discovered prehistoric rock paintings of religious significance earlier in the summer and set up a sweat lodge in the canyon which was visited periodically. But when they learned that the area was threatened with destruction by Union Carbide Corporation which was drilling exploration holes in the canyon walls, the group decided to set up camp in protest. Rifle-toting sheriffs quickly arrived on the scene and with a heavy show of intimidation ordered the group of 20-25 to leave. Ranchers had threatened earlier to shoot the Indians if they were seen on private roads which are the only access to the canyon.

The Four Bands joined the Crazy Horse Camp at Sheridan Lake on August 29. Along with Yellow Thunder Camp these two groups were threatened with the eviction if they didn't leave the Black Hills National Forest. At this point two-thirds of the camp decided to return to the reservation to respond to the government's offer of negotiations over the return of the Black Hills. The remaining third decided to move their camp to Bear Butte, a spot of traditional religious significance. The choice of this campsite is a re-affirmation of the spirit of resistance shown by their ancestors. The continued existence of this camp shows that the demands raised by Yellow Thunder Camp have struck a real chord on the reservation.

The FBI surveillance and denial of Yellow Thunder Camp's land claim, and the threats, racial slurs and heavy fines leveled against the other two camps, show that the government has taken this struggle as a real threat right from the beginning. The Feds have treaded cautiously thus far in dealing with Yellow Thunder Camp in particular, for they are only too well aware of the politically explosive potential. This area of the country has an historical legacy of both bloody oppression and inspiring resistance; the encampment is now an important focus of the struggle of Native peoples.

There's Uranium in Those Hills

Today more than ever the U.S. imperialists can ill afford to give up even a tiny fraction of the Black Hills. This would spur the demand for the return of Indian lands at a time when the government is in the process of ripping off even more reservation land and stepping up exploitation of already stolen territories like the Black Hills. The stakes are very high in the Black Hills because the area is suspected to be rich in a mineral more valuable than gold—uranium. There are extensive plans in the works to rape and pillage the amber rolling hills and the thick, dark forests of the Black Hills to extract uranium. While no mining has yet begun, today the seven counties of western South Dakota are all under intensive exploration for uranium by twenty-seven corporations, including the energy giants Union Carbide, Exxon, Kerr-McGee, Westinghouse, Mobil and the Tennessee Valley Authority. According to the Black Hills Alliance, an organization of Indians, non-Indians and environmentalists formed in 1979, over 4,000 acres in the Black Hills alone have already been leased to these corporations for purposes of exploration.

The people of the Black Hills area have already seen the fruits of uranium mining—death, disease and destruction. First discovered in the area in

1951, the Black Hills were the site of extensive uranium mining and milling up until the early '70s. When mining operations closed up shop in the town of Edgemont in the Southern Black Hills they simply left sitting out in the open 3.5 million tons of deadly poisonous mill tailings (the earth that's left over after the extraction of the uranium). These tailings retain 85% of the uranium's radioactivity. Not only were the windblown tailings left to contaminate the water supply and crops nearby, they were actually used for landfill in the construction of new homes. The cancer rate in this county is the highest in South Dakota.

But nowhere have the lethal effects of uranium mining been more bitterly felt than on Pine Ridge Reservation, which lies 80 miles southeast of Edgemont. The water supply is highly contaminated with radioactive particles as well as chemicals. In 1962 an accident at the uranium mill in Edgemont spilled 200 tons of mill tailings into Cottonwood Creek, which later connects with a source of water on Pine Ridge Reservation. A recent study by Women of All Red Nations (WARN) found that this, along with other sources of pollution, is responsible for an alarming increase in miscarriages and cancer mortality on the reservation.

The WARN study showed that in one month alone in 1979, 38% of the pregnancies at one hospital resulted in miscarriages and excessive bleeding. Of the children who were born, 60-70% suffer breathing complications and/or jaundice. Children have also been born with such birth defects as cleft palate and club foot normally uncommon to Lakota people. On ranches in and around Pine Ridge the rate of stillborn and deformed cattle is skyrocketing.

The government's role has been to welcome the energy corporations with open arms and open leases to federal lands for more uranium mining. The drive behind this is more than just the immediate profits to be made. Uranium is an essential component in the development of nuclear power and nuclear weapons and thus key to the imperialists' plans to gear up their war machine and to gain a greater degree of American energy "self-sufficiency." All of this is of great importance to the U.S. in preparing for global warfare with its imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union.

The typical irony of this mad grab for the Black Hills is that the land was signed over to the Indians in the first place with the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty because of the presumption that it was worthless. At that time the semi-arid Northern Plains were known as "the Great American Desert." This fact, coupled with the fierce resistance of the Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho Nations to the westward expansion of the settlers, led to the signing of the treaty. Soon, however, this treaty was to become simply another chapter in what is called "the winning of the West"—a tale of broken treaties, starvation and slaughter of the Indians.

Legacy of Oppression and Resistance

The treaty lasted only six years until the discovery of gold in the Black Hills during an 1874 expedition by General George Custer. True to form, the U.S. government embarked on a new offensive to steal these lands that they had said belonged to the Indians. In 1876 the U.S. government broke the treaty and took all of the Lakota lands except for a small portion in South Dakota. They then conveniently declared any Indians found off this reservation area "hostile." It was General Custer who was sent to subdue the "hostile" Indians; but instead, Custer found himself ambushed by a united gathering of Cheyenne, Arapaho and Lakota led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. Instead of the Indians, it was the general and his men who were wiped out.

Despite this victory, the Indians were soon forced to surrender from hunger and the virtual decimation of the buffalo herds on which they depended for survival. But in 1890 the U.S. government began to fear an uprising on the reservations. To quell the possible rebellion, the respected leader Sitting Bull was singled out for assassination by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Police in a manner reminiscent of today's CO-INTELPRO-style murders of Indian

activists. In December 1890, some of Sitting Bull's people fled in fear for the Pine Ridge Reservation. Here they were intercepted at Wounded Knee by the Seventh Cavalry, which massacred all 300 Lakota men, women and children after disarming them. This atrocity has been labeled by bourgeois historians as the last "battle" of the "Indian Wars."

The theft of more Indian land went hand in hand with this bloody suppression and terror. The year of the massacre was also the year that the reservation was reduced once again. It was subdivided into six small, separate tracts, including Pine Ridge Reservation. A further ripoff of the land occurred in 1902 when the Dawes Allotment Act of 1886 was applied to Pine Ridge. Under the guise of teaching the nomadic Indians the virtues of private property ownership and sedentary farming, the act assigned plots to each head of household. The catch to this law was that after the land was divided up, 60 million acres were "left over" and sold to white settlers or retained by the government.

It was constant swindles like this, too numerous to mention, which led to loss of land and growing impoverishment on Pine Ridge Reservation. By the early 1970s, the two million-acre Pine Ridge Reservation was a patchwork of white and Indian-owned land. 75% of the ranch land and 90% of the farm land are either owned or leased by white farmers or ranchers. Of those Oglalas who owned land, 83% were forced by their poverty to lease all or part of their holdings at pitifully low rates. (And this situation is not unique. As pointed out by the Congressional Joint Economic Committee: "Of 129 reservation areas with populations of at least 200 Indian people and at least 1,000 acres of land, 25 have greater non-Indian than Indian population within their original boundaries, and 38 have lost at least 50% of their original reservation areas to non-Indians." Another Congressional report showed that by the mid-'70s, 63% of Indian-owned agricultural land was being cultivated by non-Indians.)

Wounded Knee

The early 1970s, when the U.S. imperialists were poised to escalate the "Indian Wars" with a new offensive for land, were also a period of rising resistance to oppression among Native peoples. And nowhere was the struggle more intense than on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The height of the struggle was the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, located on the Pine Ridge Reservation. For more than two months, Wounded Knee brought U.S. imperialism's ruthless suppression of the Indians to national and world attention.

In the year before the Wounded Knee takeover, the tension on the reservation was wound as tight as a spring. AIM came onto the reservation for the first time in early 1972 at the request of the family of Raymond Yellow Thunder (for whom the current camp is named), an older man who had been humiliated, brutalized and then murdered by whites at an American Legion dance in the nearby town of Gordon, Nebraska. Many incidents like this had happened before; 1,000 marched in Gordon to protest the murder.

In the spring of 1972 Richard Wilson was elected as tribal chairman. His mission was to establish absolute dictatorial rule over Pine Ridge and set up a goon squad whose business was to harass, beat up, and shoot at AIM members and supporters. At the same time, struggle was building around the Indians' loss of control over their reservation land. The Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCR) was formed with the immediate goal of upping the miserably low rental rates paid by white farmers and ranchers to lease the land; but OSCRO quickly also became involved in countering the attacks of the goon squad.

In early 1973 events escalated rapidly on the reservation. A wave of violence hit Pine Ridge as Wilson's goon squad made increasingly futile attempts to keep people in line. After a demonstration of AIM supporters protesting Wesley Bad Heart Bull's murder was attacked by the cops, the local courthouse in Custer, South Dakota was burned down on February 6. Shortly thereafter Dick Wilson canceled his own impeach-

ment hearing and brought to bear his support in high places. At Wilson's request, a contingent of 65-75 Federal Marshalls and the FBI arrived in mid-February to maintain "law and order."

This naked attempt to restore an iron-fisted rule over AIM and the increasingly rebellious people of Pine Ridge backfired. Besieged from all sides and receiving word from Washington of its refusal to consider negotiations over treaty rights, a mass meeting of Oglalas decided action was necessary to call attention to the situation on the reservation. On February 27, AIM and scores of supporters took over the tiny village of Wounded Knee, consisting of little more than a church and a "trading post," and fortified the town's perimeter with bunkers to fend off government attacks. The government had immediately surrounded the village with armored personnel carriers, helicopters, and a small army of federal marshalls and FBI agents armed with automatic rifles.

Despite the countless gun battles and the government's blockade of the roads, over the 71 days of the occupation many supporters hiked in through miles of wild countryside, smuggling in needed food, fuel and medical supplies at great risk; thousands of people around the country supported the occupation in other ways; of the core of two hundred or so who stayed in Wounded Knee, including many Vietnam veterans, two Indians were murdered. On March 10 the Independent Oglala Nation was formed, declaring that henceforth it would only negotiate with the U.S. government based on the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. The occupation of Wounded Knee ended on May 8 after having brought before the world the question of U.S. imperialism's savage oppression of Native peoples.

In the wake of Wounded Knee, the U.S. government's utterly vicious reign of terror directed against the members and supporters of AIM is vivid testimony to their desperate need to suppress the Indian masses. 562 people were arrested and charged, and 15 convicted. But this was only the beginning. A wave of murders of activists followed (see box, page 3).

The link between this bloody campaign of terror and the further theft of Indian land was graphically illustrated on June 26, 1975. On this day, Dick Wilson singlehandedly signed over one-eighth of the land area of Pine Ridge to the National Park Service, an area which Union Carbide has now expressed an interest in exploring for uranium. This move was long opposed by AIM. Meanwhile, Pine Ridge had been overrun by 60 FBI agents. So when Leonard Peltier and some of his friends heard shots, they immediately ran to investigate. In an obvious diversionary tactic, FBI agents had chosen to attack a Pine Ridge house on the same day the land deal was being completed. In the firefight that followed, a young Indian, Joe Stuntz, and two FBI agents were killed; Peltier was later charged with the murder of the two agents and remains a defiant political prisoner at Marion in Illinois.

The theft of Indian lands has left native people living in grinding poverty (the average income on Pine Ridge is less than \$2,000/year); their life expectancy is 47 years; Indian women are subjected to a very high rate of forced sterilization; and the outright murders continue. This summer, 11-year-old Kimberly Means, daughter of AIM activist Ted Means, was killed during the 1981 Run For Freedom which went from reservation to reservation, building support for Indian political prisoners. Kimberly was hit by a drunk rancher driving a pick-up truck. As is usual in these cases, the killer was merely issued a drunk-driving ticket.

It is this history that has given rise to Yellow Thunder Camp and the demand for recognition of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. Not only have the Indians fiercely resisted the exploitation and theft of their land in the name of "energy self-sufficiency," but there exists among the Indian people a deep reservoir of hatred for a system that has tried to exterminate them. In the government's infamous campaigns against Indian people, this struggle against oppression is one thing U.S. imperialism has been unable to kill. □

Peoples' Run for Leonard Peltier



On September 1, the Peoples' Run for Leonard Peltier, stepped off from Buffalo, N.Y. Nearly 70 people ran the full 710 miles from the starting point to the UN building in New York City, with dozens of others joining in along the route for shorter distances. The focus of the run was to bring to light the continuing imprisonment of American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, Leonard Peltier, who is being held in the infamous Control Unit at the federal prison at Marion, Illinois. He has been serving two life sentences for the alleged murder of two FBI agents during an attack by authorities on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, on July 26, 1975. Peltier, as *RW* readers well know, has been the target of numerous assassination attempts by the U.S. rulers. In fact, if it wasn't for another Indian, Standing Deer, who told Peltier that the government had approached him to commit the murder, Peltier would be dead already. (Standing Deer was later shot in the back by police instead of being captured, for his actions.)

It was the unyielding spirit of resistance that characterized the rally that was held just before the run. And while Leonard Peltier was clearly the focus, the organizers of the event explained that runners were extending their solidarity to the murdered children in Atlanta and their families, and to the people of El Salvador. A brother from the Republic of New Afrika, explained how both Native people and Black people are "at war with this system, and always have been."

About 35 people began the run from Buffalo (80% of the runners were Native people). Before the run was completed, some 27 Indian tribes participated. And, support was gathered from across the country and from around the world. Twenty-five Native runners came from an Indian school in Davis, California. They joined the run in Canandaigua, N.Y. A woman sent from the Peltier Support Committee in Sweden also ran. And a family from France joined the runners at Akwasasne. Akwasasne was the site of

an intense face-off between New York State troopers and the Mohawk people. It was also at Akwasasne that 7 more runners from the tribe joined the Peoples' Run.

When the run reached Attica State Prison, the site of the 1971 rebellion, the atmosphere was tense. Prison authorities had put the clamp on any sort of solidarity being shown by the inmates, particularly the idea of a behind-the-walls-run that was being organized in support of Peltier. Although the jailers would not allow any sort of rally either inside or outside, the runners did hold a 15-minute commemoration in solidarity with the 1971 uprising. (A support run was also denied prisoners at Leavenworth Prison, but was held in Oxford Federal Prison in Wisconsin and Lompoc in California.)

Throughout the areas that the Peoples' Run went, the support from the broad masses was marked. In Saratoga Springs, N.Y., upon only a few hours notice, one person had organized the setting up of tents and the rounding up of food for the runners. At another point along the way when the runners (along with the support car caravan) were down to their last \$3, a preacher came up with the money to maintain the run. When the run finally reached New York City, its route took it through Harlem. Enthusiastic supporters had lined portions of the route chanting, "Free Leonard Peltier." Hundreds of clenched fists were raised in salute. At the rally at the U.N., many hundreds of leaflets about the Peltier case were distributed, and the demand was raised that his case be brought before the people of the world via the U.N.'s Human Rights Commission.

As one of the Peoples' Run organizers summed it up afterwards: "We got the message out to thousands of people in a forceful way. We were able to actually accomplish the run itself through some very heavy odds. Politically, we took the defense of Leonard Peltier and the struggle of Native American people to the people, and got tremendous support which we need to build on." □

Murder

Continued from page 3

blocked by a dozen automobiles. The drivers and passengers were Wilson and about 30 brawny goons. They were pulled from their cars, beaten and threatened with death if they ever returned to the reservation. This same procedure, of course, was applied to many Indians.

Many activists looked to as leading figures in the occupation of Wounded Knee were murdered. Pedro Bissonette, who played a leading role in founding the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization and worked closely with AIM, was shot to death by BIA Police at a roadblock on October 17, 1973. The murder of Anna Mae Aquash, an AIM activist, might have remained an unsolved mystery if her body, buried in a ditch, had not been accidentally discovered by a rancher inspecting his fences.

Anna Mae was first arrested in the full-scale military invasion of the reservation after two FBI agents were killed January 26, 1975. The day after, 170 FBI agents armed with M-16s, dogs and armored personnel carriers swept over Pine Ridge seeking suspects, including Leonard Peltier. Anna Mae was charged with possession of a gun with an obliterated serial number and interrogated heavily. FBI agent Price told her she would be "dead within a year" if she did not talk. According to an FBI document made public at a subsequent trial she replied, "You can either shoot me or put me in jail. That's what you're going to do anyway."

Later she left the state but was extradited back to South Dakota over protests that she would be killed if forced to return. Again she was threatened heavily and pressured to "talk." In February, 1976 she was found dead. Dr. Brown, the BIA pathologist who

performed the autopsy on the then-identified woman, declared her death due to natural causes—exposure to the South Dakota sun. After the body was buried, the FBI announced that they had severed the woman's hands in order to do fingerprints in their Washington, D.C. crime lab, and the woman was indeed Anna Mae Aquash. At her family's insistence the body was exhumed and another autopsy performed. A bullet was found at the base of her skull that somehow the BIA doctor had "overlooked."

The events at Pine Ridge did not happen in isolation but were repeated throughout the country. In 1975 several traditional elders opposed to uranium and coal lease on their land were murdered in what was labeled "a bizarre cult killing." Richard Oakes, a leader of the takeover of Alcatraz in 1968, and Larry Casuse, a leader of the Navajo struggle, were killed. And in what can only be described as an act of savagery, cold-blooded reprisals were taken against AIM leader John Trudell. On February 12, 1979, Trudell carried an American flag in a Leonard Peltier support demonstration in Washington, D.C. When the demonstration reached the FBI building the flag was torched in a righteous act of defiance and opposition to the government's attacks on Peltier and Native people. Just 12 hours later, Trudell's mother, wife and his children were murdered when their house was set on fire by government agents or others in the rulers' pay.

Shortly before her death Anna Mae, who had earned the name "The Bravehearted Woman," had written a letter to her sisters saying: "My efforts to raise the consciousness of the whites who are so against Indians here in the States was bound to be stopped by the FBI sooner or later. But, no sweat. I'm Indian all the way and always will be. I'm not going to stop fighting until I die, and hope I am a good example of a human being and my tribe." □

Haig

Continued from page 5

we, especially when defeating the Soviets is the only way to maintain our imperialist domination. As for the "fine line between liberty and license," this is mainly a reference to the outbreaks of the masses, and the point here is that the allies had better crack down on this, and not give in an inch to any broader sentiments that these actions both reflect and further give rise to.

Haig bemoans the fact that the protests currently taking place in Western Europe against U.S. armaments there and U.S. aggression in El Salvador, for example, are not being matched by demonstrations against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and Kampuchea or Soviet nuclear arms in Europe. He cries, "Where are the demonstrations against these outrages?" Of course, one might point to the "demonstrations," in the form of armed struggle, that are taking place in both Afghanistan and Kampuchea against Soviet imperialism

and its lackeys, but isn't it just too bad that in Western Europe, the U.S. is paying a certain price for being the head of its imperialist bloc. At any rate, cries of "double standard" by such a master of duplicity are indeed laughable, especially when immediately followed by Haig's chemical warfare "exposé" (the evidence of which evidently rests on little more than a leaf, incidentally). By this point, the U.S. bourgeoisie must be wishing it could resurrect Knute Rockne from the dead.

Haig's speech is apparently only the first of many. As the *New York Times* reported, he wanted to "use the speech to launch a more vigorous campaign in coming weeks to inspire confidence by the alliance in itself and to point out weaknesses in the Communist world more actively." Undoubtedly we will be treated to much more emphasis on "Western values" and much more of the ideals that are "worth fighting for." But really, it's not fair to judge the coach's pep-talk too harshly. After all, there just isn't much to work with when you're responsible for inspiring confidence in imperialism. □

The next hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism will be held in:

Atlanta, October 2nd at 7 p.m.

October 3rd at 12:00 noon

October 4th at 4 p.m.

Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University

and New York City, October 23, 24 and 25

To participate in the tribunal or for more information contact the National Office of the Tribunal at:

War Crimes Tribunal

249 W. 18th St.

New York City, NY 10011 Telephone: 212-228-5231

Consensus

Continued from page 1

strained even the patience of Israel's American sguarddies. *Newsweek* weighed in with another of its recent "polls of American Jewry" which are all designed to show that even Israel's hardcore political base in the U.S. "seemed increasingly nervous about Begin." And, they gossiped, "Everyone in town, from the janitor all the way to the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State, hates Begin with a passion," said one nettled administration official as he braced for Begin's first meeting with President Reagan. And other old hands at the State Department believe it will be all but impossible to devise a balanced stand between the Arabs and Israelis so long as Begin remains in office."

Time projected an even more ominous mood of bitterness. In a prominent editorial essay, *Time* delivered a sharp attack on Begin's West Bank policy and his foot-dragging in the Camp David negotiations with Egypt, and expressed concern for the stability of both the Sadat regime in Egypt and that other long-time U.S. lackey, King Hussein of Jordan, if headway towards a comprehensive settlement is not made soon. "The close identification of the U.S. with Israel," *Time* complained, "has impeded American attempts to coordinate diplomacy with the European Community, and it has complicated U.S. relations with most Third World countries and virtually all Islamic ones. It has also complicated American efforts to preposition military supplies and guarantee access to bases around the Gulf." The threat of cuts in military aid was raised: "If Israel continues to take international law into its own hands... then the next display of U.S. displeasure ought to be more sustained and less symbolic. It might include selective cutbacks in American military aid... some of that aid is not critical to Israel's defense. In fact, it amounts to a subsidy to the Israeli Defense Industry, which in turn sometimes competes with the U.S. on world markets."

And *Time* concluded by calling Begin's attention to the impermanence of all temporal power: "It is high time for the U.S. to engage Israel in a debate over the fundamental nature of their relationship. If that means interfering in Israel's internal politics, then so be it. Israel has been interfering skillfully and successfully in U.S. politics for decades. About half the Israeli electorate questions the wisdom of Begin's policies in the last election. Perhaps a majority will do so in the next. The U.S. might help bring that about if its government were less timid in asserting publicly that Begin's aims and means are potentially disastrous for both Israel and the U.S."

All of this high-profile bluster might have led one to expect that Begin would be put under arrest when he landed at Dulles International Airport in Washington, D.C. But in reality, the key question is not whether Israel is locked into the U.S. war bloc—it surely is—but whether Israel is willing to rise above the narrow objectives of its own Zionist program to the level of "statesmanship" required to work closely with Saudi Arabia and Egypt to form a "troika" of sufficient strength and stability to attract other regimes in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf.

There is no doubt that most quarters of U.S. imperialism would prefer to deal with the Israeli Labor Party rather than with Begin and his Likud bloc; the Reagan administration has one eye always riveted on Begin's one-seat majority in the Knesset (Israeli parliament) and the consequent likelihood of early elections. But the major difference is one of degree: dealing with Begin requires both more unseemly arm-twisting and more pot-sweetening "concessions" to get him to look up more often from his maps of "Greater Israel" and pay still greater attention to the demands of U.S. imperialist global strategy. Not that the basic reactionary aggressiveness of Israel doesn't fully coincide with U.S. strategic interests. It does. But the coordination must be more meticulous.

All of this was reflected in Begin's recent U.S. visit. As it turns out, at least as

far as is known, the actual range of subjects discussed was fairly narrow. The key and most basic issue was the Reagan administration's decision to sell AWACS craft to Saudi Arabia. Begin strenuously objects to the sale, claiming that relinquishing these instruments to Saudi control would enable them to spy on military activities within Israel and pass along intelligence to "Palestinian terrorists" and other Arab enemies. The official administration position is that the AWACS will have a deterrent effect on designs by the Soviet Union or surrogates acting at Soviet instigation from "cutting the oil lifeline of the West."

AWACS: Symbolism

Now as is generally known, AWACS already are operating in Saudi airspace, on loan from the U.S., and manned by U.S. crews. The planes were introduced after the outbreak of the Iran/Iraq war under the pretext of defending Saudi Arabia against the chance that the "mad men in Tehran," acting from some obscure motive, would attack the oil fields. Even when the proposed deal is consummated, little will change: U.S. crews will continue to fly the planes; it is projected (politically) that "at least 5 years" will be required to train the "backward Saudis" to read the radar screens and formal ownership will not pass to the Saudis until 1986.

The decision to formally sell the planes to Saudi Arabia is political, symbolic of Saudi Arabia's role as a vital "working partner" in the strategic consensus. The Saudis (and the U.S.) are sensitive about their regime being seen in the Arab world as "U.S. lackeys" who are throwing open their territory to U.S. military personnel, bases, supply facilities, etc. They want to (formally) own the planes. The Saudis also see a U.S. commitment to sell them the "super-sophisticated spy planes" as security, as a sign of an irrevocable U.S. stake in shoring up the feeble monarchy at all costs.

U.S. advocates of the AWACS sale maintain (though not usually in so many words) that should the Israel-Egypt-Saudi troika actually begin to function relatively smoothly, Israel in particular could find itself the beneficiary, particularly when the time comes and U.S. approval is forthcoming for an Israeli strike to "clean out Lebanon" of the Syrian occupation forces and hostile Moslem and Palestinian strongholds. And beyond this, the AWACS are capable of seeing and coordinating military operations throughout the Persian Gulf, whether or not these operations directly affect Saudi territory or interests.

The mind of Menachem Begin is portrayed in the U.S. press as impervious to the "logic" of such arguments. *Newsweek* reports that "Begin knows almost nothing about the personalities of Arab leaders. The only anecdotes that catch his ear are how the Saudis chop off the hands of thieves..." says one U.S. diplomat who knows him." *Newsweek* goes on to chuckle that the quaint Begin "is likely to tell Reagan that the United States should not cultivate the Saudis because the regime is shaky, the rulers are financially corrupt—and the royal princes have the biggest collection of blue movies in the Mideast."

It is not clear that President Reagan and his staff made much headway in convincing Begin of the fine moral qualities of the Saudi leadership. What they did do, according to press accounts was pass the word to Begin that the Reagan administration was determined to press ahead with the AWACS sale, despite Israeli opposition and despite substantial opposition in Congress—opposition which, the U.S. press has attributed largely to a bitter and successful lobbying battle by Israel's most hardcore U.S. supporters.

Well before Begin's visit, a majority of the members of the House of Representatives had already gone on record as opposing the sale. By September 17th, a few days following Begin's departure, U.S. Senator Robert Packwood announced that 50 senators had signed a similar resolution. In order to actually block the sale, both houses must formally vote against this before the October 30th deadline.

According to the *Washington Post*, a

"senior Defense Department official" who refused to be identified told reporters at a September 12th press briefing that agreements reached for expanded U.S.-Israeli military cooperation "will have to be reassessed" if Congress refuses to approve the 8.5 billion Saudi deal—a clear signal that the administration was putting severe pressure on Begin to ease his opposition to the sale.

The appearance of heavy Congressional opposition to the AWACS sale is the result of several factors. Considerations of domestic politics do play a significant role in the anti-AWACS movement in Congress. But beyond this, it became apparent in the days following Begin's visit that the AWACS sale had also become a political issue in a broader and somewhat confused debate within the U.S. imperialist ranks on strategic policy in the Middle East.

Oddly enough, this is one Middle East foreign policy flap in which, at least on the surface, no apparent serious divisions exist within the Reagan administration itself, where Haig and Weinberger have often fought. Reagan's chief press spokesman, in reaction to the growing Senate opposition, said that "as far as the President is concerned, the battle is just beginning." Even as Senator Packwood was brandishing his list of Senate opponents, Secretary Haig was urgently pushing the sale in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Haig told the committee that "what is at stake is this nation's capacity to develop strategy... in an unstable area exposed not only to historic Arab-Israeli rivalry but increasingly to threats from the Soviet Union and its proxies... If we fail to develop such a strategy the consequences for the U.S. and its industrialized allies could be substantial."

But the *New York Times*, on September 18, released a strong editorial opposing the sale, stating that "The sale should never have been proposed, much less promised. President Reagan would be wise to retreat before he is frontally defeated." The *Times* downplayed Saudi Arabia's potential contribution to "America's objectives in the Middle East" and criticized the Saudis because "they still put Israel—and not the Soviet Union—at the top of their enemies list. This may be only a prudent defense against Arab radicals by a vulnerable royal family. But a regime so frail is hardly a safe depository for the most advanced American weapons."

The *New York Times* has, of course, historically been a strong editorial supporter of Israeli interests. But objections to the sale within some quarters of the U.S. bourgeoisie, which only now are becoming very vocal and apparently have, according to press analyses, taken the Reagan administration by surprise, involve more than parochial politics or ties to the "Israel lobby." The differences are an outgrowth of what has been a knotty and perplexing dilemma for U.S. imperialist strategy in the Middle East, a strategy which rests on an attempt to subordinate both Israeli and (especially) Arab ruling circle interests and the very acute contradictions which divide them to U.S. strategic interests in preparation for war with the Soviets.

Dissatisfaction with Begin is widespread within the U.S. bourgeoisie. But not all of those who wish Begin would drop dead, necessarily subscribe to such recent steps by the Reagan administration as the effort to find an "opening" to the PLO, or other moves which could even potentially call into question Israel's supremacy or weaken its security against a possible Arab assault. Some forces, while agreeing with the necessity to consolidate the Arab regimes in the U.S. war bloc, are extremely skeptical of their stability, reliability and predictability. On the other hand, for example, the *Time* magazine essay referred to above went so far as to attack the Reagan administration exactly because "he and his top aides have repeatedly hailed Israel as the cornerstone of the 'strategic consensus' that the administration hopes to build in the Middle East... Unfortunately, though, the more the two men agree on that notion, the more they will be deluding

themselves and each other." The viewpoint represented by *Time* leans strongly in the direction of moving decisively to de-emphasize (though not eliminate) the "special relationship" with Israel in order to rapidly consolidate U.S. influence in the Arab camp.

In the aftermath of the Begin visit, for reasons which have not yet fully come to light, these differences appear to have intensified, and the AWACS issue may be emerging as a political skirmish connected to far more basic conflicts over U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Even if the developments do force the Reagan administration to cancel the sale, as we have also noted, AWACS are flying in the Saudi skies right now. And the Saudis announced on September 17th that should Congress reject the sale, they would go ahead and purchase comparable British-made Nimrod surveillance planes; the British have already indicated their willingness, indeed their eagerness, to take the Saudis' money.

"New Era"?

At the same time, the two sides announced what was billed as a "new era of strategic collaboration" that includes, according to the *New York Times*, "joint naval maneuvers, the stockpiling of American medical supplies in Israel and joint planning to counter the Soviet Union."

Details of this "strategic collaboration", according to the press, were to be worked out in subsequent consultations between U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

The actual content of this "new era" remains murky. Of course, extensive military cooperation between the U.S. and Israel is already a fact of life. Begin clearly went out of his way during his visit to lay the anti-Soviet rhetoric on thick, endorse the "strategic consensus" approach and press for measures of military cooperation which would have gone far beyond the formal terms announced last week. Begin proposed that Israel could "offer air cover far into the Eastern Mediterranean to protect American transports if necessary, preposition large amounts of American weapons in Israel, allow use of Israeli ports by American ships for docking and repairs and make available air bases in the Negev region."

In the funhouse of mirrors that is imperialist diplomacy, especially in the Middle East, both the actual agreements and the statements of the two sides regarding them are open to dual interpretations. The stated agreement fell far short of what Begin "offered" to the U.S. But whether this is because Begin wanted in return latitude in the pursuit of Israel's own foreign policy agenda that the U.S. was unwilling to grant, or because the U.S. was fearful of causing too much consternation in the Arab world—or whether there is a secret clause to the agreements which stipulates, for example, that the so-called "medical supplies" to be stockpiled in Israel actually will be weapons stockpiles; or what combination of all these elements are at play, it is impossible to say with precision.

In any event, Begin was at least outwardly oozing with satisfaction that his visit had produced a military agreement which, whatever its limitations, clearly reaffirmed Israel's critical place in all U.S. planning in the Middle East. "That Reagan really has a warm heart," Begin said after the formal negotiations were concluded. "We've always said that Israel has a friend in the White House. Now we can say that we have a very, very good friend indeed." The irony of a warm hearted U.S. "concession" of more military outposts hardly needs commentary.

Despite denials by both Begin and the Reagan administration, the new "arrangement" would not have been announced in the absence of some commitment from Begin to ease off on the AWACS issue. Begin did continue to reiterate his "strong" opposition to the sale in post-summit politicking in New York, but this was to be expected. More significantly, he referred to the AWACS dispute as "secondary" to the glorious grand alliance between the U.S. and Israel. The administration is

counting on "farsighted" American Zionist leaders such as Howard Squadron, President of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, to tone down the anti-AWACS lobbying campaign in Congress and let enough congressmen off the political hook to ensure passage. The AWACS sale becomes final if both houses of Congress do not pass blocking resolutions by October 30th.

Bartering over the AWACS sale and what political security (in the form of the "new security arrangement") Israel should receive in return for reconciling itself to it turned out, indeed, to be nearly the only issues of real substance taken up during the talks. That the two items are clearly "linked," each held hostage against the other, shows the nature of the trading involved. This shows up also in Begin's insistence that the security arrangement be put in writing in a formal memorandum, and U.S. hesitations on this point: "Who needs it in writing, we're friends, aren't we?" Thus, while on the one hand, the U.S. imperialists clearly do intend to strengthen their military relationship with Israel in preparation for the coming war with the Soviet Union, on the other hand the vagueness of the "strategic arrangement," and the fact that Begin is trumpeting its significance far more than the U.S., is a tipoff that it is, at least in part, a political sop to Israel—and one that could be easily snatched back if, for example, the Israel lobby doesn't play ball and instead forces the issue on the AWACS in Congress.

A further indication of the narrow significance of the summit is that little attempt was made to work out common positions or resolve differences over the really critical issues: policies towards Lebanon, the West Bank and the Palestinian question, and Israel/Egypt relations. The *New York Times* threw up its hands in despair in its editorial summation: "All the proclamations of 'alliance' and 'strategic consensus' represent no significant policy turn. Some easy plans for further collaboration were shamelessly inflated. Mr. Begin will go home claiming that for all Washington's recent condemnations, his American flank is secure. The tough issues were all evaded. Two merchants have got what they could from each other; there were no statesmen in the room."

James Reston whose status as a senior columnist always entitles him to a few scraps of insider gossip, informed the world in the *Sunday Times* that all the meetings between the U.S. and Israel teams were very formal and conducted according to a rigid agenda: no intimate private chats with the president. The view of the administration appears to have been that the meeting should take up and "fix" the AWACS controversy, which couldn't wait, and reaffirm in unmistakable terms the solidity of the U.S.-Israeli alliance, but not much more. The U.S. may be stalling for Begin's successor, if they have reason to believe he might be just around the corner. And, of course, there is no clear unanimity within U.S. imperialist ranks, either, on just how to handle the "Palestinian question" and other outstanding issues. And lastly, even if much more was agreed to than has been publicly acknowledged, the U.S. would be at pains to avoid giving the impression in bourgeois Arab circles that any improvement in relations with Israel must mean a tilt away from their own interests.

Effect On Other Clients

The U.S. did take such pains, but they were not well rewarded. On September 13th, Secretary Haig flew from Washington to Spain, where he met for three hours with Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia to brief him on the Reagan-Begin discussion. Haig assured Fahd that despite Israeli and congressional opposition, the administration was confident that their much-prized AWACS would be in the mail soon. He also gave Fahd to understand that the "new era of strategic collaboration" between the U.S. and Israel, which was being toasted at that moment in Washington, was nothing to be alarmed about. Fahd listened in dubious silence, according to

press accounts. Because Fahd said little, State Department spokesman Dean Fischer announced later that "no expression of disapproval" was voiced by Prince Fahd towards the American strategic concepts," according to the *New York Times*.

Predictably, the Saudis reacted with what the *Times* described as a "hurried and heated denial" that any such "lack of disapproval" was expressed or implied. "Saudi Arabia often asked the United States to stop its pro-Israeli bias and stop supporting Israel militarily," a Saudi government spokesman insisted. An editorial in the leading Saudi newspaper, *Okaz*, stated that "America has revealed with this alliance, which it really doesn't need, its bias toward Israel...if the Americans could look further than their noses, they would realize that the Soviet Union could not have seeped into the area except as a result of the U.S. administration's stubbornness and its total bias toward Israel." The U.S.-Israeli talks also got lousy reviews in most other Arab capitals.

Meanwhile Syria, the Soviet Union's main current outpost in the Middle East, went on a diplomatic offensive to whip up opposition against the new accords. Syria's Foreign Minister stumped the Persian Gulf, warning of "the serious consequences of the strategic agreement reached between the U.S. and the Israeli enemy." In Damascus, officials announced that Syria would seek a similar alliance with the Soviet Union—a moving tribute to the so-called "Arab nationalism" of the Assad regime. "Even if the Soviets do not take it up with us, we shall certainly take it up with them," an unnamed Syrian official volunteered, according to a dispatch from Damascus.

Soviet-leaning Arab countries and the PLO were due to gather on September 16th at Benghazi, Libya, to plot out how to marshal opposition to the U.S.-Israel axis and drive a deeper wedge between the U.S. and the Arab regimes as a whole.

Some U.S. analysts have viewed the cries of indignation in Arab capitals with dismay. One can always chock up a certain amount of anti-Israel rhetoric to the exigencies of domestic politics faced by the bourgeois Arab regimes, but nevertheless their contradictions with Israel are real and acute; those who lean more towards the U.S. than the Soviets especially expect the U.S. imperialists to tighten the leash on Israel. John Kifner, in an analysis in the *New York Times*, "New U.S.-Israeli Step May Isolate Arab Allies," said that the new agreements "appear likely...to increase polarization within the Arab world, provide a rallying point for Soviet interests, and isolate America's allies, particularly Saudi Arabia." It does appear likely that some Arab observers had been led to expect, from recent criticism of Israel by the U.S. government and the media, that Begin would emerge from the meeting considerably more humble than he was when he walked in. Instead, Begin is boasting up a storm; and speculation continues to mount that Israel, even in the wake of the summit, is contemplating a new, large-scale invasion of Lebanon.

On September 12, reports from Beirut sighted a highly publicized PLO military buildup in anticipation of a new Israeli attack. Yassir Arafat, the PLO General Secretary, has stated that, according to the *Times*, "he had information that Israel was about to open a new drive against Palestinian positions in the South." Prime Minister Menachem Begin, he charged, has been seeking a "green light" from Washington for such an attack during his current visit to the United States."

It is very likely that Begin did press for a freer hand in Lebanon during his U.S. visit. According to *Newsweek* magazine, Begin complained that the Syrian missiles which were deployed in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon last spring, and which Israel has pledged to remove by force if necessary, were "still there." But according to *Newsweek*, the administration rejected Begin's pleas: "Some administration strategists believe that the Lebanese ceasefire can be somehow parlayed into a new process that will get around the Camp

David impasse, building (U.S. special envoy Philip C.—RW) Habib's shuttle diplomacy into wider exchanges that might lure the Palestinians into joining."

But the *Washington Post* of September 14th carried a front page feature on the situation in Lebanon, surveying Lebanese and Palestinian opinion on the imminence of a new Israeli strike. It is important to keep in mind that, although the U.S. has had some sharp tactical differences with Begin's "reckless" maneuvers in Lebanon in recent months, the U.S. is itself strongly interested in expelling the Syrian presence and quelling potentially explosive Palestinian and Moslem insurgent movements there. Complex considerations in the higher interests of the "strategic consensus"—including maneuvers aimed at probing the possibility of a direct rapprochement with some "moderate" elements with the PLO—have prevented the U.S. from giving the "green light" to an all-out Israeli sweep.

Recent articles in the U.S. press have given greater play to the diversity of factions in the PLO, placing more emphasis on the "moderation" of Yassir Arafat and marking his latest estrangement with Syria. Syria is portrayed as the backer of "radical factions" of the Palestinian guerrilla movement which are out to seize control of the movement from Arafat. "Syrian officials," reports the *N.Y. Times* in a September 13th feature on the subject, "were said to have been unhappy about Mr. Arafat's role in concluding a ceasefire agreement in the Lebanese conflict, which they viewed as another indication of the PLO chief's growing independence. Syrian officials suspect that Mr. Arafat might be willing to strike a separate bargain with Israel."

All of this speculation combined raises the possibility that an Israeli military operation in Lebanon directed against Syria and "pro-Syrian" guerrilla units—that is, any units not associated with a "moderate" wing potentially amenable to collaboration in a U.S. imposed "comprehensive settlement"—might be conducted in such a way that those forces the U.S. is anxious to avoid alienating would look the other way—including the "mainstream moderates" in the PLO. In short, it is not necessarily out of the question that Israel did receive some sort of limited green light in Lebanon, and that Begin's professed glee is more than just putting the best face on things.

Sadat's Troubles

While all of the jockeying between the U.S., Israel and Saudi Arabia whirled dizzily along, the situation for the regime of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat could only be described as one of noisy disintegration. Amid a flurry of semi-hysterical press conferences defending his actions to the West, Sadat rounded up thousands of political opponents of all kinds, from Moslem fundamentalists to Soviet-leaning sectors of the bourgeois opposition. He expelled the correspondent for the *French Le Monde*, complaining of "distorted" news coverage—especially *Le Monde's* intonations that an island of stability, Egypt, was not. Then, hoping to stir the blood of his friends in the U.S. by singing their favorite tune, Sadat wheeled around and lashed out at the Soviet Union, expelling most of its remaining diplomats on charges that they had operated a "nest of subversion" from the Soviet embassy, "fanned sectarian strife" between the Moslems and the Christians, and attempted to foster ties between the burgeoning domestic opposition and representatives of the hard-line "rejection front" of Arab countries which oppose the Camp David Accords. Without doubting that Soviet imperialism is quite active in Egypt, it is not hard to see through Sadat's craven plan to force the U.S. to save him from a simmering popular revolt (somehow) through sending up the distress rocket of "Soviet subversion." It appears that the Sadat regime may be in even deeper trouble than the actual scope of mass protests and disturbances thus far would suggest.

One of the most damaging blows of the week to U.S. imperialism's dream of melding together an Israel-Egypt-

Saudi "troika" came with some provocative comments by Israeli chief of staff, Lt. General Rafael Eitan, on the internal situation facing Sadat. Eitan was quoted as saying that "There are troubles in Egypt, and it is possible that President Sadat will go and everything will come to an end. Peace with Egypt relies on the continuation of President Sadat's role."

Eitan's remarks do not appear to have been made at a public forum, but they were nevertheless widely reported in the State-controlled Israeli press, indicating some measure of calculation on the Israeli side. Egypt's response was a screech; their defense minister demanded of Israel's defense minister an explanation of "these irresponsible remarks"; a scheduled visit by General Eitan to Cairo has been cancelled; another scheduled visit, by Egypt's chief of staff to Israel, has also been "postponed."

The flap came only weeks after the resumption of halting efforts to restore the scurrilous Camp David talks on "Palestinian autonomy" between Egypt and Israel, and to prepare the way for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from their remaining positions in the Sinai Desert and its return to Egypt, which is slated under the Camp David agreements to take place in April of 1982.

The "unfortunate" remarks by Israel's chief-of-staff carry various implications. First, they represent an assessment by Israel that the prospects for the survival of the Sadat regime may indeed not be bright. But beneath this, a subtler Israeli intrigue may be observed wriggling and squirming to life. It is well known that the Begin cabinet—and especially the defense ministry under the leadership of the reputed "maniac," General Sharon—is unhappy about yielding Israel's positions in the Sinai, and has been casting about for a plausible means of abrogating the agreement. The possibility that Sadat may be on the way out—and that what Israel would describe as a "fanatical anti-Israel regime of crazy Moslem zealots" may conceivably come to power—could provide Begin with a rationale for "indefinitely postponing" the withdrawal and freezing other onerous provisions of the Camp David Accords, whether or not Sadat's regime actually topples. The mere chance that this may happen could be construed as a sufficient threat to "Israeli security" to justify backing away from meeting Israel's share of the Camp David bargain.

Certainly the chief-of-staff's remarks lend themselves powerfully to such an interpretation. Should further events confirm this, Israel's "concern" over the stability of "our friend Anwar's" benevolent rule is likely to prove a self-fulfilling prophecy: if Sadat lets the Sinai slip through his fingers, his political goose is cooked. But then, if the Israeli-Egyptian rapprochement falls apart, and events in Egypt take their unpredictable course, little might remain of the "solid core" of the "stable, anti-Soviet strategic consensus," at least as it is presently conceived by the visionary strategists of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. is certainly working hard to try to plug the leaks as quickly as they spring, however. On the heels of the announcement of the Reagan-Begin strategic collaboration, a deal was signed with Pakistan for the delivery of \$3.2 billion in military aid, a tidy improvement over the \$400 million "peanuts" offer of President Carter last year, which Pakistan's General Zia haughtily rejected. And in the week before Begin's visit, a NATO ministerial conference unveiled plans for a multi-lateral military task force that will swoop into Saudi Arabia and rescue Prince Fahd and his retinue in the event that a popular rebellion should ever intrude during a royal command performance of "Deep Throat" at the palace cinema. Fear of mass revolutionary upheaval—now, on this point, the strategic consensus is unanimously endorsed, from Washington to Riyadh, from Cairo to Tel Aviv. Unfortunately for its adherents, however, this is a consensus that is shared by many former rulers who have long since hung from a lamppost outside the palace gates. □

Matter

Continued from page 14

families. There are the hadrons [heavy] and the leptons [light ones], which are the bricks and stones; there are also meson fields and photon fields, which are the cement." The opposition of discreteness and continuity penetrates deep into the interior of the atom.

Engels says that: "Dialectics knows no hard and fast lines, no unconditional, universally valid 'either-or'." (*Dialectics of Nature*, p. 212). Particles and fields are both different and connected. There exists continuity within the discreteness—a [solid] object is not "solid". No matter how hard bricks are—even a block of iron, there still exists empty space inside. There is also discreteness within continuity; inside cement there are particles. [The concepts of] particle and field are only generalizations reached on a certain level of the development of science, the products of a certain stage of man's understanding of material structure. The development of science is penetrating into deeper levels of material forms. It more and more illustrates that they are [not "either-or" but] "both-and", no hard and fast lines!

Particles and Waves

The further development of science demonstrates that the residents of the atomic world—wavicles—themselves are both discrete and continuous. "Only in motion would objects reveal what they are." ("Engels to Marx" 5-30-1873—[translated from Chinese]). Precisely in motion, wavicles manifest themselves both as particles and as waves.

What is light? In the 19th century man thought that light was just an electromagnetic wave. But some experiments conducted at the end of the 19th century indicated that the energy of electromagnetic waves was not being radiated continuously, but rather jumping—one by one. Just like when one buys things and pays money for them, the smallest unit of money is one cent which can't be partitioned any further, when things radiate energy or absorb energy there is also a smallest unit which can't be divided anymore. This unit is called a "quantum of energy" or simply "quantum". The energy quantity is discrete, this means the subject in motion [embodiment of energy] is also a discrete particle, which is called a photon. Light exists not only as wave, but also as particle. On the other hand, it was later discovered that particles also have wave [characteristics]; there are electron waves, neutron waves, proton waves. Particles are not only like "ice hail, rain drops", but also like "flying cloud, flowing water". An electron beam, like a light beam, when it passes through a tiny hole, also produces a wave-type diffraction pattern. This also demonstrates that the electron not only is a particle, but also a wave. In sum, all wavicles, whether electrons or photons, or say bricks or cement, all are like "one actor playing two roles". They are all both discrete and continuous, exist as both particle and wave. This is really like: [Within particle there is wave and within wave there is particle]

It won't do for science to simply recognize that micro-objects possess the duality of being wave and particle. Science must "study how opposites can be and how they happen to be (how they become) identical" (Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 109), and study how this duality "resides" in the concrete structure of micro-objects.

This is difficult. If waves are the vibrations of fields and particles are the barrage of "bullets" fired directly out from a thing, then how could these be united? Someone said that in the final analysis, it is a wave. Several different waves overlap one another, wave peak meets wave peak and reinforce one another. If many wave peaks concentrate at one place, forming a "wave packet" they become a particle. But this wave packet is very unstable, quite easily dissipated and cannot maintain its particle character. There are also some people who say that in the final analysis it is a particle. In the process of motion, particles go up and down, one pulls another, forming vibrations, and the vibrations are transmitted in wave form. This is just like travelling in a hilly area; a car takes a wave-like route. This is actually still the old viewpoint of the classical school of particles. It can't solve the old question of the diffraction and interference of light.

The Copenhagen School headed by Bohr proposed a new explanation for micro-objects' duality as both particle and wave. They thought that a micro-object acting as an individual is a particle. But when it repeatedly appears under the same conditions, it appears more frequently in some places and less in others. The distribution density of various places varies, forms peaks and valleys at different places, and is just like a wave. This is called a "probability wave". "If we let the electrons go through a tiny hole and project them onto a screen, one at a time, in the beginning we can only see one after another irregularly distributed spots. The electrons have hit here and there, making them seem very 'free'. But when the total number of electrons going through a tiny hole has increased to a very large number, concentric rings appear with alternating bright and dark shades. The dark areas indicate where fewer electrons have hit, and the bright areas where more electrons have hit. As far as an individual electron is concerned, it is not certain what path it would take and where it would hit. We can only say what would be the probability of it hitting a given point. In the whole area that the electron could have hit, a regular continuous probability distribution has shaped up—a 'probability field'. Therefore, the unity between the particle and wave character of an electron in fact lies in the unity between its particle character and the probability distribution that it expresses in motion. The electron wave is different from the light (photon) wave. It is another special type of wave, i.e., the 'wave' formed by the probability of a particle occurring at different places.

According to this explanation: Within an atom, as an electron circles around the atomic nucleus, it cannot have an exact orbit and location. It can only have a probability distribution, and forms a "probability field". The electron can be here, and can be not here. It is only, in the main, located inside an "electron cloud" and there is no way to pinpoint the exact location of an electron.

Probability waves demonstrate that between discrete particles there are still connections; they express the continuity between particles through probability waves. This reflects the contradiction of wavicles being both discrete and continuous. It is seemingly discrete and continuous, not discrete and not continuous. It contains discreteness within continuity and continuity within discreteness. Why is there such a contradiction? It can only be explained through the internal structure of wavicles—because there are still deeper structural levels below wavicles, which themselves can be further divided.

11. Probability is the measure of possibility. It deals with the laws governing events which repeatedly occur under the same conditions. For example, flip a coin. For an individual coin, it is completely uncertain whether the face would be heads or tails, it can be heads and it can also be tails. But if one flips a coin many times, or flips many coins at the same time, the results approach a probability distribution of 1/2 for heads and tails respectively. This law is called a statistical law.

However, the Copenhagen School thought that this type of connection is "freely chosen" by its own free will, no causality involved here at all. Electrons show no trace of coming and going, but only meet at the "scintillation screen". And as to why it hits at this particular point on the scintillation screen, there are no trails for us to trace, no indications which would allow us to predict, no before and after phenomena for thinking over. Man can only use different types of "instruments" to make wavicles express themselves in some experiments as particles and in other experiments as waves; and these two aspects are mutually exclusive and complementary, forming a "complementary world-picture". This is to say, matter expresses itself here as particle, there as wave; today it is particle, tomorrow field. Two things alternately stand out in prominence, one can't do without the other; Newton said there are only particles in the world; Einstein said there are only fields; the Copenhagen School said the world is constituted half as particle, half as field, half discrete and half continuous. And these two halves are simply put together "combining two into one", that is it, no more and no less.

Why is there such a result? Heisenberg said, "Just as the Greeks had hoped, we have by now found the only elementary object which is actually in existence". This is the quantum of energy, i.e., the "elementary particle", which is "the smallest indivisible unit of all matter". (*Philosophical Questions of Nuclear Physics*, 1948, British edition, p. 103, [translated from the Chinese]). This quantum sets the final limit of analysis. Within this limit, man can accurately measure a certain quantity, can investigate in a thousand and one ways the various relations outside of the "quantum"; but once having gone beyond this limit and getting within the quantum, everything becomes blurry. If you want to pinpoint the exact position of a particle, then speed won't be certain. If you want to make certain of its speed, then location becomes blurry. In sum, precisely because the quantum is indivisible, the micro-object is either shown as particle or as wave. And we can only describe them as particle or describe them as wave. This is our final description of micro-objects. Our understanding of the material world can only go this far and must stop here. Deny the absolute divisibility of matter and you inevitably get into this blind alley of "final truth".

How can there be some so-called absolutely indivisible thing? The atomic world is complex, inexhaustible, and with the development of science, man will for sure penetrate to ever more aspects of this world, understand ever more manifestations of micro-objects. Whether "quantum", electron, or photon, it is all "a 'nodal point' in a partitioned infinite series; it does not conclude this series, but rather characterizes the differences of quality" ("Engels to Marx" June 16, 1867 [translated from the Chinese]). These nodal points are the unity of absolute divisibility and relative indivisibility. If electrons and photons cannot be further divided, our understanding has reached the ultimate. Then what have scientists left to do?

No "Elementary Matter"

A wavicle is not some "elementary particle", it can still be divided. A wavicle has a very prominent characteristic, i.e., under certain conditions, it changes instantly, transforms ceaselessly. "In given conditions each of the contradictory aspects within a thing transforms itself into its opposite." (Mao Tsetung, *On Contradiction*) Transformations are always due to internal contradictions; one divides into two internally. Without the internal contradiction between protons and neutrons within the radium nucleus, it wouldn't radiate an alpha-particle and transform itself into radon. Without the internal contradictions between sperm and ovum within a chicken egg, it couldn't transform itself into a chick. If capitalist society was like a block of iron, and there was no contradiction between capitalist production relations and social productive forces, no contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, how could it transform

itself without cause or reason into socialist society? Things won't occur without a cause; no wave without wind blowing. Without contradiction there can be no transformation. This is a universal law. The reciprocal transformations of wavicles similarly indicates that wavicles are divisible. They contain internal contradictions.

In the West there is a theory that wavicles are all "equal". Between them there is only the mutual relationship of I link up with you and you link up with me. Thus, the relationship buries the real object. Finally, in this view, not only is there no "level structure", but no "particles"; there is no such thing as "field"; and therefore, of course, no so-called "internal contradictions" of wavicles. This theory uses solely the external links of things to abolish the internal contradictions in things. The 3-D picture interwoven of vertical (series of different levels of material structure) and horizontal (cross section of the same level) fabric of the material world, once being put into the "funny mirror" of this theory, is twisted into a flat picture of only a horizontal cross-section, but no vertical depth. There is another theory which argues that wavicles are only "geometrical points" without internal structure. Then how could they transform? In order to realize this transformation, this theory has to resort to particles emerging out of the void, and disappearing without cause. But the smaller the radius of a particle, the larger the energy. Infinitesimal "geometrical points" must carry an infinitely big energy. This theory thus lands in an inescapable quicksand.

The development of natural science itself continuously confirms the divisibility of wavicles. In the 1950s, S. Sakata of Japan put forward a theory that in the hadron-meson family of wavicles, there are 3 even more basic "fundamental particles" whose unity of contradiction forms all the rest of the hadrons and mesons. Subsequently, some people put forward on the basis of Sakata's model, that all the particles in the hadron-meson family are composed of 3 "fundamental hadrons" called "quarks". In recent years, still other people put forward that even a single type of quark can still have different "colors" or other different characteristics, demonstrating that quarks actually are not "fundamental", but possess differences. Recently, a "partial-particle" model was also presented. Based on the results of experiments which showed that when high-energy electrons hit a proton, the electrons are not hitting a solid ball, but rather some discrete points, some people conjectured that the proton probably is composed of "partial-particles" which are even smaller than the proton. Currently, science is charging from various angles into the internal world of wavicles.

Faced with the facts of scientific development, Heisenberg searched for the "fundamental particle" more basic than the wavicle. This was an advance. But he still thought that all the "fundamental particles" are identically the same, no contradiction; and he thought they form an "elementary field" which includes all the wavicle fields and contains no contradictions at all. This is his so-called "unified field theory", and it is the "final theory" which can exhaust all human understanding of material structures in one stroke. He tried in the small world to set a lower limit for the universe, just like Einstein tried in the big world to set the "unified field" as an upper limit for the universe. Both are in vain. Heisenberg just advanced one step, then fell back again into the swamp of metaphysics. You see how stubborn this metaphysical world outlook is!

What is strange is that some Soviet revisionist scholars who say they are using Marxism as a guide, have also joined the big chorus against the divisibility of wavicles. They cried that: "Wavicles are 'non-composite', no longer 'composed of other even simpler material particles.'" The "non-composite" means no internal contradictions. But they also boast that the reciprocal transformations of wavicles have demonstrated their complexity and inexhaustibility, and they seem not to oppose Lenin on the principle that the

Continued on page 23

9. The known wavicles are classified into 4 "families" generally according to their mass: (1) Hadron [heavy particle] family, including protons, neutrons, and hyperons; (2) Meson family including π mesons, K-mesons; (3) Lepton [light particle] family, including electrons, neutrinos, and muons; (4) photons.

10. (Translator's note)—here the text makes reference to a popular Chinese love poem which expresses the unity of two lovers.

Pesticide

Continued from page 9

ular spraying, whether or not there are dangerous numbers of pests in the field. The farmer was also caught when trying to market produce. Many canneries, for example, will not even accept fruit for canning unless it has come from fields that are regularly sprayed, whether there are pest infestations or not. The highly monopolized distribution and sales of fruit and vegetables, under imperialism, demands visually perfect fruits and vegetables, even though they are laced with pesticides. In addition, it means that the produce have a homogenized, average taste, and have a lower nutritional content, because they are not tree-ripened, for example. This is typical of highly developed capitalist commodity production—the use-value of the product is of no concern to the producer; it just has to look good in the market, so it will sell. (Quite like American cars, for example.) Millions of dollars of poison each year are dumped on the citrus crop in California to kill the citrus thrip, a small insect that does nothing except make lines on the skin of oranges and lemons.

Battle in Scientific Sphere

This whole system of pesticide madness, even though it is poisoning the earth, poisoning farmworkers, poisoning the whole population, costing billions of dollars a year, and has created much worse pests than existed in the first place, is indeed a cobra that the imperialists cannot release. More than that, it is one that they ruthlessly fight to maintain, strengthen and defend.

Robert van den Bosch, the author of the book *The Pesticide Conspiracy*, describes a number of cases where scientists who have dared to write studies critical of current agricultural practices have been fired from university posts. He describes the function of the Entomological Society of America

as a bludgeon for pesticide use, and shows how its leaders turn like jackals on any expert who opposes pesticide madness on scientific grounds. The effect of all this has been that the U.S., which likes to parade around the world as the model of advanced, scientific agriculture, has tremendously held back the development of real understanding of pest control problems. In what could equally be a description of the entire superstructure of imperialism, van den Bosch writes:

“There is, then, a pro-pesticide ‘mafia’, whose members operate much in the manner of those in its Italian namesake. It has its *famiglie*, its *capi*, its *consiglieri*, its *soldati*, its *avvocati*, its lobbyists, its PR apparatus, and its ‘hit men’. It owns politicians, bureaucrats, researchers, county agents, administrators, and elements of the media, and it can break those who don’t conform. In other words, it is a virtual duplicate of the other ‘mafie’ that pervade and dominate so much of contemporary American society.”

Many of the rebels among the agricultural experts, who go up against the “mafia,” point to and uphold the tremendous accomplishments of revolutionary China in developing really scientific methods of pest control when it was a socialist country. China was able to solve many pest control problems much more difficult than the Medfly by unleashing the conscious initiative of the masses of people in every sphere, including scientific experiment. This, of course, was possible because Mao’s political and ideological line was leading the working class and the oppressed in class struggle against the bourgeoisie in every sphere of society and on that basis toward the conscious mastery of society and nature.

Capitalist domination—in society as a whole, including scientific circles—has determined much of the abysmal ignorance and anarchic fumbling that has run through the battle from beginning to end. Another particularly sharp way that this has come out is around the finite diversity. “Marxism-Leninism has in no way exhausted truth but ceaselessly opens up roads to the knowledge of truth in the course of practice” (Mao Tsetung, *On Practice*). Dialectical materialism never issues forth into other spheres to give orders; it doesn’t draw conclusions on this question, substituting itself for natural science.

We talk about division, one divides into two, that is “the division of a unity into mutually exclusive opposites” (Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 360) This is to say that there are contradictions within any material form. The whole history of the development of natural science has shown: In the world there is simply no such thing as “elementary matter” that doesn’t contain contradictions. Every new thing, when it first emerged, was portrayed as being “elementary matter”. The element was like this; the atom was like this; the gravitational field and the electromagnetic field were like this; the wavelike is also like this. But not for long. “Up till now we thought we had ascended to such a position as having a view of a thousand miles, but it turned out that we had only ascended one floor.” Things more elementary than “elementary” have repeatedly emerged. If the wavelike is the “elementary particle”, if it’s as small as can possibly be, then what would scientists have left to do?

Lenin said: “the electron is as *inexhaustible* as the atom” (*Materialism And Empirio-Criticism*, p. 314, FLP). This is a very profound truth. Natural science is always proceeding to deeper levels. New things have always emerged without end. The development of science has ceaselessly negated the existence of “elementary matter.” The “Big World” has no boundary. The “Small World” also has no end, truly a “bottomless hole”. This is an historical fact of several thousand years of development of natural science. This historical fact is worthy of attention. These two opposing views on material structure, that is the struggle of the two world outlooks over this question of material structure, needs our study. □

question of whether or not malathion is safe to spray on millions of people. In the middle of July, when the battle was very sharp over whether or not aerial spraying would start at all, there was a lot of play in the bourgeois press given to the few scientists who had the nerve to come out publicly and say that they felt that malathion was indeed potentially dangerous, especially in its long-term effects. Since that time, the question has been largely ignored by the press, and the view that malathion may well cause damage to genes, cause birth defects, and cause cancer has mainly been suppressed.

There are several reasons for this. One is that at the start, during the sharpest period of mass struggle, the press was not able to totally ignore the danger that malathion posed. More important than that, they allowed some public airing of the view that malathion was dangerous, in order to attempt to smash this view even more completely. The bourgeoisie is relying on people to think that because the furor has died down, and no one is keeling over and dying (although some large dogs have), malathion is safe. On the other side of the coin, some of the scientists who originally made the statements have been effectively silenced.

A professor of pharmacology at Stanford, Dr. Sumner Kalman, who filed in the continued huge trade imbalance spraying was dangerous, has been vilified by some other so-called experts, and now refuses to talk to the press. Another man, Marc Lappé, was fired from his job as Chief of Hazard Evaluation in the Dept. of Health for writing a report that said that there was a possibility that malathion might be dangerous, and more research needed to be done. Lappé told the *RW*, “There is a strange and merciless amount of vendetta going on for people who have taken this position.” He also said, “And the irony is that the unit that I directed, because we anticipated that there would be a requirement for a risk assessment, we were the only unit in the state that was prepared to do it even though it was outside our domain, that is, we had sent for the initial literature search as soon as we heard that malathion might be sprayed. And it adds a little bit of irony to it that because we took that initiative and were asked as a favor to the Department to do the analysis, then we’re iced out of the final policy decision. That we then get penalized for it.”

The underlying truth to all this is that no matter how much imperialism tries to suppress, distort, and hide all this, it still exists, the insect pests still grow stronger in the fields under pesticide showers, and the long-term effects of malathion will manifest themselves, and people—some now, some later—will recognize that, and put the blame where it belongs. There has been some talk among the Medfly chieftains of the possibility of using even stronger pesticides than malathion. Should they dare, there is no doubt that the effect will be exactly the same as in the fields—stronger, fiercer, quicker resistance by the pests. Already what has been done with the aerial spraying has pushed even further the already frayed allegiance of some of the more privileged sections of the people.

Conflict with Japan

Another significant aspect of the Medfly wars which shows the straining limits of U.S. imperialism is the effect this has had on U.S. relations with Japan. This is one of the most important relations within the whole U.S. war bloc, and a highly strained one at that. A whole series of U.S.-Japan “crises” have marked the past year, including that over auto import quotas, the Medfly-fruit fumigation question, and most central to it all, the deliberate flaunting by the U.S. of news that it has long harbored nuclear weapons on Japanese soil.

The foundation of all of this, as both U.S. and Japanese imperialist spokesmen like to call it, is “our need for each other”: that is, the U.S. need for Japan as the anchor of its war strategy in Asia, and the need of the Japanese imperialists for shelter—and expansion—under the U.S. military umbrella.

Yet, these countries are still imperialist, and as such inevitably come into collision over various issues, most openly over economic ones like trade. A substantial part of the U.S. balance of trade deficit is with Japan. While the U.S. imperialists must maneuver to reduce this, the pressure they can apply is limited by their overriding need to hold Japan and strengthen her role in the war bloc—a complex tug-of-war has ensued, of which the Medfly issue is a good (if not the biggest) example.

In late August, Japan moved to bar all shipments of produce from California ports regardless of whether their origins were in Medfly-infested areas, insisting that all fruit to Japan be fumigated. Two weeks of intense maneuvering and veiled threats ensued. Reagan sent a special trade envoy to Tokyo who warned of “intense political response” if “problems” like the fruit ban resulted in the continued huge trade imbalance.

The Japanese imperialists followed with their own threats. Tsuo Yamashita, a Japanese diplomat in Washington, compared the crisis to the auto import situation. Yamashita noted that Japan had produced a voluntary restriction on its outgoing autos only after the U.S. had hinted of an immediate import quota of its own. But since the U.S. quota had been “just speculation” (i.e., a threat), deadpanned the diplomat, so, too, Japan’s hints that it might soon impose a permanent fruit quarantine “were also just speculation.”

The final agreement, reached on September 8, was that Japan would accept fruit from California from areas where there were no Medfly infestations, if it was fumigated with ethylene dibromide, an extremely poisonous chemical, known to cause cancer, sterility, and liver damage in rats. In fact it is one of the *most carcinogenic* chemicals. Its effects on humans have not been studied. As soon as this decision was reached, and both Japan and the U.S. were satisfied that the interests of each set of imperialists were satisfied, the Longshoreman’s union announced that its members would refuse to even touch crates of fumigated fruit—fruit that Japan’s rulers, after weeks of delicate negotiations, had decided was fine for the masses to eat.

We can only await the next brilliant move by U.S. imperialism in this, its latest glorious battle. □

Matter

Continued from page 22

electron is inexhaustible. Without contradiction, how can it still be “inexhaustible”? What is the source of reciprocal transformation? Lenin says that contradiction “alone furnishes the key to the ‘leaps’, to the ‘break in continuity’, to the ‘transformation into the opposite’, to the destruction of the old and the emergence of the new” (Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 360). May we ask, how can your high-sounding thesis about transformation without contradiction be reconciled with Lenin’s teachings?

In what way will wavelike be divided? It can’t be a routine way, and blindly applying the old experience. The molecule is divided into atoms, gravitational field and electromagnetic field; the atom is divided into atomic nucleus, electromagnetic field, and electron; the atomic nucleus is divided into proton, neutron and nuclear field. On every level they all are the new form of unity between particle and field; they all are new nodal points, and they are all qualitatively different. Into what forms will wavelike be divided? It is possible it will be the current form of unity between particles and fields. It is also possible a big qualitative change will take place, giving rise to a new discrete material form and a new continuous material form; they would be new things different from both the particles we know by now and the fields we know by now. It is possible that they will be divided smaller and smaller, but it is also possible that they will be divided bigger and bigger. What will be pulled out of wavelike may possibly “grow fatter”, become bigger than when it was inside. This might lead to a new development of the relationship between the part and the whole. What would it turn out to be? This is a concrete scientific question. Matter has infinite diversity, the concrete division of matter also has in-



CHIANG CHING BUTTONS

Black and white on red, 1-3/4 inches \$1.50 each, \$.25 postage \$1.00 each for ten or more. Order through Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Place, San Francisco, CA. 94108. (415) 781-4989 Red Flag Theater, wholesaler.



Available
from
**Revolution
Books**

Writings of Mao Tsetung

Special Offer:
20% Off During September

CHAIRMAN MAO TALKS TO THE PEOPLE

Writings, speeches, and talks spanning the period from just before the Great Leap Forward through the Cultural Revolution (1956-1977) Edited by Stuart Schram, Pantheon, 1974. 352 p. Paper \$4.95, Cloth \$10.00

A CRITIQUE OF SOVIET ECONOMICS

(1958-1960) Monthly Review, 1977. 157 p. \$4.00

FIVE ARTICLES BY CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

Foreign Languages Press, 60 p. Red Plastic \$0.75

FIVE ESSAYS ON PHILOSOPHY

Includes "On Contradiction", "On Practice", "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party National Conference on Propaganda Work", and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From". FLP. 157 p. \$1.95

MAO TSETUNG ON LITERATURE AND ART

16 essays including "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art". FLP. 161 p. \$2.95

MAO TSETUNG POEMS

FLP. 53 p. Paper \$1.95 Cloth \$4.95

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

FLP. 312 p. Red Plastic \$1.95

SELECTED MILITARY WRITINGS OF MAO TSETUNG (1928-1949)

FLP. 410 p. Paper \$4.95, Cloth \$6.95, Red Plastic \$3.95

SELECTED READINGS FROM THE WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG

Most of Mao's major works up to 1957, including all of "Five Essays On Philosophy." FLP. 504 p. Paper \$4.95, Cloth \$6.95

SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG

Vol. I First and Second Revolutionary Wars (1926-37) 347 p.
Vol. II War of Resistance Against Japan (I) (1937-41) 468 p.
Vol. III War of Resistance Against Japan (II) (1941-45) 290 p.
Vol. IV Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945-49) 459 p.
Vol. V Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction (1949-57) 518 p.
Paper: Each \$5.95 Set \$29.75 Cloth: Each \$7.95 Set \$39.75

Berkeley, CA: 3126 Grove, (415) 841-8314
Boston, MA: 118 Mass. Ave. Box 137, 02115
Chicago, IL: 2525 N. Lincoln, 60614, (312) 528-5353
Cincinnati, OH: 313 Calhoun St., 45219, (513) 281-4275

Detroit, MI: 5744 Woodward Ave., 48202, (313) 872-2286
Honolulu, HI: 2648 S. King St., 96826, (808) 944-3106
Los Angeles, CA: 2597 W. Pico Blvd., 90006, (213) 384-3856
New York, NY: 16 E. 18th St., 10003, (212) 243-8638

San Francisco, CA: 17 Brenham Place, 94108, (415) 781-4989
Seattle, WA: 1828 Broadway, 98122, (206) 323-9222
Washington, DC: 2438 18th St. NW, 20009, (202) 265-1969