



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 124

(Vol. 3, No. 22)

Published weekly

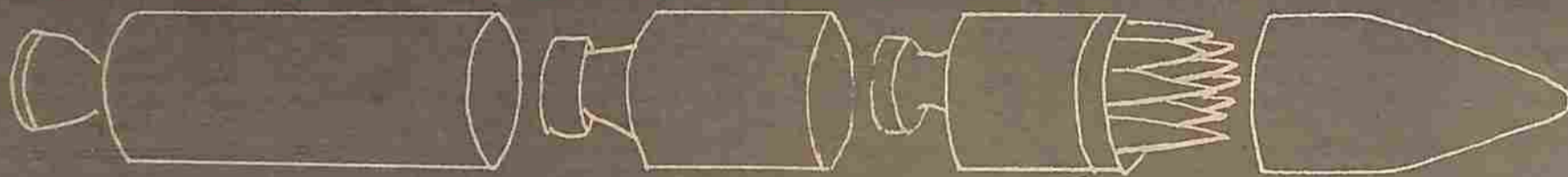
October 2, 1981

Translations in English, Spanish, Chinese and French

ISSN 0193-3485

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Imperialism's "Quick Fix" For World War 3



THE MX MISSILE

DIAMETER: 92 IN.
LENGTH: 71 FT.
WEIGHT: 192,000 LBS.

RUSH

The announcement last week of the Reagan administration's plans for deployment of the MX missile and large-scale production of the B-1 bomber, among a number of other measures aimed at strengthening the U.S. imperialists' so-called "strategic triad," mark a major step in U.S. preparations for a global imperialist war with the Soviet Union—and a further clear indication that U.S. military strategy is geared to the assumption that the war may break out within the next several years.

The proposals put forward by President Reagan during a nationally televised speech on October 2nd represent a sharp departure from previous policy. In announcing the decision to deploy up to 100 MX missiles in already constructed Minuteman missile silos, Reagan signalled the scrapping of plans developed under the Carter administration—and vigorously defended

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B-1B SUPERSONIC BOMBER

WING SPAN
WINGS FORWARD: 136.7 FT.
WINGS SWEEPED: 78.2 FT.
LENGTH: 143.3 FT.
HEIGHT: 33.6 FT.
GROSS WEIGHT: 477,000 LBS.



Dismissal Motion: Bob Avakian Targeted Again in Prosecution Move

There have been important new developments in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. On Friday, October 2, a status hearing was held to set a timetable in the case. November 16 was set for more lawyers' arguments, and February 16 for arguments on the pre-trial motions. April 19 is the day scheduled to begin the trial itself—with the Party Chairman and 10 other defendants facing multiple felony charges stemming from a January 1979 police attack on a demonstration against Deng Xiaoping's Washington, D.C. visit.

Friday's hearing was supposed to have been a routine scheduling procedure before the judge. But on its eve the prosecution announced it was filing a motion to prevent a pre-trial hearing on

the motion to dismiss the charges. A bit of the political content of the prosecution's move is revealed even in their own arguments to prohibit the hearing: "A pre-trial hearing would delay the trial unnecessarily" and "A pre-trial hearing would make it more difficult to select an impartial jury because of the extensive news media coverage which this hearing would be given." Truly the arguments of a thief who wishes to pull off his crime quickly and under cover of darkness. Prosecutor Mary Ellen Abrecht also points out in true "first the execution, then the trial" style that this hearing is unnecessary as well because the defendants have their "appellate rights" and, with deep concern, adds that "in the event of an acquittal,

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Lane Kirkland— Anatomy of an American Labor Leader

As most people know, the AFL-CIO and others organized a demonstration in Washington, D.C. on September 19 called Solidarity Day. This affair, which necessarily aimed a little friendly fire at Ronald Reagan, rallied the most immediate social base of the AFL-CIO heads, as well as some better off sections of the workers.

Last week, we analyzed this event ("Marching In the Mainstream"—*RW* No. 123) and spoke to the sharply pronounced trend in much of the U.S. left brazenly tailing the AFL-CIO labor leaders billing Solidarity Day as something akin to the Second Coming of Christ. Typical was the "independent radical newsweekly" *Guardian* which before the demonstration hailed Lane Kirkland for "getting into the fightback spirit." In the wake of Solidarity Day, even more has been revealed about the chauvinism and economism of various forces—those who have saluted the event as everything from a "historic development" to a "move to the left for labor." Really, this line is so bad that some who maintain a slightly more critical posture towards Kirkland and company—but whose views also reek with economism and chauvinism (in some cases more so)—come off smelling better than they should. Witness, for example, the Communist Workers Party (CWP), whose newspaper queried "Anti-Reagan and Pro-What?" and then proceeded to essentially draw the conclusion that the task of leading the pro-imperialist labor movement should fall not to Lane Kirkland, but to the CWP (i.e., "independent working class leadership for a real grass roots alternative," etc., etc.).

The *Guardian* did manage to muster a complaint regarding Solidarity Day. In its September 30 editorial, we find the following priceless formulation: "The AFL-CIO has a backward line on militarism and imperialism." Isn't this—to understate the matter—sort of a funny way to put it? After all, is it really so shocking that people who are the political representatives of the U.S. imperialist ruling class would be prone to such "backwardness"? The view here is that the AFL-CIO leaders are simply the most conservative in the "house of labor"—even the *Guardian* grudgingly admits that the AFL-CIO "has always supported U.S. imperialism's defense of its empire...." The

task, therefore, is to apply pressure from "below"—a political program for which one cannot resist suggesting the slogan, "Move Imperialism To The Left."

The subject of Solidarity Day—the reaction to it and what it *does* indicate for *revolutionary* work—is far from exhausted and will be dealt with in coming issues. For now, however, since Lane Kirkland in particular has been promoted as a fellow with whom some potential unity is possible (because, according to the *Guardian*, Solidarity Day "signalled a public breach between top labor leadership and the Reagan administration that is real and growing"), it is instructive to take a closer look at the background of this man who played the key role in Solidarity Day, chose its sponsors, appointed its advisory committee, picked its speakers, and delivered its main address.

Like his colleagues, Kirkland epitomizes that category described in the *New Programme* of the RCP in these words: "Also within the enemy camp and part of the target of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship are the loyal political agents and enforcers of the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship: ... (including) the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class at the heads of the unions, whose positions and generally high salaries—and not insignificant investment opportunities—are the direct product of the exploitation of the mass of workers in this country and still more so the super exploitation and plunder in other countries, especially the neo-colonial countries and oppressed nations. They play a special role in the bourgeoisie's machinery of political domination over the working class and in spreading its chauvinist propaganda and general ideological poison among the ranks of the workers."

Lane Kirkland, a good old boy from South Carolina who still refers to the Civil War as "the war of northern aggression," graduated in 1942 from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy. This quasi-military academy trains merchant marine officers who are also automatically given commissions as officers in the U.S. Naval Reserve. Serving as a deck officer on transport ships from 1942 to 1946, Kirkland, under an industry-wide agreement, became a member of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots (the

only union in the AFL composed exclusively of supervisory personnel). Following the war, young Kirkland went on to work for the U.S. Navy's Hydrographic Office which prepares charts for the Office of Naval Operations. While working at the Navy's Suitland, MD., facility (the headquarters of Naval Intelligence), young Kirkland was busy attending night school at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, a notorious breeding ground for agents of U.S. imperialism. In 1948, Kirkland received his B.S. in Foreign Service, and was prepared to take his place with his classmates as junior officers in the State Department.

It was at this point that U.S. imperialism was massively expanding its covert action program under labor cover, particularly in Europe. Funded by the newly created CIA, the "Free Trade Union Committee" (later renamed the International Department) of the AFL was fielding scores of agents in Western Europe to build "free," that is pro-U.S., trade unions in conjunction with the Marshall Plan's economic program to "stabilize" Western Europe. (See "The Bloody Work of the AFL-CIA," *RW* No. 62, July 4, 1980.)

According to Kirkland, in 1948, William Green, then president of the AFL, spoke to one of his classes at Georgetown (very special people do in fact regularly address the very special classes at Georgetown), and after class Green happened to offer a job to young Lane who he had just seen for the first time. The real story of how young Kirkland happened to go to work for the national headquarters of the AFL rather than the State Department in 1948 is likely to remain shrouded in mystery for some time. And frankly, for present purposes, the distinction isn't all that important.

No sooner had Kirkland taken his desk in the AFL research department, than he was immediately "loaned" to the White House to prepare speeches for President Truman's running mate, Alben Barkley. During the '50s, Kirkland held several AFL-CIO (the groups had merged in 1948) nominal staff positions all of which smell amazingly like the "cover assignments" used by CIA agents working in U.S. embassies. He was "Assistant Director of the Social Security Department," for example, but all the while he was a

regular delegate to numerous European labor conferences and worked as a speechwriter for Adlai Stevenson who ended his loyal career fronting for U.S. imperialism as ambassador to the UN.

In 1960 Kirkland was appointed the chief personal assistant to George Meany and took up the day-to-day liaison with the White House. It was during this period that the AFL-CIO took up its most ambitious foreign programs such as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). This outfit was secretly funded by the CIA until that was exposed, then it was openly funded by the Agency for International Development. The AIFLD "trained" over 240,000 foreign workers in counter-revolutionary activity and pro-imperialist trade unionism—concentrating on the hot spots in Latin America, such as Chile where AIFLD graduates now make up the whole executive committee of the trade union federation under the Pinochet dictatorship. Similarly, in Africa, the AFL-CIO created the African-American Labor Center and in Asia, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, which organized and operated South Vietnam's "free" trade unions supporting the General Thieu regime.

Here it must be remembered that George Meany was the president of the AIFLD, and Lane Kirkland, as Meany's executive assistant, carried out the day-to-day practical work. Thus at the end of 1979 when Kirkland succeeded Meany, he could slyly remark to reporters, "I am not a stranger coming into this house. Everything that we have done and every program that we have undertaken, I think, has mine among the fingerprints on it." Well put, Lane.

At the end of 1969, Kirkland was elected secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. As heir-apparent to Meany, Kirkland was now quickly and quietly inducted into every major institution of the ruling class. Nixon appointed him to a Blue Ribbon National Defense Panel. Gerald Ford put Kirkland on the Presidential Commission on CIA Activity Within the United States (a most fitting appointment!), the so-called Rockefeller Commission which was to "clean up CIA abuses." At the same time Kirkland was named to the boards of the Rockefeller Foundation, the

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Duarte's Solution (U.S.' Maneuver)

Just when you might think that the absolute limit in U.S. imperialist lies about El Salvador has been reached, they descend to new depths. José Napoleón Duarte, Notre Dame alumnus, human-rights champion and current president of El Salvador's fascist junta has been on a whirlwind tour of the U.S. of late, with stop-offs in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and New York, and media appearances at each location topped off by an interview on the Tom Snyder show on September 29. This has truly been a grotesque performance. Simply oozing with "reasonableness," Duarte has declared that he wants to "reach the American public with the truth about El Salvador." Apparently this means that piling total lies one on top of another—and being consistent about it—will overcome the known realities. Perhaps Duarte's "sad-eyed" stare into the TV cameras will divert attention from the blood dripping from his jowls. Duarte's "truths" include the fantastic pronouncement that he is "cracking down" on the military (who may have committed certain minor "abuses of authority"), that he wants to "move from a dictatorship of 50 years to democracy," with "human rights" for all but that El Salvador's biggest problem is the "terrorist people" promoting "what I call the culture of violence." This U.S.-backed ghoul is certainly the foremost expert on such "culture" in El Salvador, having presided over the wanton murder of thousands of Salvadorans—13,000 this year alone. It is hardly necessary to delineate the U.S.-led search and destroy missions, aerial bombardment or hideous mutilations of anyone suspected of being opposed to the junta, since they have already been widely exposed in the *RW* and elsewhere. Indeed, it is a tacit admission of the exposed position of the U.S. in El Salvador and its underlying weakness, that they have to drag this well-known butcher out before the TV cameras to try to generate support for their continued imperialist domination of El Salvador.

Possibly the most feeble aspect of this campaign is the portrayal of Duarte as having a "mandate" from the Salvadoran people. On both the Tom Snyder show and a paid political announcement on Spanish-language TV, Duarte hyped up the September 15 "Independence Day" activities in El Salvador, supposedly widely attended by the masses who poured out their overwhelming support for Duarte and the junta. (This approach has a parallel in the U.S. coverage of his visit, where "pro-Duarte" demonstrators—actually a handful of Moonies—were promoted to show that there really is backing for this U.S. puppet within the U.S.). Undoubtedly, most of those who did show up for the "celebrations" in El Salvador (save the expected government officials and lackeys) were escorted at gunpoint. Duarte neglected to mention that, in at least one instance, over 600 workers on their way to one of these events, were arrested and "interrogated" by the junta's security forces. Watching the little Napoleon on the Tom Snyder Show talk about all the support he has from the Salvadoran people, one couldn't help feeling that his masters had booked him on the wrong TV program; "That's Incredible" would have been more appropriate.

But there was more to Duarte's U.S. visit than an attempt to get large quantities of horse manure consumed by whoever would swallow it. While largely unreported in the U.S. English language press, Duarte spent a major part of his time in the U.S. talking about a possible "political solution" to the Salvadoran crisis. Meetings with Reagan, Bush, the Organization of American States (OAS), etc., have been followed up by quotes apparently designed for such Spanish-language newspapers as the Los Angeles based *La Opinión* and the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, both of which are widely read by Salvadorans and other Latin Americans, including immigrants in the U.S. Here, in an apparent effort to put some more pressure on certain class

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Salvadoran air force cadets unload one of four U.S.-built Huey helicopters from transport plane.



Confrontation between demonstrators and police on the 27th.

San Francisco, Sept. 27th—between 6,000 and 7,000 people including a large number of Salvadorans from San Francisco's Mission District take part in a powerful demonstration against José Napoleón Duarte, ringing the entire block around the hotel where he was speaking. Inside Duarte put on yet another performance of his travelling defender of human rights act. The stand of the people filling the streets was crystal clear. As one brother said, "The way I see it, Duarte better make his next trip to Panama to see if he can book a hotel room."



Afghanistan: Soviet 'Internationalism' In Practice

More than a year and a half has passed since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the USSR is still stuck in a political and military quagmire that has exposed its actual imperialist nature and aims to millions of people worldwide. Instead of "a limited contingent of troops sent to assist the legitimate government of Afghanistan"—as the Soviet and worldwide revisionist press have claimed—the 85,000 Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan are widely recognized as an occupying army that is engaging in savage counter-insurgency operations against the Afghan masses—military actions identical to those that the U.S. is so well known and hated for. Without massive doses of economic and military aid from the USSR, their puppet People's Democratic Party government headed by Babrak Karmal would fall in short order. And at the same time as the Soviets and their Afghan frontmen are being pummeled by guerrilla forces from one end of the country to another, Afghanistan has also become the object of extremely sharp inter-imperialist contention that is being played out for high stakes by the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Current information from inside Afghanistan is difficult to obtain and often filtered by the imperialists' news agencies, but a rough picture of the recent events can be discerned. Even after having poured 85,000 troops into Afghanistan since their initial airborne landings in December 1979, the Soviets are bottled up inside the large cities and provincial centers, which they are only able to keep supplied through heavily armed convoys that must travel by day. The regime's popular base in the vast countryside is almost non-existent, and the resistance by the masses of people is growing. In order to attack a guerrilla stronghold, the Russians typically assemble a force of Afghan draftees as foot soldiers while they fly the helicopter gunships and man the tanks and armored personnel carriers in order to avoid sending a politically unacceptable number of body bags back to the USSR—an Afghan version of the U.S.'s "Vietnamization" strategy in the early 1970s.

The counter-insurgency tactics used by the Soviets have steadily become more calculated and brutal. It is now standard practice for Soviet troops to totally destroy any villages that have sheltered guerrillas by air and artillery bombardment. A report smuggled out of Afghanistan by revolutionaries that describes one large Russian counter-insurgency operation through a number of villages in the Punjshir Valley (an important resistance stronghold along the main north-south highway running from Kabul to the Soviet border) gives some idea of the tactics being employed by the Soviets:

"The Russian aggressors searched and inspected the houses in the villages, plundering the valuable properties, after which they burnt the houses and put the season's harvest to the torch. They killed any living human or animal that was seen in the villages or on the land... They used their spoils to furnish iniquitous nights of revelry; after which they destroyed all the remaining food materials. The fetid smell of the burning houses and the stench of the human and animal carcasses gave a doleful atmosphere to the war-torn area."

The Soviets have also resorted to spraying of chemical defoliants on crops in districts where they have not been able to penetrate. All this has inflicted very high casualties on the civilian population and has created near famine conditions in many areas, sending new floods of refugees across the border to Pakistan, where more than 2 million people—out of Afghanistan's total population of 17 million—are living in refugee camps. On top of all this, the men, women and children who are fleeing this self-styled "progressive" regime have to pick their way through hundreds of thousands of tiny anti-personnel mines, each of which can blow

off a leg, that Soviet aircraft have scattered in the border passes.

Besides depopulating large areas of the countryside, the main result of these Soviet-led counterinsurgency sweeps has been to swell the ranks of the resistance groups, whose total is now estimated to be around 80,000. In recent months, the war has been taken to the Soviets' most secure lairs: a rocket attack damaged the Russian embassy in Kabul, while the main Soviet airbase at Baghram on the outskirts of the capital was rocked by explosions set off by mujahedin (Afghan guerrilla) sappers. Last month, there was rioting and heavy fighting in both Kabul and the second largest city, Kandahar, after the regime issued a decree on September 7 ordering all soldiers under 35 who had been discharged from the army before October 1978 to re-enlist. During the intense fighting that went on for two weeks inside Kandahar, the Soviets had to call in tanks and air strikes in order to regain control of the city, destroying 300 houses and 200 shops.

This call-up of army veterans was only the latest in a series of desperation moves by the regime to slow down the disintegration of the Afghan army. From nearly 100,000 troops several years ago, this puppet army is now down to 20,000; as fast as draftees enter the army they desert, often joining the resistance and bringing their weapons with them. Because of this, the Soviets have actually stopped supplying their Afghan units with heavy weapons! The following story about the drafting and subsequent escape of a 17-year-old youth named Joraqul is a typical one:

"Joraqul, who comes from the Andara district of Maimana, said he was rounded up by armed Party officials wearing civilian clothes near the cinema in Maimana together with 125 young men. They were flown by helicopter to the garrison at Mazar-e-Sharif (near the Soviet border in northern Afghanistan—RW)... The young soldier's training was very brief, and it was dominated by indoctrination classes in which horror stories of mujahedin atrocities against defectors predominated. The young men were told by their instructors that if they escaped to Pakistan they would be killed outright. During training Joraqul fired his automatic rifle only once—using up a single clip of ammunition... After a brief period he and the other young men were flown to Kandahar. There they found 10 Afghan soldiers who told the conscripts that the rest of the Afghan soldiers at the airport had already defected. Joraqul spent some 10 days at the airport, guarding 42 helicopters and fixed wing aircraft. The airport perimeter of barbed wire with machine gun posts every 100 meters was guarded entirely by Russian troops, with only a symbolic Afghan Army presence at the entrance... Joraqul escaped from the army when he was sent into Kandahar to buy provisions for the soldiers. On the first occasion he approached a shopkeeper and indicated his desire to join the mujahedin. The shopkeeper told him to come

back with his weapon and ammunition... By the time he defected to the resistance, the original group of 135—including the 10 soldiers stationed at the airport on his arrival—had fallen to 40 through defections and desertions."

In the face of mass defections such as these, the Karmal regime has started extending the tours of duty of soldiers already in the army. Kabul Radio broadcasts nightly reports of "large gatherings" of troops in various garrisons adopting resolutions "asking the government to let them stay in the Army until the final annihilation of the counter-revolutionary bandits." The regime has also started pressganging boys as young as 12 into the army wherever they are found—in city streets, in villages, in the fields. But as seen in the story above, this has produced more defectors than soldiers, and there have even been revelations about People's Democratic Party officials "selling" recruits back to their parents for cash.

The Soviets have also had difficulties with their own troops. They have been rotated frequently, and the original divisions from the Soviet Central Asian military districts—many of whom were drawn from the Tajiks, Uzbeks and other nationalities who also live in Afghanistan, and were developing sympathies for the "enemy"—have been replaced by largely Russian units.

Other attempts to broaden the Karmal regime's base of popular support have failed miserably. The most highly publicized move taken by the government this year was the convening of a "National Fatherland Front." This was envisioned as a conclave of representatives of all elements of the population in the tradition of Afghanistan's Loya Jirgas (assemblies of tribal chiefs) that would endorse the Karmal regime. But right from the beginning, efforts to organize such an assembly of lackeys ran into problems; the lack of enough non-party participants forced it to be postponed three times. When it was finally held in June, most of those attending were still PDP and government functionaries. Those who collaborated with the pro-Soviet regime are now regretting it, as several NFF representatives have already been publicly assassinated.

After one of his customary consultations in Moscow, Karmal recently reversed the regime's original land reform proclamations, in a transparent attempt to dredge up support in the countryside. Instead of dividing up the holdings of the tribal chiefs and old feudal landlords, this so-called "progressive" land reform program meant nothing more than forcing the peasants to work on farms run by government bureaucrats, and had scarcely begun to be implemented. Now, in an attempt to curry favor with tribal leaders, especially in the most heavily contested areas, the Karmal regime has announced that religious leaders will again be allowed to own more than the 15 acres previously permitted under the "land reform," and tribal chiefs who render service to the government can keep their traditional lands.

While it is most certainly the case that the Soviets are bogged down in a morass of guerrilla warfare, it is also true that the resistance groups inside the country are led by many different class forces—ranging from revolutionaries and progressive nationalist forces to pro-Western tribal chiefs and landlords—and the strength of the latter has significantly weakened the blows that could be dealt to the Soviet imperialists. The U.S. imperialists have been working overtime to arm and promote reactionary forces in the resistance, such as the six reactionary Islamic groups based in Peshawar, Pakistan who deliver non-stop interviews to Western journalists about their "glorious fight against communism." These efforts by the Western imperialists, together with the strength of feudal and religious traditions among sections of the masses, have given reactionaries the upper hand in the anti-Soviet resistance in some areas. According to the report mentioned earlier that described the Soviet attack on the Punjshir Valley last summer, the reactionary leaders of the "Islamic Society," who had the strongest military force in the valley, made no attempt to arm or mobilize the peasants, and themselves fled to the mountains when the Russians attacked, leaving the masses largely undefended. On the other hand, there are many areas where progressive and revolutionary forces are playing the predominant role in the fighting, especially in the areas inhabited by oppressed nationalities such as the Hazzara in the central and western part of the country, and the Tajiks and Uzbeks in the north and east.

While Afghanistan does have natural gas fields and some other resources that interest the Soviets, its main importance to them does not lie in short-range economics, but rather in how it relates to their strategic war plans to achieve a whole new revision of the world in their favor. As Brezhnev and other top Soviet chieftains see it, Afghanistan not only borders directly on their own territory—which is reason enough for them to want it securely under their thumb—but control over Afghanistan would allow the Soviet imperialists to project their power towards both the oil-rich Persian Gulf and populous South Asia, where the USSR has already developed significant influence in India. And just as has been the case for the U.S. in Indochina and Central America, the "domino theory" also comes into play in a major way, for a serious defeat in Afghanistan for the Soviets could very well destabilize other parts of their empire. Thus, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is not, as some have claimed, a "chauvinist error" on the part of an otherwise progressive socialist country that aids national liberation struggles around the world, but rather a conscious action of one of the two superpowers readying to challenge its U.S. bloc adversaries.

With the stakes here as high for the Soviets as they are, it is no surprise that the Western imperialists, with the U.S. playing the role of pointman, have moved aggressively to take advantage of their rivals' predicament in Afghanistan and to sharpen the contradictions they are facing here. This is not all that different from what the Soviets are trying to do in El Salvador, in the U.S.'s own "backyard," for example. On the military front, the U.S. has been orchestrating a \$100 million semi-secret arms supply operation to the reactionary Afghan resistance groups based in Pakistan. It is only recently that this operation has been publicly acknowledged (by Anwar Sadat of Egypt), but it is widely known that, under overall CIA direction, U.S. and Saudi Arabian money is used to buy sophisticated arms; the Chinese revisionists have supplied some arms, and together with Pakistan have provided passage for shipments; and Egypt has played a key role in supplying training for guerrillas and Soviet-made weapons obtained from the USSR in the early 1970s as

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Tony Benn's Radical Plot to Save the British Empire

On September 27, in the small English Channel resort town of Brighton, Britain's out-of-power Labour Party was thrashing about at its annual convention. It was a convention wrapped in an aura of confrontation, as so-called "radical" Tony Benn, representing the "left wing" of the Labour Party, squared off against "moderate" Denis Healey. The more immediate question on the floor was which one of these contenders would hold the position as Deputy Leader of the party at the convention's end. The seat had been held by Healey, with Benn in fierce contention. The stage had been set some five months earlier when Benn, perfecting his image as party maverick, broke with the Executive Committee's acknowledged consensus that there would be no in-fighting regarding the Deputy Leader slot and threw down his gauntlet. It was clear well before the opening of the Brighton convention that Benn and those that were flocking behind his challenge were on the rise, and whatever the actual outcome regarding the position of Deputy Leader, what was occurring here was a developing trend in the Labour Party that was destined to be a major part of the British political scene in the period ahead. Indeed, it is a trend that will certainly play a significant role in bourgeois politics in Britain—a supposedly "radical" challenge to the tired old Labour Party establishment, coming "from the grassroots" and even using the word "socialism" in public a little more often.

When the final tally of the September 27 vote was taken, Healey had succeeded in retaining his seat, but by the slimmest of margins—eight-tenths of 1%. The press in the U.S. and more conservative sections of the media in Britain, had spent the previous few weeks freaking out over the prospects of Benn gaining the Deputy Leadership spot, lamenting how frightful it would be if "Bennism" triumphed, how he had to be stopped, etc., etc., etc. The British magazine *The Economist* couldn't wait for the actual outcome before editorializing in its September 26 edition that all anti-Benn forces should throw over allegiance to the Labour Party and join up with the fresh, new, "more moderate and centrist" Social Democratic Party (formed by recent Labour Party leavers and now allied with the Liberal Party). Clearly, there are sections of the bourgeoisie, in the U.S. and in Britain, who have very definite ideas as to which particular politician or other would best serve their interests. And no doubt, as the opinions in the press reflect, there are those who breathed a sigh of relief at the outcome of the Labour Party convention vote. But there are those who did not, and this recent spate of press coverage hardly did damage to Benn—in fact all the to-do coming from these blatant "establishment" sources actually serves to pad Benn's "radical" credentials and help his firebrand image.

It should come as no surprise that there is nothing radical whatsoever about Tony Benn and his cronies. He is an imperialist politician, with long years honing his skills in manipulation, subterfuge, behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing, etc. And he is quite open about where his allegiances lie. When the Labour Party was in power from 1964 to 1970, Benn was Prime Minister Harold Wilson's Minister of Technology and part of his Cabinet. In 1966, when Wilson and the Labour Party openly backed U.S. imperialism's war crimes in Vietnam, the new upstart Benn uttered not a peep of protest. He has long been associated with the party's "left wing," but it is only in the past year that he has hit the decks run-

ning as a leader of this section of the Labour Party. Within Benn's entourage are a wide assortment of trade-union leaders, Labour politicians, and other forces who have come to prefer (indeed, require) a bit more "socialist" flavoring to their reform and privileges-for-the-English stew. This has given rise to a resurgence of a disgusting and particularly British form of social-democracy. Significantly, in the wake of this "leftist" trend within the Labour Party, opportunists of all stripes have raced under Benn's banner, from the revisionist Communist Party of Great Britain to a myriad of Trotskyite groupings.

What has caused all this scum to float to the surface of late is precisely the rapidly developing world situation, the deep crisis of the imperialist system, the accelerating steps towards war and the accompanying contradictions these have given rise to within the ranks of the British ruling class itself. The British bourgeoisie is genuinely in trouble. Hardly anyone even bothers to deny the decomposition of their economic system. And this past summer was a nightmare for the British ruling class. It was marked by some of the fiercest urban rebellions in Britain's history, as thousands, spearheaded by the oppressed nationalities from the outreaches of the former empire and joined by hundreds of white youth, struck back at the imperialists in their own heartland. Those who these oppressors had subjected to their bloody conquests, had brought the chickens home to roost. With such tears and rips in the social fabric—political and economic—the struggle and maneuvering among the bourgeoisie itself is also heightening.

This has necessitated a number of recent alignments and re-alignments all across the political spectrum in Britain. This has been particularly sharp inside the Labour Party itself, which is pro-

bably at its lowest point ever. While the Labour Party in Britain bears some similarity to the Democratic Party in the U.S., one of the main distinguishing features is the Labour Party's more direct organizational ties to the trade unions. In addition, the Labour Party, a descendant of Karl Kautsky's infamous Second International, has historically fostered a more "socialist" façade embellished with some "working class" rhetoric. Within Britain, the Labour Party and the Tory (Conservative) Party, like the Democrats and Republicans, have long operated by virtually trading positions at the head of the government like clockwork. This routine has most certainly been disrupted. In the past years Labour Party membership rolls have decreased dramatically. As a result of stands like supporting the U.S. in Vietnam and a growing failure to deliver the goods to their social base in the face of growing imperialist crisis, the ranks have evaporated from 800,000 in 1966 to about 280,000 today. Furthermore, this past March, a new party, the Social Democratic Party was formed by splitters from the Labour ranks. At the same time, the Liberal Party, which hasn't held Parliament without the aid of numerous coalition governments since 1915, is angling to coalesce with the Social Democratic Party. With the credibility of the established political parties damaged—at least seriously tarnished—the ruling class has a powerful necessity to try to deal with it.

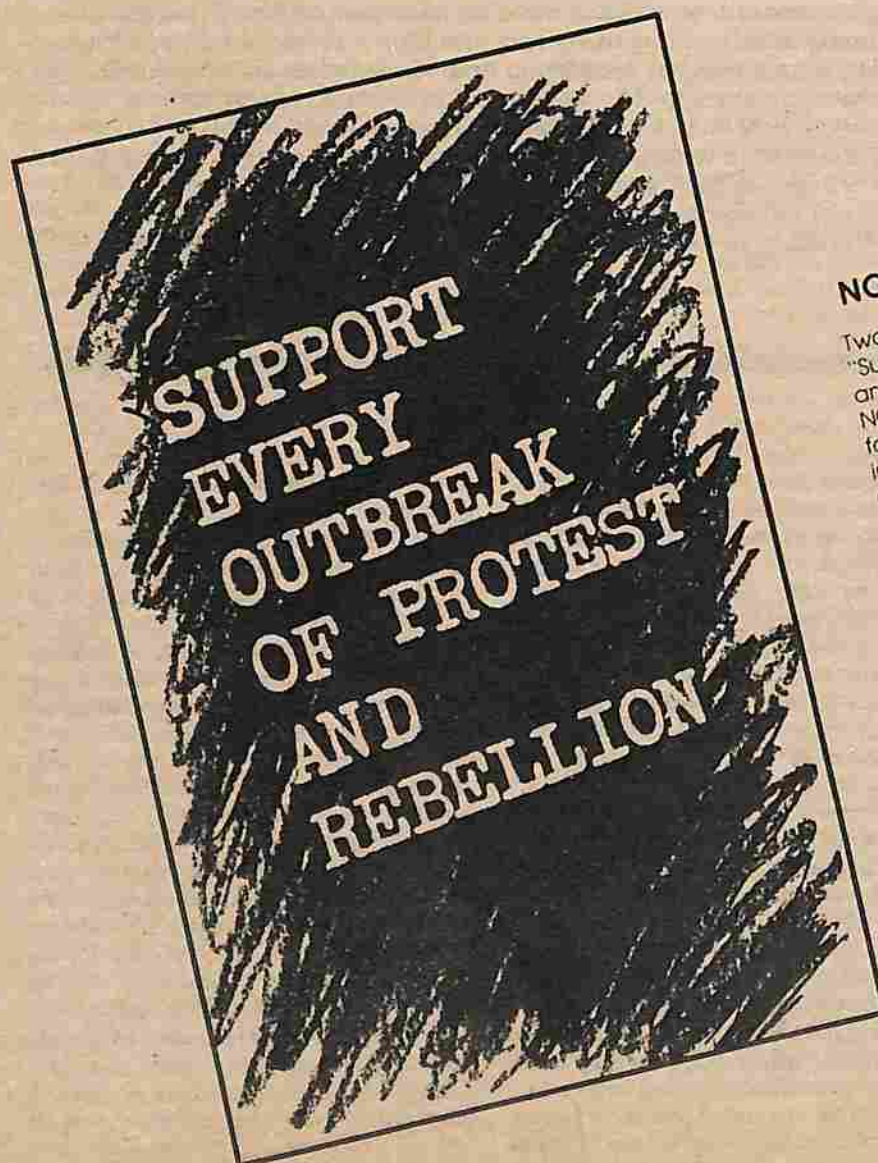
Enter Tony Benn and the "left-wingers" with a brand new agenda to "save Britain." The basic programme being advanced by the Labour Party "left" amounts to this: taking Britain out of the Common Market (a resolution affirming this as one of the party's planks for the 1984 national elections was passed at the convention on October 2); abolishing the House of Lords; nationalizing all important in-

dustries; a redistribution of the nation's wealth; and the unilateral scrapping of all nuclear weapons in Britain and the barring of all U.S. nukes, like the cruise missiles.

This bill of goods termed by Benn and Co. as a major step toward achieving "socialism in our lifetime" is more accurately one more shabby attempt at preserving the lifetime of British imperialism. It represents yet one more attempt to rally people in Britain around the sickbed of the decomposing and stench ridden body of an imperialist giant in its death throes—a shadow of its former self but still sharpening its claws and baring its fangs for a blood feast. Tony Benn and the varous "ites" around him propose the radical step of nationalizing more of British industry. This is nothing more than a continuation of the "socialist policies" applied by the British bourgeoisie for quite some time in their desperate attempts to prop up failing industries and enterprises through government subsidization and control. Industries such as steel, coal mining, and railroads have already been nationalized out of economic necessity and have done little to arrest their deepening economic crisis, we might add. These nationalizations represent as much of a step toward socialism as the Amtrack system or the government propping up of Chrysler represent socialist new things for the U.S. It might also be added that Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II did not exactly prepare to flee the castle upon learning of these socialist measures in England. The fact is that more nationalization of British industry will quite likely be necessary in the near future regardless of who is at the helm of HMS Britannia.

The proposal to withdraw from the Common Market is motivated by the same economic necessities behind the call for nationalizing more industries

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A photo of the earth, as seen from the moon.

Since our call for correspondence and debate around Carl Sagan's *Cosmos* series and the scientific and philosophical questions it has raised, we have received and printed a number of letters on a variety of questions. Many readers are excited about the contributions that have been made so far and are hungry for more. Clearly there is vast unexplored territory to venture into on a number of fronts, and the correspondence and debate must continue and must be broadened and deepened as well. With the *Cosmos* series now being rerun on TV, we would especially like to encourage readers broadly to write in, focusing more directly on questions raised by the series itself. Particularly, we would like to encourage those who have not been actively involved in wrangling with questions on the natural scientific front to make contributions to this debate. While we don't want to limit the scope of the debate in any way and welcome letters on a broad range of questions, it will be especially valuable to focus on *Cosmos* itself, allowing a broader range of readers to participate actively in debate on these vital questions of science and philosophy.

Kirkland

Continued from page 2

Brookings Institute, the Carnegie Endowment, the Urban League, and of course the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Kirkland was a "super hawk" on the Vietnam war. He quarterbacked every AFL-CIO resolution supporting the war and fully backed Meany's 1972 refusal to endorse the Democratic candidate McGovern because of his supposed "doveish" stand on the war. In 1976 Kirkland was a founder and became a co-chairman of the Committee on the Present Danger, a group set up to agitate for an all-out armaments production drive in preparation for world war with the Soviet Union. (Kirkland even has on his desk a range-finder from a Russian tank captured by the Israelis in 1973 war with Egypt.) An early and vocal opponent of the

SALT treaty (which itself has been a particular forum of contention between U.S. and Soviet imperialism), Kirkland then formulated a "new" policy approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in August, 1979 conditionally approving the treaty. This led to a rash of publicity hailing Kirkland as "moderating" his hawkish policy. But Kirkland's proviso was that approval of SALT II would have to be linked to the development of the MX missile—which was precisely the administration's policy and amounted to nothing but using "disarmament" as a cover for intensified war preparations.

Upon Meany's death, Kirkland also succeeded him as president of the AIFLD. In the Iran hostage crisis and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, it was Kirkland who spearheaded the dockworkers' boycotts of Iranian and Soviet cargos. Kirkland also initiated a petition with the unions reading in part, "we must do everything we can to convince the terrorists in Iran and the rest

of the world that American workers fully support their government in this crisis." And even while the hoopla over Solidarity Day was going on, Kirkland was busily preoccupied with promoting U.S. influence within the Polish workers' movement, aiming at pulling them into the U.S. orbit and snuffing out any sparks of revolution. Kirkland even bragged in a *Washington Post* column that the AFL-CIO had already sent a quarter of a million dollars worth of aid to the Polish Solidarity organization, including (can you believe this?!) "copies of collective bargaining agreements, shop steward manuals and other technical information Solidarity asked for." Blocked by the Polish government from speaking to the Solidarity congress, he had a Catholic priest smuggle in a video tape of his address.

Quite an illustrious career, is it not? Economism wants not to target, but to tail people whose whole lives are drenched in rivers of blood.

Afghanistan

Continued from page 4

well as replicas of current Soviet models that are still turned out in Egyptian factories. This has been the primary source of the RPG anti-tank rockets, heavy mortars and even SAM-7 ground to air missiles that have shown up in the hands of the reactionary Pakistan-based resistance groups.

A lead editorial in the British magazine *The Economist* last summer advocated just such an arms supply operation in order to "raise the cost to the Russians of pursuing their Afghan adventure." But it also warned that increasing arms shipments "much beyond the present, admirable, bounds of discretion could turn Afghanistan into what has already, inaccurately, been described as a proxy war between the superpowers, and thus diminish support for an anti-Soviet stand among non-aligned and Moslem countries." What these statements point to is the Western imperialists' extreme concern with maximizing the political value, in the battlefield of world public opinion, of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in "exposing" them as hell-bent on world domination. At the same time, they are sensitive to the need to disguise their ambitions to regain the dominant position they once had in Afghanistan and to avoid giving the Soviets any new pretexts to escalate their military operations there. The present situation where the Soviets find themselves bogged down is also considered to be militarily advantageous by the U.S. bloc.

Thus, the Western imperialists are not so much concerned with gaining control over Afghanistan at this point as with denying it to their social-imperialist rivals, and keeping them tied down there, politically as well as militarily. A further part of this Western strategy are the "peace plans" that have been announced with great fanfare. The most recent of these is the "two-stage" plan taken by British foreign minister Lord Carrington to Moscow in July. It calls for first holding a conference of all "interested countries" (excluding the Karmal government and the resistance groups) to discuss both a Soviet military withdrawal and the ending of Western support for the insurgents, and then in the second stage, involving Afghan forces to establish a "neutral" Afghanistan under a newly constituted government.

As expected, the Soviets have countered that before there can be any talks with the West, they must first recognize the puppet regime in Kabul and there must be an end to all "external interference"!!! The Soviets have basically struck with their long-marooned "peace proposals" of May 1980, in which the Karmal regime offered to hold bilateral talks with Pakistan and Iran. Though neither country has been willing to do so, Pakistan has kept open its channels to the Soviets partly because of the great strain of the more than 2 million Afghan refugees, but mainly in order to drive a harder bargain with the U.S. in the current negotiations of a new multi-billion-dollar arms and aid pact and for assurances of continued U.S. support for General Zia's military dictatorship.

There will certainly be many more such imperialist maneuvers and "peace plans" for Afghanistan emanating from both the U.S. and Soviet camps in the future. There will also be plenty of mutual finger-pointing, with the pot calling the kettle black, as the global rivalry between these two blocs of imperialist marauders heats up. In the course of this, yet another gaping hole has been torn in the Soviet Union's "internationalism", exposing its actual imperialist features and aims more clearly than ever. Do what they may, there is no "light at the end of the tunnel" for the social-imperialists in Afghanistan. The situation that the Soviets face in Afghanistan is yet another example of the real weakness of both superpowers, who find themselves increasingly stretched to the limit in a world situation spinning more and more out of their control.

Diablo Nuke

Behind the Blueprint Revelation

If the terms of the thing were not criminal, it would be enough to make you laugh out loud. After 15 years of repeated redesign, reconstruction, and reassuring lies, after waves of demonstrations numbering in the tens of thousands including the latest blockade at which 2000 were arrested, Pacific Gas & Electric this week suddenly announced a "first-rate screw up" in the construction of the Diablo nuclear power plant. The low-level testing, target of the recent actions, would be "suspended indefinitely"; the whole future of the plant, say the papers, is in doubt.

As the days ticked by, the news got continually heavier. On Tuesday, Sept. 29, California newspapers broke the original story: PG&E had discovered that their engineers had used the wrong blueprint for the earthquake safety-supports in the pipes of the cooling system in the Unit One reactor. Some of

the supports were built exactly opposite their proper location; but even worse, it wasn't clear where else mistakes had been made in the incredible maze of piping in the cooling system! The next day, Wednesday, it came out that actually both reactors were involved in the foul-up, and by Thursday, the *New York Times* revealed that federal investigators were checking on five different systems for possible serious safety hazards. All in all, it was the kind of thing that the imperialists always try to chauvinistically pin on "underdeveloped" countries—it would be very amusing right now to read a newspaper from one of these countries about "typical American incompetence with high technology," and so on.

Coming as it did precisely at the end of the Diablo blockade (the last major action was on Monday, the blockade camp officially closed on Thursday),

the blueprint scandal had many among the masses shaking their heads. Were the imperialists backing off in the face of pressure? Surely, the government had known for a long time that Diablo and all of their nukes are grossly unsafe, so why reveal this so openly just now?

Investigation can provide us with some clues as to why the bourgeoisie has for the moment changed its image on the Diablo Canyon nuke from swaggering tough guy to embarrassed fool. But the fundamental reason underlying the latest "revelations" must be kept in mind: the imperialists are in plenty of hot water. They have found (once again) that it is easier to call out 10,000 National Guard and various assorted gestapo against a demonstration, than it is to actually cope with the contradictions, both political and material, which are wracking their system and

forcing them to some drastic remedies indeed.

One important piece of the puzzle can be found in a major *L.A. Times* editorial of Wednesday, Sept. 23. Entitled "Dispel The Doubts," the *Times* piece was nothing less than a signal from the bourgeoisie that the enormous publicity given the Diablo blockade had outlived its usefulness and was becoming in fact something of a liability. It opened by ordering the blockade off the front pages: "The protest at Diablo Canyon has focused public attention more on plastic handcuffs and paisley bandanas and solar cooking than on some of the basic nuclear power issues. That should change now.... Whether the protest grows or fizzles, the focus will now return to the scientific and technical, rather than theological, questions about whether the plant should be licensed for full power."

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Red, White and Blue Goes Down at Diablo

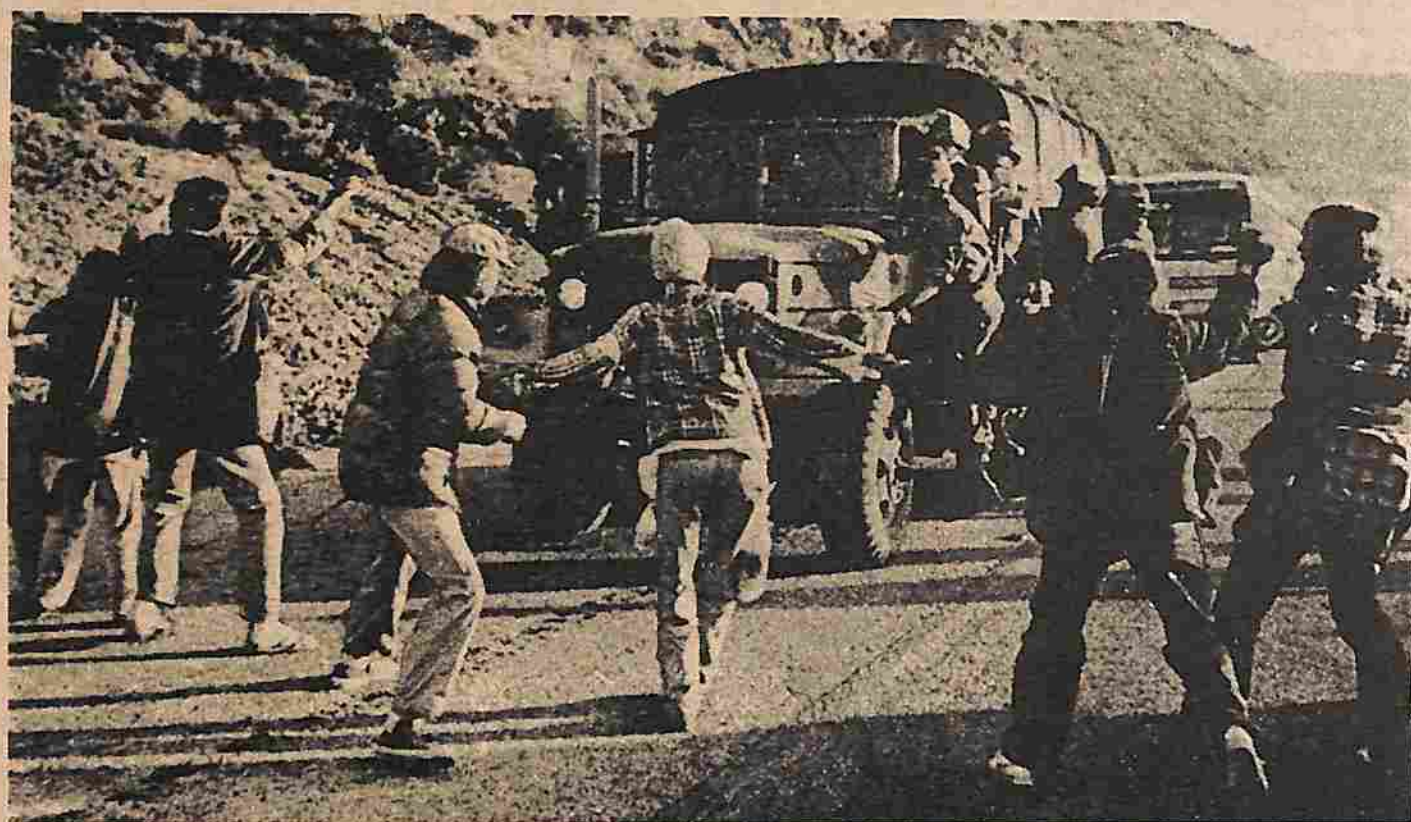
The smoke was still clearing this week in the wake of the Diablo Canyon blockade. The last major action at the Diablo plant went down on Monday, Sept. 28, and the blockaders' staging camp was officially closed Thursday, Oct. 1. In the last few days there have been sure signs that when a revolutionary line is grasped by the masses, it can become a material force.

The character of Monday's action was quite a bit different from those previously. In defiance of the Abalone Alliance's "arrangement" with the pigs (which, as we reported last week, has been constantly violated by the police, who have demonstrated with increased viciousness that they are not there to assist in carrying out pacifist activity, but to enforce the imperialist way of life), 200 people blocked the street in front of the plant. National Guard troops wasted no time, wading into the people, sirens blaring. At the same time, in an independent action, a group of 50 feminists occupied the PG&E office in San Luis Obispo, symbolically attempting to put PG&E officials "under citizens' arrest" for "assault" (with the reactor) and other "people's charges."

In the jails, where hundreds of blockaders remained, the battle also began to heat up. In the women's holding area, one woman tagged as a troublemaker by the authorities was picked off and isolated in a jail cell. Three hundred women began a hunger strike and later all refused to appear at their court arraignment. The woman was returned to the group. This hunger strike also eventually spread to the men's jail area.

These outbreaks of increasingly militant tactics on the part of the demonstrators were symptoms of more fundamental changes in the political climate around the blockade. Even more telling of this was a small but powerful incident which occurred at the plant gate. One lone blockader showed up with an American flag, which has marked the blockade with its ugly presence. But this time, the lone flag waver was confronted by outraged blockaders; sharp words were exchanged and he put the last flag away. What was behind this incident we shall briefly go into.

Readers will remember that, at last report, the imperialist rag was flying upside down on September 22. The flag had become the focus of a sharp and wide-ranging political struggle between the line of capitulation to imperialism on one hand and revolutionary internationalism on the other. From the beginning, individuals had challenged it. One Iranian student told the *RW* that he had



A National Guard truck leading buses filled with plant employees approaches protesters blocking the way to Diablo Canyon power plant...

gone into the camp specifically to struggle against the flag and what it stood for. A Native American woman had spoken out at a mass meeting, saying, "My 12-year-old son asked me what that horrible flag was doing at our camp. I couldn't answer him." Others have fought in various ways to take the bloody thing down, and there has been hot debate over the red flag of revolution and proletarian internationalism. As reported previously, the line and role of the RCP has continued to be a storm center on this and many other questions in this protest.

Over the last weekend of the blockade, all this came to a head. An organized full-fledged mass meeting was finally called on the flag issue, and this time the anger and disgust which had been building up, as people grasped what it meant to the people of the world, spilled out. "This is the flag which has been carried around the world to rip off people and plunder them..." said one furious blockader. And while this was going on, someone went around the camp and ripped down all the American flags—they never went back up.

The more the blockaders began to go straight up against the system, and especially the more "dangerous ideas" were taken up, the sharper became the

attacks on the Party. At the Monday action, for example, two supporters were literally kidnapped by pigs, driven to a deserted beach and dropped off. However, they immediately hitched a ride back to the action with a politically sympathetic driver. But despite attacks from various quarters, the attempt to ban revolutionary politics utterly failed. This was pointed up during one effort by some "monitors" to have the Party thrown out for what must have been the 15th time. As this was happening, one person from Greenpeace (the non-violent action group) put an arm around one "monitor," saying, "If you try to do this, you'll have an angry mob on your hands—there might be some violence."

Sharp struggle within the ranks continues, needless to say. "Look, I hate the American flag, but why do we need any flag," was one indicative comment. Said another blockader: "Everything I see, everything I feel tells me it's coming to a violent revolution, but I'm holding on to hope that there's another way." Nevertheless, even the kind of disagreements which were voiced toward the end of the blockade show that the excellent political turmoil had deeply influenced people. One college editor—no revolutionary, to be sure—wrote in his paper of a struggle which

had broken out in his cluster (a form of organization in the anti-nuke movement) when one cluster member whipped out a red flag and began to agitate for others to take up a revolutionary stance against imperialism. Ultimately, this person, the editor wrote, was ejected from the cluster; but when the editor spotted him in the jail area after both had been busted, the editor sought him out, eager for his views.

In the last days of the blockade, numerous meetings and discussions were being held in the town, on the college campus and in the camp itself, around various questions, centered on the Party's line and analysis. And it is quite clear that the political struggle waged in the course of this protest will continue. For example, at a demonstration of several thousand people against Duarte, several people who had been at the Diablo blockade approached the Party for bundles of *RW*'s to distribute.

This is certainly not the last word on the events at Diablo and their impact throughout society, but it can be said that in this battle, which the bourgeoisie swaggered into with such confidence, what has emerged is only further proof that the situation in the world today is full of potential for revolution.

The Kidnapping of the Aleut People in World War 2

Following is a report from a correspondent for the Revolutionary Worker in the Northwest who recently went to talk with the people in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands.

"You'll be leaving in two hours. Take one suitcase of clothes. That's all," barked the armed soldier. One-third of an entire people was systematically being rounded up, village by village, to be placed in concentration camps 1600 miles from their home. They were forced to leave behind all means of livelihood, their tools, guns, all their possessions.

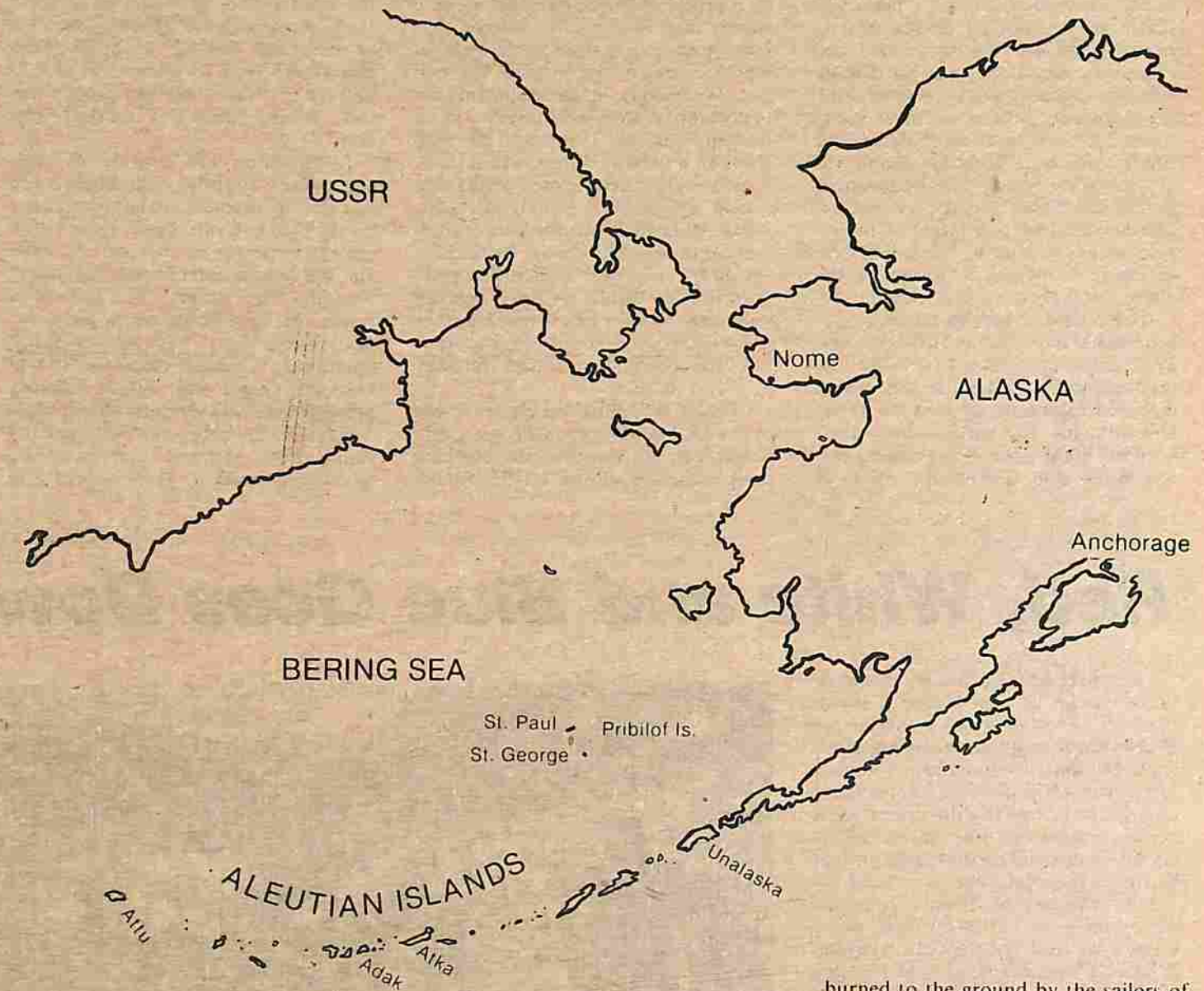
She'd given birth alone. She was still alone when soldiers burst into the room, informing her she must leave immediately with the rest. She wrapped up her baby, less than two hours old, and held it close to her as she made her way to join the rest. The baby died within days as the ship made its way down the Bering Sea.

To another young native, five years old, everything was happening too fast to comprehend. As they ran from the village, she searched for her father, but he was not among them. She would never see him again. Within a day, she would witness her mother and newborn sister being dragged past her in "a plastic kind of a thing" and thrown over the side of the ship.

Over 700 Aleut people were herded like cattle onto the *USS Delerof*, built for a crew of 170. Diesel oil leaked near the hold of the ship. Seasickness everywhere. The doctor on board refused to enter the hold of the ship. "On this ship, I'm not responsible," he grumbled. A baby died. A woman lost her mind. No one, not even the captain, knew their final destination. "Does that sound like something from the past, (slave ships) from Africa?" an Aleut woman defiantly demanded of the Federal Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.

The date: June, 1942. All Aleuts on the Pribilof Islands and the Aleutian chain west of Unimak were evacuated and thrown into prison-like abandoned summer work camps for the duration of the war. Within three years, one out of every ten Aleuts interned were dead. It is a story hidden in the logs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, buried in the federal archives, confiscated and censored on the highest levels of the government.

Why does the bourgeoisie dare to unveil even a minute part of the atrocities committed by their hands, at their command? The hearings on the internment of the Aleuts and the Japanese-Americans are part and parcel of their preparations to wage and win World War 3. As we have pointed out (see *RW* No. 118), the hearings themselves have been a necessary gamble, to make amends with the Japanese imperialists who are part of the U.S.-led war bloc, as well as to try to quell some very bitter feelings among Japanese-Americans and, in the case of the Aleuts, to gain a stronger footing in Alaska. Thus testimony on the Aleut people was given in Seattle on September 11 and hearings were held in the Aleutian Islands on September 15, 17 and 19. The imperialists are keenly aware of the strategic importance of the Aleutian Islands in the upcoming global conflagration, perhaps even more strategic than in World War 2, when they were a major base for air strikes against Japan and for securing their hold on the Far East colonial empire which had belonged to Britain; for the



Aleutian Islands in the Bering Sea are an important base for U.S. imperialism lying close to the northeastern coast of the Soviet Union.

And barely beneath the surface of the pious concern of the commissioners is the ever-present threat, a point they themselves stated outright; we've done it before, we'll do it again. It is the nature of the system. Pennsylvania's Judge Maurutani, the token Japanese-American internee on the panel, lamented, "They had the Bill of Rights. They had the 3rd Amendment. They had it all. And still they evacuated us. There is no law that can be written to prevent this from happening again."

The "Liberators" Arrive

On June 3, 1942, Japan launched simultaneous attacks on Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Islands and at Midway in the Pacific. The U.S. had already broken the Japanese code and knew that Midway was where the Japanese were throwing their weight, that the bombing of Dutch Harbor was a diversionary ploy. In fact, they'd been expecting a minor attack in the Aleutians. There was already a reign of terror against the Aleut people in Unalaska and on other islands. Barbed-wire fences were erected. Curfews were in effect. Women were raped while MP's roamed. The bombing of Dutch Harbor was a convenient cover for the immediate evacuation of the Aleuts.

"It was for their own protection," the bourgeoisie quipped. "We can't leave them in a war zone." This was a patent lie. If it had been the case, the non-Aleut residents, few as they were, would have been the first to be shipped out. Instead they remained in their homes the entire time. And as the

lawyers for the Aleutian Pribilof Island Association pointed out, even if it had been for their own protection, all possible dangers had passed by August 1943, when the Japanese were routed from the western-most islands of Attu and Kiska, which they had occupied in mid-June, 1942. Instead, the Pribilofians were not repatriated until May, 1944, and the Aleuts from the Aleutian chain, not until May 1945.

No, the Aleuts were removed for one simple, imperialist reason: they were in the way. Their land was needed for military purposes, for air and naval bases. Their homes were used to quarter troops. All their possessions were used and/or destroyed. Even at that time, with their eyes glued on winning World War 2, the imperialists were planning past that victory. The Aleutian chain would not become less important then. The Aleut people could not be allowed to maintain the "illusion" that these islands, where they had lived for thousands of years, were "their" islands and the U.S. saw to it that the Aleut people would be utterly dependent on U.S. imperialism when they would finally be returned. All means of subsistence living were destroyed. The signs of the decimation that was to come were none too subtle. When the Aleuts from Nikolski were being kidnapped, their small fishing boats were all tied up to the ship they were on, like a long tail. As the ship left the dock, the sailors, armed with machine guns, opened fire on the dories sinking every one.

One of the first islands to be occupied was Atka. The people were told to pack up all their belongings but were later told to leave everything behind and hurry to their summer fishing camp, several miles away. It wasn't until a glow lit up the entire sky that the people realized that their village was being

burned to the ground by the sailors of the *USS Gillis*. Meanwhile, on the Pribilof Islands, about 200 miles northwest of Unalaska, the Aleuts of the village of St. George stared in disbelief as their livestock was shot and their homes were wired to be blown up. So began the U.S. "mission of mercy" to "liberate" the Aleut people from the "war zone."

While en route to who knows where, the captain of the *USS Delerof* radioed a message: Destination, Funter Bay, Admiralty Island, some 1600 miles from the Pribilofs. When they finally arrived, the Aleut people found themselves in a climate they'd never experienced before. The air was heavy and damp. There were trees everywhere. Most of them had never seen trees before and, compared to the wide open space of their homeland, this place felt closed in and oppressive. The older people had trouble breathing. The Aleuts from other parts fared no better in their camps.

The Aleut women described the situation well in a petition against their outrageous conditions:

"We the people of this place want a better place than this to live. This place is no place for a living creature. We drink impure water and then get sick (and) the children's get skin diseases even the grown-ups are sick from colds.

"We ate from the messhouse and it is near the toilet only a few yards away. We eat the filth that is flying around.

"We got no place to take a bath and no place to wash our clothes or dry them when it rains. We women are always lugging water up stairs and take turns warming it up and the stove is small.

"We live in a room with our children just enough to turn around in; we used blankets for walls just to live in private...

"We all have rights to speak for ourselves." (from the Federal Archives)

Continued on page 9

Los Angeles

On September 24, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and some of the city's major media gathered outside the Apollo Theatre in Los Angeles in anticipation of a punk rock concert scheduled for that evening. But it appears that the show they were anticipating was not only the one inside the theater (which was stopped by the police soon after it started) but one on the outside as well. One important aspect of the authorities' attack on punk rock has been to try to paint it as a fascist, racist movement—its general character is quite the opposite of this, though such elements exist—and then, to use that as part of a justification to launch vicious attacks on the fans, clubs and bands. It seems that the authorities thought that on September 24, they had a perfect opportunity to "prove" their point. Instead, the whole thing quite literally blew up in their faces, resulting in a night-long battle between police and punks.

A dispute arose between a Black youth theater group and the Apollo management when the Apollo suddenly canceled their scheduled performance of a play and, in its place, booked the punk show on the 24th. The theater group organized a picket line outside the Apollo, stressing to the *RW* that their beef was with the Apollo, not punk (the theater group also picketed on the 23rd, when there was no concert). Still, at least two high-ranking LAPD officers were fully aware of the plan for picketing, and made their own plans, which included readying a riot squad of dozens of cops. The police and the media that arrived early in the evening were undoubtedly expecting a clash between the punks and the Black youth, a clash which on the "nightly news" could be used to bolster their lies about the music. No such clash developed, and the news media went home—but the police did not; their work had only just begun.

The concert started and the picket line dispersed. What happened next has become a very familiar scene for punks in L.A. One punk rocker described it this way to the *RW*: "I was standing up by the stage looking back

and saw people falling, some to the left, some to the right. Then this line of white helmets came down through the middle of all these people." It was the police in full riot gear, beating and macing people as they went. Without any prior warning, they just busted through the front door and started throwing people out.

Bottles, tables, chairs rained down on the line of cops as people scattered. From the balcony, huge coffee shop-style booths were heaved down at them. Forced outside, the 300 to 400 fans found the entire block barricaded by police, two helicopters overhead, and continued beatings and macings. Windows were broken up and down the street as people ran from the cops. At least one person was pushed into a window by the cops—breaking it—and another was surrounded by some jerks in the neighborhood, picked up, and thrown through a plate-glass window. The battle raged for about an hour. At one point about 50 punks were being chased down the street by cops. As they ran, the punks showered the police with

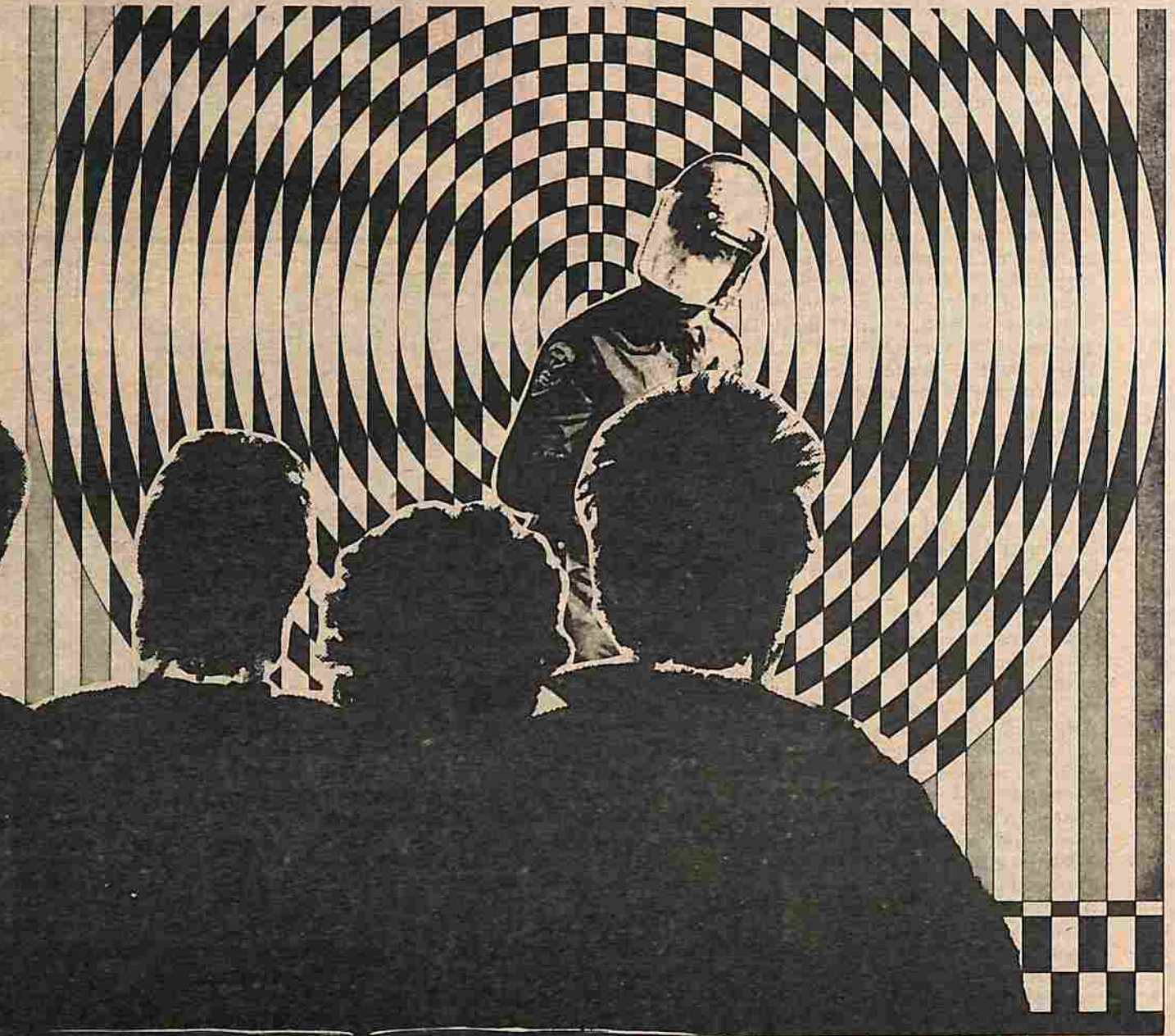
rocks and bottles. At least one cop was sent to the hospital.

The police assault was well organized, with at least the sheriffs, highway patrol and LAPD involved. Later, many of the punks gathered at a take-out place in Hollywood called Oakie Dogs, where the police launched still another assault. A lot of punks went into the hills and brush of the nearby Errol Flynn Estate, where yet another battle raged, with a helicopter overhead. The cops, unfamiliar with the terrain, were crawling up the hills, stumbling around in the pitch dark, and falling back down the hills. After a while, the punks were cleared out, and many once again congregated back at Oakie Dogs. Another battle ensued, after which the punks, feeling they'd given the cops enough for one night, went home. The number of arrests that night isn't entirely clear, but the punk rockers report seeing dozens of youths thrown into squad cars and driven off.

One of the bands scheduled to play on the 24th, Wasted Youth, has had four performances stopped by police in

the last few months. A handbill announcing the band's new album says, "They hate us/They hate our music." And that hatred has led the authorities to attack virtually every club that has booked punk in L.A. over the last couple of years. Each one has been closed or forced to stop booking punk. Yet with every closing, new clubs or halls have been found.

In an article announcing the permanent closing of the Apollo by the city, the *L.A. Times* once again dredged up its threadbare lie that some "neighbors" complained about how punk rock was causing the neighborhood to deteriorate, painting a picture of the area as residential. Actually, it's a business district, and rather run down at that. The liquor store across from the theater is a center of open drug dealing, etc. But this is typical of how the *Times* has tried to convince people of the horrors of punk rock. It now appears that the Apollo has bit the dust as a punk rock venue, but the same cannot be said of the music itself.



Aleuts

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Aleuts who were taken first to Wainig were subjected to "mass killings, mass tonsillectomies, mass macing." A particularly stark example of the "quality" of medical care which was not spoken to in the hearings, was told to us by a number of people. "XXX died there (Funter Bay). He had a stroke because he couldn't take the climate. He was getting pretty old too. He had a stroke and he went unconscious for one week...I heard a doctor put him away."

Murder outright and through "be-

nign" neglect. While the Aleut people had suffered a history of oppression at the hands of one imperialist or another for hundreds of years, this was especially concentrated in those two to three years during World War 2. To those who dared resist was the heavy threat of never being returned to their native villages, to be forever separated from their families and their people. Yet resist they did. Men at Funter Bay, determined to escape, took great risks, leaving the camp in small boats. They went to the mainland, mainly Juneau, to try to get work to provide something for their families.

The Aleuts who were interned at Ward Lake were nearest to a town of

any of the camps. But as soon as an Aleut dared show his face in Ketchikan, he'd be thrown in jail, simply for being Aleut. There was an older white man, a retired fisherman, whom a number of Aleuts spoke about in their testimony. He used to come bail them out of jail, pay their fines, find them jobs and drive them from Ward Lake to Ketchikan and back. He dared to break the imperialists' rules and the Aleut people who had not seen him since, did not forget.

Summer, 1943. The able-bodied Aleut men at Funter Bay and a number of other Aleuts from other camps were rounded up by the government and returned to the supposed "war zone" at

the Pribilof Islands. Why? To harvest the seals for U.S. imperialism. This harvest, the largest since the 1860s, raked in profits for the federal government, equal to the amount of money the U.S. imperialists originally spent to purchase the Alaska territory from Czarist Russia in 1867. At one point that sealing season, with all the men press-ganged into the harvest, two or three women at Funter Bay were the only healthy people trying their best to care for all the others who were ill.

Every decision about the enslavement and imprisonment of the Aleut people was made by or with the approval of the highest authority, the federal government.

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On the weekend of October 9th a "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa" will be convened in New York City. Initiated by the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, an arm of the Soviet sponsored Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, this conference is the first of a worldwide series aimed at rallying joint support for the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO). Joining a host of Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) revisionist types in co-sponsoring the event are a large number of other organizations and individuals. Playing on people's just hatred for apartheid and imperialism, the conference will probably attract a number of people who genuinely want to support the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. Unfortunately, this conference is not designed to do anything of the sort.

To begin with, the entire question of the liberation of southern Africa as it's dealt with in the call for the conference reduces the struggle to one of ending "apartheid, colonialism and racism." Nowhere is imperialism mentioned; instead we are painted a picture of the struggle for democracy and majority rule. While these may be aspects of the struggle for national liberation, particularly in southern Africa, by no means can the struggle itself be reduced to simply these terms. To do so only serves to blunt the revolutionary essence of any national liberation struggle—the battle against imperialism—and paint the democratic content of this battle as if it were one of voting and reform. In addition, the conference issues a call for support for "the official liberation program" of the ANC, for "increasing political support and material assistance" to the ANC and declares that the ANC is "leading the fight to rid their country of racial oppression and injustice, for freedom and independence..." The fact that the ANC, particularly as it has been brought under CP domination, has usually stood nakedly opposed to any genuinely revolutionary developments in Azania (including even its bizarre refusal to use the name Azania, preferring the imperialist name of "South Africa") and the fact that raising the ANC, the Soviet-sponsored "liberation" group, as *the* group "deserving strong support" in a country where a number of well-known revolutionary nationalist forces are actively engaged in the struggle provides a powerful hint as to what the real intentions of this conference are. Often the revisionists appeal to pragmatism to win blank-check endorsements internationally ("Who else is fighting the regime with a chance of winning?"), but in the case of the ANC/SACP (South African Communist Party) even this pragmatic argument runs into hot water. While the conference organizers intentionally avoided any mention of the international situation in relation to the liberation of southern Africa, in fact, the conference itself is intimately bound up with the world situation today, particularly the intensifying contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists and their blocs as they prepare for world war. And in addition to the questions it raises concerning the liberation of southern Africa, particularly Azania, it also serves to highlight the very important questions concerning the strategy of the Soviet social-imperialists today, and how the contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists is a crucial question intertwined with revolutionary developments and facing all revolutionary forces.

The situation in southern Africa today is highly complex and contradictory. For years the people of southern Africa have waged, and continue to wage, sharp struggles against U.S. imperialism and the white settler regimes propped up by Western, especially U.S., imperialism. At the same time and in fact overall mainly influencing the course of events in the area, including the possible avenues for revolutionary breakthroughs, is the seething contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists, and their respective blocs, as they twist and jockey for position in preparation for the outbreak of world war to redivide the world in favor of the victor. It's a situation where both imperialist superpowers must attempt to squash, blunt and distort the development of genuine revolutionary movements among the masses of people and simultaneously are driven to not only deny any "opportunities" to their imperialist rivals, but must also attempt to hold on to and expand their "spheres of influence" at the expense of their rival. This is equally true for both the U.S. and Soviet imperialist blocs.

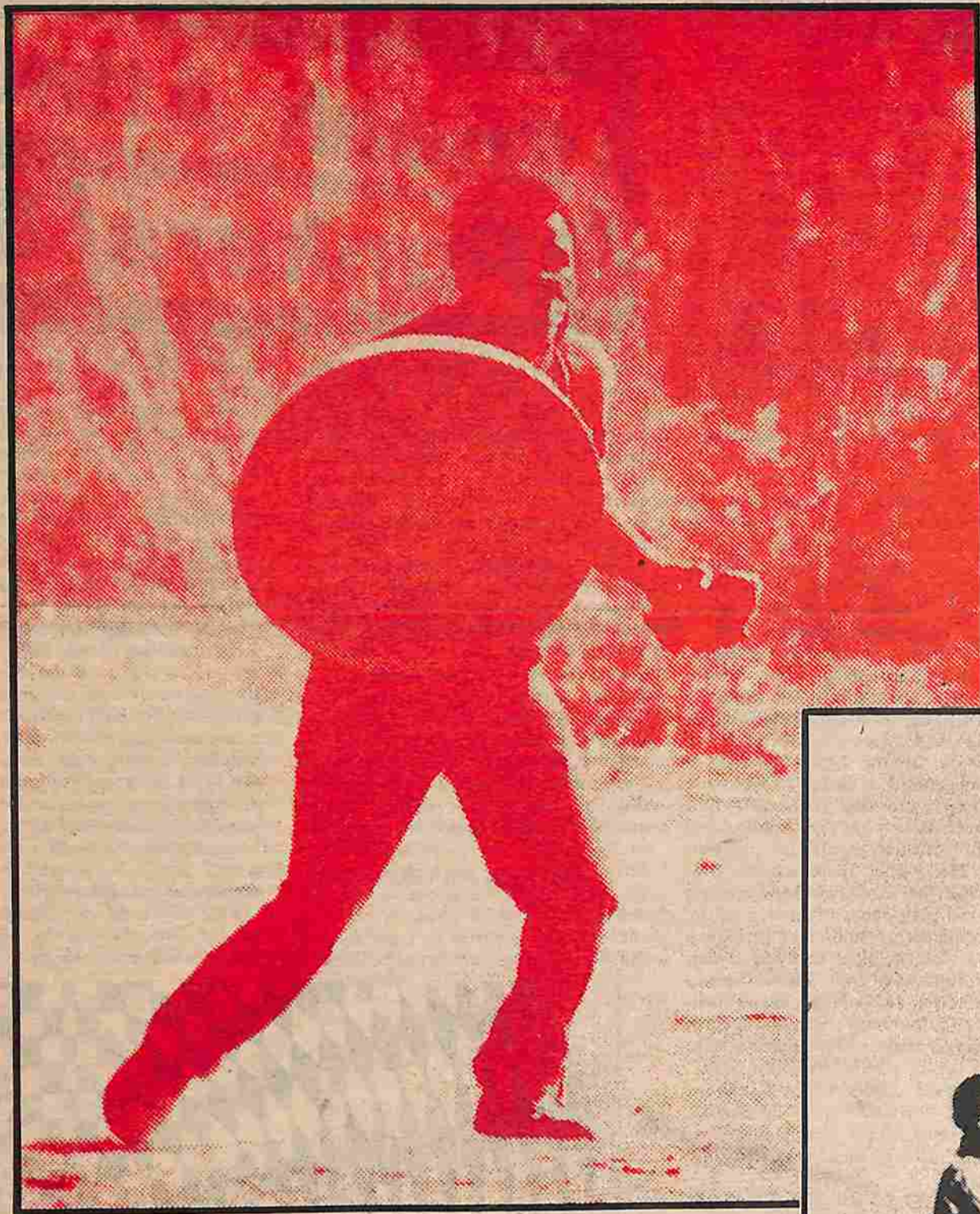
Although the U.S. imperialists remain the dominant imperialist power in southern Africa, the Soviet imperialists have by no means been sitting idly waiting for the chips to fall their way. While the U.S. has scored some points with the capitulation of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, the Soviets have not at all given up hope of increasing their role in Zimbabwe either through their main representative in the country, Joshua Nkomo and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) or by taking advantage of the disillusionment and

anger growing among the Zimbabwean people as Mugabe ties Zimbabwe closer and closer to Western imperialism. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists must pay close attention to being able to stomp out any genuine struggle that erupts among the Zimbabwean people as a result of continuing imperialist oppression.

In Namibia the U.S. is desperately attempting to work out an agreement in their favor while the Soviets are counting on being able to force them into a compromise that would at least give SWAPO a share of running the country, after which the Soviets are banking on being able to call in the markers on the "aid" they have given to SWAPO over the years and thereby increase their influence. And, while Angola has lined up in the Soviet camp, the U.S. camp, the U.S. is energetically attempting to lure it away, both by promising a better deal and by using South African military might as a club to beat them into submission. But, in southern Africa, for both imperialist powers, Azania is the crowning jewel being contested. And while the U.S. is driven to more openly embrace the hated apartheid regime, new upsurges erupt among the masses of Azanian people. In this situation the Soviets are enthusiastically attempting to fish in U.S. imperialism's troubled waters.

For the U.S. imperialists and their war bloc South Africa is of critical strategic importance. In addition to the vast superprofits that the U.S., Britain and other Western imperialists squeeze from the masses of Azanian people, South Africa is also the source of many of the strategic minerals necessary for

the functioning of the U.S. war bloc. While the U.S. relies heavily on South African supplies for many of the minerals crucial to the production of steel, this is even more true for the U.S.'s NATO allies. In addition, South Africa's military communications and tracking system and their modern military port facilities (which were expensively modernized and offered by the South African government for use by NATO in 1975) as well as its geographic location on the Cape of Good Hope make it indispensable to U.S. war plans. The Cape route sea lanes are used by 2300 ships a month delivering 57% of Western Europe's imported oil, 20% of the U.S.'s imported oil and 70% of the strategic raw materials used by NATO members. As Air Vice-Marshal Stewart Manual of Britain stated, "Southern Africa is the key to the security of NATO's lines of communications... and South Africa in



Soweto Uprising, 1976.

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Revisionism and Southern Africa



From its founding in 1912, while some democratic and progressive individuals have been part of it, the ANC has been an organization dedicated to compromise and capitulation. Extremely similar to the NAACP in the U.S., the ANC sought only to better the conditions of black Azanians within the structure of the existing society. Essentially reformist and never really a mass organization, the ANC over its first 35 years of history stood on the edge of organizational death with its high points being participation in the sham Natives Representatives Council (NRC), an advisory body established by the South African regime to undercut the struggle of the masses of Azanian people (interestingly enough the ANC was the only black group that stayed in the NRC until the bitter end, upholding it even after the South African regime had discarded it as a useless scheme) and sending periodic delegations to plead with the British imperialists to intervene on behalf of the Azanian people.

In 1949 the ANC, influenced by a growing militancy among the Azanian people and among the members of their own youth league, adopted a "program of action" aimed at turning the ANC into a mass organization and non-violently persuading the South African ruling class to mend its ways and establish a "truly democratic society." The high point of this campaign was the ANC-launched defiance campaign of 1952 in which thousands of ANC volunteers defied the apartheid regime's laws and were sent to jail. At that point the ANC membership soared to almost 100,000 and the South African ruling class viciously stepped up its repression. In response the ANC called off its defiance campaign after 6 months and actively sought other ways to influence the government.

For its part, the SACP has an even "grander" history; in fact the best that can be said of them is that they have always been consistent in their capitulation and opportunism. Founded in 1921 and mainly based among the white workers of South Africa, one of the first acts of the SACP (then known as the CP(SA)) was its involvement in a strike of white miners against the admittance of "unqualified," that is *black*, miners into semi-skilled jobs. Summing up that the strike was essentially a battle against the capitalist mine owners, the CP(SA) announced its support of the strike with "reservations about some of the demands of the workers." Actively striving to assume leadership of the strike the South African CP actually sank to the point

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particular has the facilities...to provide the surveillance necessary for the security of European interests."

All of this, plus South Africa's highly developed economy and consequent economic clout in the rest of the region makes it a valuable potential prize for the Soviets as well. But in times like today, a period of intense preparation for world war, it's the strategic importance of South Africa that looms largest in Soviet plans, as with the U.S. However, having summed up that the U.S. would "go to the mat" over South Africa, the Soviets are not pushing for an immediate seizure of power. The Soviet strategy in South Africa today is aimed at developing a situation in which at most the Soviets will be able to devise some sort of power sharing scheme or at least, and more likely, being able to be in a position to cause as much difficulty as possible for the U.S. imperialists now and, in the event of an

outbreak of war, being in a position to disrupt and wreak as much havoc as possible behind the lines of a strategically important U.S. outpost and if possible completely seize it. Lenin points out in *Imperialism* that it is not only important for an imperialist power to control, but also to deny his rival control over strategic markets, sources of raw materials, etc. In implementing their version of this strategy and crucial to disguising their moves as "justly aiding the fight against imperialism, colonialism and racism" the Soviet social-imperialists have relied heavily on their main mouthpieces in southern Africa, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress (which follows the political leadership of the SACP).

ANC's and SACP's Origins

Over the last 20 years or so the

Soviets have expended a great deal of effort to keep the ANC afloat and have waged a massive international public relations campaign designed to cast the ANC and the SACP in an air of legitimacy. In fact, over the last 20 years the ANC itself has expended much more energy in international conferences and speaking tours orchestrated by the Soviet Union and aimed at declaring the ANC "the sole authentic representative of the South Africa people," than they have inside Azania. Despite the Soviet efforts, however, a look at the history and the current policies of the ANC and the SACP shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that far from organizing the masses of Azanian people for a revolutionary onslaught against imperialism and its apartheid regime, both the ANC and the SACP have consciously held back the development of a genuine revolutionary movement in Azania.

Southern Africa

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of organizing a demonstration in which the white miners marched through the streets behind banners that read "Workers of the World Unite to Keep South Africa White." Following the government's crushing of the strike the SACP buried itself in thoroughly economist trade-unionist work for years.

In 1928 the Communist International drew up a declaration concerning South Africa in which it declared that one of the demands of the working class was for the establishment of "an independent native South African republic." Fearing that this would wreck their chances of working out a compromise with the South African ruling class and would alienate the white workers, the SACP actively opposed the adoption of this demand. Rather than being an unfortunate mistake, this position flowed from, and is a clear example of, the SACP's line that in South Africa—one of the most vicious examples of imperialism's domination of an oppressed people—the issue is not imperialist rule and oppression which must be overthrown, but the lack of bourgeois democracy and majority rule.

A delegation from the South African CP was quickly dispatched to Moscow to present their case against the resolution. S.P. Bunting, a leading member of the SACP, argued that the resolution was wrong since in essence there is no real national question in South Africa. Bunting also offered in opposition to the resolution the fact that it would "...in practice arouse white workers' opposition as being unfair to the minority..." and that this demand would harm the revolutionary movement since statements about returning South Africa, the country and the land to the native population seemed to "indicate a black race dictatorship." In conclusion Bunting argued that "South Africa is, owing to its climate, what is called a white man's country, where whites can and do live not merely as planters and officials but as a whole nation of all classes, established there for 3 centuries, of Dutch and English composition."

Bunting's brilliant argument was only topped by that of his wife, also a leading member of the SACP, who argued that the land of South Africa had never really belonged to the blacks in the first place, since according to her understanding of history both the Boers and the blacks arrived in the area at the same time and were both equally responsible for driving the original inhabitants out of the area. In a later argument Mrs. Bunting revealed her real concern about the slogan and demand for a black republic. "Who will guarantee equality for the whites in an independent native republic? Their slogan, as you know, is 'drive the whites into the sea.'" In response the Comintern stated, "...What is to become of the whites?... If the white party members do not raise and energetically fight for an independent native republic, then, who knows? They may very well be driven into the sea!"

Following the enforced adoption of this Comintern resolution the SACP returned to South Africa and halfheartedly did some work around it, fairly reformist work which brought them into contact with the ANC. During World War 2 the CPSA once again put on a dazzling display of its penchant for capitulation. Following the German attack on the Soviet Union, the CPSA, wholeheartedly embracing the errors of the international communist movement, declared that the war had been transformed into a "people's war" and totally abandoned the struggle in South Africa and urged people to fall in line behind the South African ruling class who was then promising massive reforms for blacks if they supported the war effort.

But the most impressive display of their capacity for capitulation was yet to come. In 1950, two years after the Afrikaner government was elected and had unleashed massive repression including instituting apartheid laws aimed at quelling the rumblings of the struggle among the Azanian people the CPSA reached its low point. Included among these laws was the "Suppression of Communism Act" designed to smash any resistance to the regime by labelling it communist and taking appropriate security measures. Three months before the Act even took effect, the leadership of the CPSA decided to disband the party since "its members were unprepared for the harsh conditions" necessitated by the new law. It was only 3 years later, in 1953, that the party leaders who had organized themselves into a motley group called the "Congress of Democrats," decided to reform the party, changing its name from the CP of South Africa to the South African CP. (While capitulation and opportunism have been a particular hallmark in the history of the SACP, it was also undoubtedly influenced and reinforced by the revisionism in the international communist movement at the time. For an analysis of the lines and policies of the international communist movement during this period refer to the article "For Decades to Come, On a World Scale" in *Revolution* magazine, June, 1981.)

The (Derail) Freedom Charter

By 1955 the SACP, working through the Congress of Democrats, had established a tight working relationship with the ANC. In 1955 the ANC and the SACP, joined by other reformist forces, drew up what they have touted widely and loudly ever since as the document representing the "true interests of the people of South Africa"—the Freedom Charter. This is the "official liberation program" the call to the New York Conference endorses. This jewel of a document resembles something out of the wildest dreams of Thomas Jefferson and was immediately declared to be the programme of the revolution by both the SACP and the ANC. The fact that both groups adopted the Freedom Charter as their common programme for liberating Azania is yet another example of the fact that, according to their outlook, the struggle is not against imperialism but for democratic reform and the willingness, in fact eagerness, of both groups not to defeat imperialist rule but merely to share power with it. There is also the closely related fact that nowhere in the Freedom Charter is there any mention of armed struggle, which is a sure sign of the penchant for compromise and the "peaceful road to socialism" (a road littered with the bodies of the oppressed) that guided both its formulation and implementation then and today.

In a highly appropriate imitation of the Preamble of the bourgeois U.S. Constitution, the Freedom Charter begins "We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know..." As it continues the appropriateness of its imitation of the U.S. bourgeoisie's Constitution becomes very apparent. It declares that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white..."—fine words again obscuring that the essence of the struggle is national liberation against imperialism and its settler regime.

The document goes on to describe the ANC/SACP vision of a future South Africa, a bourgeois democracy with key sectors of the economy nationalized and placed in the hands of "the people," that is, the "representatives" of the people's interests, the ANC/SACP. As to whether these "representatives" intend to oppose imperialism, we will let them speak for

themselves. Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, said in an interview in the September/October 1981 issue of *Africa Reports* magazine: "The broad basic positions of the ANC concerning the South African economy in all its major parts after liberation are contained in the Freedom Charter. What we say to foreign investors today is that they must pull out of South Africa because their investments inevitably help to strengthen the apartheid regime. We would therefore expect that if U.S. corporations have any regard for our voice, there will be no U.S. investments in South Africa on the day of liberation. If there are, that will mean that such investors will have elected to side with the minority racist regime against the democratic majority... Consequently, when their friend goes, as he surely will, so will they be obliged to go. As for other investors who would want to participate in the reconstruction of South Africa, they would of course be welcome to join us as equal partners in arrangements that are mutually beneficial to both themselves and to us." Once again, apartheid is opposed but imperialism, which is the force behind it and all modern forms of national oppression, is ignored—even welcomed. Interestingly, the "Freedom Charter" has never even come close to being upheld by any other group that has ever professed itself determined to liberate Azania.

Period of Soviet Collusion

In 1956, following the overthrow of socialism in the Soviet Union and the beginning of the process of restoring capitalism, a new element was added to the scene in Azania. Quickly aligning themselves with the new capitalist ruling class in the Soviet Union, the SACP and the ANC harbored visions of their new allies giving them the strength to seize power in Azania. And with their bourgeois aspirations tied so closely to the Soviet imperialist designs in South Africa they immediately became the leading spokesmen for and implementors of Soviet policy in the region. At that point the Soviet rulers were primarily concerned with consolidating the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and preparing mainly in this way for later imperialist adventures; so while they did not sever their international links with various forces in liberation struggles, they did promote and implement a policy which served their interests at the time—a policy of condemning wars of national liberation as dangerous to international stability and for their own reasons, colluding with U.S. imperialism to stifle liberation struggles. A disgusting example of this is the fact that in 1960 the Soviets joined with the U.S. in a UN vote which resulted in UN troops being sent into the Congo to crush the struggle there. The Soviets even went so far as to provide means of transportation for the UN troops going to the Congo. Khrushchev himself sent a telegram to Patrice Lumumba, a leader of the Congolese people's struggle, calling the UN vote "a useful thing." A short time later Lumumba was captured and murdered and the struggle of the Congolese people was crushed.

Condemning Violent Uprisings

Enthusiastically taking up the Soviet line, the SACP and the ANC energetically avoided and backhandedly attacked all the upsurges among the Azanian people between 1956 and 1961. Instead of waging people's war, the SACP and ANC actively promoted reliance on the United Nations for the solution to imperialist oppression in Azania. When violent upsurges did occur among the Azanian people, the SACP condemned them as spontaneous and declared that "riots and pogroms can only lead to massive state retaliation, a serious political setback for our cause and its prestige at home and abroad and a crushing defeat of the people."

Stating that, "even though the conditions are desperate, responsible leaders

cannot merely follow the policies of desperate and impatient men who grow reckless and clamor for any sort of action regardless of the consequences," the Central Committee of the SACP declared in a statement in 1963 that reviewed the previous period of time that violent attacks on the state were not to be upheld, but instead the "real revolutionaries" should bury themselves in fighting for the everyday demands of the people for a better life which would supposedly serve to teach the Azanian people that "every attempt to redress or rectify a local or partial grievance is necessarily connected with, and can only be won by, the defeat of the Nationalist government itself and the ending of white minority rule. Where every protest and demand is met merely by bloody suppression by the state, it becomes clear to one section of the people after another that the state itself is an obstacle to any sort of advance, and that no sort of happy or tolerable future is possible without the removal of this tyrannical state and its replacement by one which embodies the will of the majority of people." Once again with words like "removal" and "replacement" of the apartheid regime their reformist strategy stands out clearly. The word "overthrow," let alone a people's war to do it, was avoided like the plague. In 1958 when peasants revolted in many rural areas of Azania and even went so far in one area as to set up people's courts and try, convict and execute local officials and traitors, the SACP, in reporting on the events in the *African Communist*, the organ of the SACP, saw fit only to emphasize the massive state retaliation that had come down from the ruling class. Needless to mention, the peasants had revolted without, and in fact in spite of, the ANC and SACP.

On March 21, 1960 the Pan Africanist Congress (the PAC was formed from a split in the ANC by a group of revolutionary nationalists opposed to the reformist thrust of the Freedom Charter, the ANC and the SACP) organized anti-pass law demonstrations throughout Azania. In Sharpeville thousands of unarmed Azanians demonstrated in front of a police station. In what has become known as the Sharpeville Massacre 69 Azanians were killed and 180 wounded when the South African police fired on this demonstration. The ANC's immediate response was to denounce the precipitate action of the PAC as the cause of the massacre. Interestingly enough, although the ANC considered the PAC's demonstration on March 21 to be precipitate action, they apparently felt that the same type of action ten days later—the scheduled date of an ANC-sponsored demonstration—would not have been.

Following the Sharpeville Massacre the South African ruling class intensified their repression throughout Azania, including banning both the ANC and the PAC. Yet even after all of this, the only response of the ANC was to call for a national convention of all South Africans to create a democratic republic. It was only in June of 1961, after it had become obvious that the masses of Azanian people were not responding to the ANC's convention call or their strike aimed at pressuring the government to comply with the demands of the convention, that the ANC announced that the South African government, by their continuing repression and unresponsiveness, had forced them to take up the armed struggle. In June of 1961 the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was formed.

Phony "Armed Struggle"

Despite the bravado surrounding the announcement that the ANC and SACP had taken up the armed struggle, nothing much happened outside of a few acts of sabotage principally directed at electric pylons out in the countryside. But this was no accident nor the result of massive state repres-

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Tony Benn

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and represents the feeling of some sections of the British bourgeoisie that it would be better for British industry in its competition with other European imperialists to not be in the Common Market. Because of England's grim economic situation (the worst in the EEC next to Ireland) it finds itself increasingly being undercut by the competition. An important part of the EEC agreements is the lowering of tariff restrictions and relatively free access of the signatory countries to each other's markets. Clearly there is growing pressure within the British ruling class toward changing this situation, adopting protectionist measures in the hopes of securing a better market picture for its goods. There are of course a number of delicate economic, political, and even military considerations involved in actually deciding to cut loose from the Common Market which must be weighed very carefully. But in any case the calls to withdraw from it by Benn and others not only represent the leanings of sections of the British bourgeoisie but also perform a valuable service to the entire lot of them by raising the "buy British" banner for the masses of people in England to rally around (they hope). After all, it is relatively easy to replace this banner whether tinted pink or not with the banner of defending the British Empire. And it is an important way of promoting British chauvinism and the "interests of the English workers" generally, in an attempt to enlist them in reactionary pursuits of all sorts including joining in and supporting the oppression and suppression of blacks (West Indians, Asians and Africans) and Irish in England and the British domination of Ireland and other remnants of its decaying empire. The Labour Party (including its "left wing") has taken up this "Buy British" crusade wholeheartedly with one ad in a recent publication exhorting the English workers to "Buy British Birds" in a call to come to the aid of the failing British poultry industry by turning one's palate away from imported chickens!

And oh yes, before going on, what about the demand for abolishing the House of Lords—indeed a most radical step. Whether or not this would actually come about should Benn become Prime Minister, this demand gives one cause for a good laugh. Supposing that this drastic action were actually taken, what would its political effects actually be? Certainly some of the Lords of the House would be sent scrambling for their heart-lung machines along with others of the more aristocratic sections of the ruling class but all would make do. After all, such superficial organizational changes would have zero effect on the ability of the British bourgeoisie to rule and would probably streamline it. Most definitely even the disgruntled would come to their senses upon the realization that this move would be one of immense practicality and in line with trimming down the cost of governing. Think of the money that could be saved on bribes alone.

But the part of Benn's program that has received the greatest amount of attention during his go-round with Healey is the call for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Here we find a call for Britain to unilaterally withdraw all British and U.S. nukes from its soil as a gesture of its "good faith" in calling for worldwide nuclear disarmament. This is an interesting twist in the calls from a number of European countries for nuclear disarmament or at least the removal of U.S. nukes from their countries in the hopes of making them less of a target for the Soviet nukes. The bottom line of all these demagogic appeals is "we don't want to be hit" and they are attempting to hide their imperialist nature and the nature of the showdown up ahead while actively calling on the masses of people to rally around their "own" imperialist national flags. In the final analysis, all these calls and proposals amount to slick ways of turning the growing anti-war sentiments among the masses of people in Europe down

the road of support for the war effort "through the back door". The fact is that the only way any imperialist country is going to be "saved" in the war that looms ahead is on the basis of actually coming out on the winning side through a conflagration on a world scale of unparalleled proportions, and of course preventing revolution in their own country. Need we add, revolution in any imperialist country cannot be made under the banner of its own blood drenched flag.

But Benn and Co.'s proposal on the surface seems a bit more radical than that of a section of the West German ruling class, for example, which simply calls for the removal of all foreign nukes from their turf. Here is an offer to unilaterally remove all nukes from Britain including Britain's own—a step toward getting the ball rolling for the rest of the world. How's that for practicing what you preach. It seems quite reasonable really, and most magnanimous. But hold on a minute. Just what does this offer really amount to? Frankly, even on the surface, there are a lot of obvious loopholes riddling this "earthshaking programme." But, even more importantly, the essence of this proposal is that it's *not intended* to be implemented! There is not supposed to be nor will there be a nuclear disarmed Britain. What it *is* though, is demogogy aimed at disarming the masses of people to sucker them in to something that even if formally adopted, would simply represent a diplomatic card in the maneuvering of the British ruling class *vis-à-vis* the two superpowers at best, not to mention a direct maneuver on behalf of the Western bloc against the Soviets.

First—the loopholes. Notice that the plan only refers to nukes on British turf. Indeed, the Labour Party "left" is quite adamant about keeping and strengthening Britain's conventional armed forces. Furthermore, under the programme Britain still remains in NATO (including an integral part of its command structure), an organization that deals with lots and lots of nukes. Involvement of British troops in NATO is fine, as witnessed by Britain's Army of the Rhine, armed to the teeth to do whatever's required in Europe. And deployment of British troops on a mass scale, anywhere in the world (such as they are now in Northern Ireland) is also fine and would be easily validated under the stamp of "defense." And certainly there'll be no quibbling over a few Trident submarines (the heart of U.S. nuclear plans for Britain) off the coast of Britain. After all, they're not on British soil. Of course, if push came to shove, whatever the U.S. might "secretly" choose to do on the many U.S. bases that dot the British landscape could easily be explained away (*a la* the Japanese denial of U.S. nukes on its soil). And British missiles could also be secretly deployed "without the knowledge of the Prime Minister" or alternately shoved over to Ireland. Such possibilities are endless and are being looked into for sure.

But, as noted before, and much more important to digging down and exposing the essence of this "disarmament" proposal is that it's not at all intended for actual implementation. It is at once an attempt by sections of the British ruling class to grab the tail of growing anti-war sentiments among the masses in Britain and enlist them as a pressure group in the pre-war maneuverings amidst the Western bloc and also part of laying the basis for justifying the actual use of nukes and everything else, should the Soviets "violate the spirit of disarmament with aggressive acts toward peaceful little England and the rest of the free world." Certainly the British bourgeoisie is not happy with playing second or third fiddle to the U.S. and like the rest of the European imperialists is striving as much as possible to counter the U.S. plans for countries in Europe to bear as much of the fighting and devastation as possible when the shit hits the fan. They figure that mass support for the demand for unilateral disarmament, especially calls to get rid of U.S. nukes, will help apply pressure on the U.S. to make some concessions in its military policy toward Britain.

The British imperialists are an integral part of the Western war bloc and definitely under the U.S. nuclear umbrella. While they are in no position to buck the U.S. in any fundamental way going into a war, any leverage they can possibly get is most welcome. And the U.S. is currently quite concerned about "neutralist and pacifist" tendencies in Europe. And as far as the Soviets go, the unilateral disarmament charade is, in effect, an attempt to put them somewhat on the political defensive around their war preparations particularly in their plans to hit Britain.

So much for Tony Benn's radical "peace initiatives" and so much for his cheap attempts to portray Britain as a country only interested in defending it-

self from foreign invasion by the superpowers. In a recent BBC TV program, he even tried to portray Britain as some sort of an oppressed country only interested in neutrality, declaring that Britain would have to learn how to "defend itself" without nukes and learn from the people of Vietnam and Afghanistan. He also added Poland. Three guesses who that was aimed at. But what emerges from all the proposals of the "left wing" of the Labour Party is a single central theme—rally 'round the Union Jack all ye English men of labour, buy British, eat British, drink British, think British and above all, fight and die for the British Empire or rather peaceful "socialist" Britain. □



Mao Tsetung talking to young soldiers of the 8th Route Army.

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

Text of the speech given by Bob Avakian at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings which were held in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area in September 1978. These programs were held on the second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung, at which time the RCP made public its analysis of the reactionary October 1976 coup in China. *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* gives a blow-by-blow account of the class struggle in China leading up to the coup and analyzes why the reactionaries were able to gain the upper hand after Mao's death. Also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation.

1978. 151p. \$2.00 plus 50¢ postage.

Available from RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

Southern Africa

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sion; instead it was the inevitable outcome of the fact that neither the ANC nor the SACP ever had any intention of launching an armed struggle against imperialism. In taking up "armed struggle" the ANC and the SACP adopted the popular revisionist "foco theory" of handfuls engaging in "spectacular" acts as opposed to waging protracted people's war based on mobilizing and arming the masses of Azanian people. This was advantageous for the revisionists on a number of counts. Not only did it allow them to cover up their treachery before the masses who were increasingly coming to understand the need for and call for armed struggle; it also insured that things would not get out of hand, thereby jeopardizing their chances of reaching some sort of compromise that would put them in some position of power. To the ANC and to the SACP the "armed struggle" allowed them to both appear to be serious about the liberation of Azania without really doing anything and to do just enough to put some minimal pressure, particularly in the international arena, on the South African ruling class. The ANC's and SACP's version of "armed struggle" dovetailed perfectly with the Soviet imperialists' interests and world strategy at the time.

Even in carrying out their limited campaign of "armed struggle" the ANC and SACP had been extremely halfhearted. Needless to say this halfheartedness raised some questions among the Azanian people. In order to cover themselves the ANC and SACP declared that the sabotage campaign wasn't really the beginning of the armed struggle after all but merely "preparation for people's war." At other times they declared that there really couldn't be any efforts at seizing power by armed force or attacks on the South African army and police or assassinations of Europeans since that would only provoke a bloodbath. Occasionally they were even more frank, particularly when speaking to the South African ruling class as evidenced by Abram Fisher's (a leading member of the SACP) statement in the South African Supreme Court on March 28, 1966 that "Civil war is no solution at all."

Following a few acts of sabotage, in 1963 the South African government pulled a raid and succeeded in totally smashing the ANC and SACP inside Azania. Most of the leadership of the groups ended up in jail or in exile and were to be joined in both situations by large numbers of their rank and file membership. By 1965 both the ANC and the SACP had effectively ceased to function inside Azania. For the next 10 years major portions of the ANC's and SACP's activities was confined to the international arena. Immediately upon establishing an external mission in exile, the ANC and SACP turned to the Soviet imperialists for help. In fact it was only through the influx of millions of Soviet dollars that the ANC was even able to remain intact for the next 10 years. In addition to providing the funding for the ANC external mission, the Soviets also provided military training and arms for ANC cadre and scholarships for those who wished to continue their education—providing they were ANC cadre. (For the Soviets such "airing perfectly serves their plans for late "power-sharing" schemes.)

International Advertising

At the same time the Soviets launched numerous worldwide conferences aimed at icing all other Azanian opposition groupings and establishing the ANC as "the sole authentic representative of the South African people" as was first formulated at a Soviet-organized conference in Khartoum in 1967. In addition to all this the Soviets, in conjunction with British liberals and

revisionists, helped launch what they called an "anti-apartheid movement" worldwide that would play off people's righteous hatred for apartheid and rally support for the ANC.

Of course, in order to surround the ANC and SACP with some semblance of being "genuine liberation" groups the Soviets also found it necessary to link them up with Soviet-backed groups that actually were fighting against U.S. imperialism (such as in the case with the ANC's SWAPO links today). Probably the most spectacular instance of this was the ludicrous ANC-ZAPU military alliance in 1967. ZAPU was the Soviet-backed guerrilla outfit in Zimbabwe headed by Joshua Nkomo and which spent most of the Zimbabwean war sitting in camps in Zambia receiving Soviet arms while the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) did most of the fighting. In 1967 Oliver Tambo announced that ANC cadre would be joining with ZAPU cadre in the Zimbabwean war in order to cut a path into South Africa and begin the infiltration of ANC guerrillas into South Africa. While Tambo announced that "today the fighting is in Zimbabwe but tomorrow it will be in South Africa," in actuality the entire affair was a colossal disaster. Given only heavy weapons and trained in bourgeois methods of work there the ANC cadre were quickly smashed on their first encounter with the troops of Rhodesian ruler Ian Smith.

While this stunt was obviously orchestrated to give credence to the ANC's "desire to liberate South Africa," there is considerable evidence that it was also designed to quash any sentiments for armed struggle among the ANC cadre in their military camps and to reinforce the sentiment that the state is too strong among the Azanian people in general. According to well-publicized reports at the time, the ANC guerrillas were guided into Zimbabwe by ZAPU guerrillas, carefully avoiding all contact with the Zimbabwean people, and then ditched by the ZAPU forces just before Ian Smith's soldiers arrived. In fact, when some of the surviving ANC soldiers managed to escape across the border into Botswana they were arrested and four of the chief witnesses against them at their trial were ZAPU members who had accompanied them into Zimbabwe.

The massive Soviet aid poured into the ANC to keep it alive was by no means a sign of their good intentions. In fact if anything it was ultimately in the Soviet imperialists' own interests since it held back the development of the revolutionary movement in Azania and promoted the Soviet image of being "a natural ally" of liberation movements in preparation for their eventual shift from mainly colluding with U.S. imperialism to principally contending with them.

By 1969 the SACP had managed to gain control of a large number of the leading positions in the ANC including having one of their leading members, Joe Slovo, placed in charge of military operations. And as the SACP made clear in a 1979 Central Committee statement cynically entitled "Long Live Proletarian Internationalism," the "aid" extended by the Soviet imperialists to the ANC and SACP was most definitely a two-way street, a matter of you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours. As opposed to genuine proletarian internationalism these pro-Soviet revisionists advanced the proposition that "We who are part of the liberation movement of South Africa must never fail to appreciate and insist that solidarity is a two-way process, that the aid and support which the socialist countries give so generously, and at the expense of their own material gains, to freedom fighters everywhere, can only be reciprocated by unswerving identifica-

tion with the socialist community in the common struggle against capitalism and imperialism." (U.S. imperialism that is.) Stripped of its rhetoric—this is a business deal. While the Soviets demanded "reciprocation" for their "aid and support" the ANC and SACP were more than willing to comply; in fact the ANC and SACP had developed into among the most ideologically committed of the various Soviet stooges around the world. In their numerous international affairs the ANC and SACP were constantly praising the aid of the Soviets, helping to build up their "anti-imperialist image." In a struggle between the Chinese revolutionaries and the Soviet revisionists in the early '60s the ANC and SACP faithfully sided with the Soviets. From that point they went on to continually attack China in various international forums for advancing "rather purile ideological propositions" and for "the sidetracking and disrupting of various international solidarity organizations by Chinese delegations who persist in dragging into gatherings of non-communists their alleged ideological campaign against the CPSU and the world communist movement." (Although the Chinese, even during the early '70s before the revisionists seized power in China, made a number of errors in relation to national liberation struggles, particularly in Africa, based on identifying the Soviets as the main danger in the world, especially in this period of the 1960s they were fiercely defending and upholding national liberation movements against imperialism and the Soviet revisionists' attacks on them.)

Stepped Up Contention

As stated previously, in the period between 1965 and 1975 the ANC and SACP were effectively non-existent inside Azania and existed internationally as straight-up mouthpieces for Soviet imperialism. But in 1976 the situation began to change. The shift in Soviet strategy from principally collusion to principally contention with U.S. imperialism was sharply reflected in southern Africa when the Soviets won a contest with the U.S. in grabbing at Angola. With this event the Soviet strategy for South Africa also shifted. Suddenly the ANC and SACP began to issue more frequent and louder calls for the "armed liberation of South Africa." Citing the "changed geopolitical situation in South Africa" they resumed their infrequent sabotage campaign and their calls to the Azanian people to rally around them. Soviet-orchestrated "emergency conferences against apartheid" and "solidarity conferences" were convened worldwide to reemphasize the legitimacy of the ANC and the SACP. Speaking at an Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in late 1976 ANC President Oliver Tambo issued a call for "intensification for mass action." And in a completely disgusting move to shore up their international reputation the ANC and SACP claimed that it was their work that led to the heroic Soweto uprisings. According to the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization Conference in October of 1976: "The uprising itself is a result of decades of political organizing among workers, peasants, women, youth, students and professionals by the ANC and its allies, making it possible for the people to become a concerted, organized force able to withstand the ruthless machinery of the South African police state." In attempting to get over with this claim the ANC and the SACP were reduced to covering their conspicuous non-involvement in Soweto by talking about how their underground cells must have been involved but obviously given the current situation they couldn't reveal any of the specific details. By 1977 *Sechaba*, the organ of the ANC, was reporting that the ANC national executive committee had summed up that "the revolutionary situation in our country has matured," and that "the revolutionary council has advanced its plans and subordinated every bit of its

activities to the urgent question of launching an armed struggle in our country." Calls were issued for "strengthening and tightening our organization"; a purge had been conducted in 1976.

Internationally the Soviets stepped up their PR campaign around the ANC and called for "intensifying the anti-apartheid work." A campaign was launched to have the Organization of African Unity (OAU) add its voice to the chorus singing the praises of the ANC as "the sole representative of the people of South Africa." For some time, the OAU has recognized both the ANC and the PAC. At the same time, and no doubt in the interests of "reciprocation," the ANC and SACP stepped up their campaign of praise for Soviet "aid." In early 1976 the *African Communist* was stating that "It has been the reality of Soviet power which had made it possible for one African country after another to break the shackles of imperialism and obtain independence." By the end of 1976 they were stating that the lessons of Angola were that "the power of the communist world was placed at the disposal of oppressed people fighting for liberation and independence." By the end of 1977 *Sechaba* was emphasizing "the armed struggle for the seizure of power" and Oliver Tambo delivered a speech in Angola in which he stated that a victorious revolution in Africa could only be defended with arms from "our most true and tested allies, the Soviet Union and Cuba."

Of course this period hasn't been all roses for the ANC and the SACP. Their long years of inactivity and their obvious subservience to Soviet imperialism was beginning to cause them some trouble. In response to criticism of their ties to the Soviets the ANC and SACP launched a "no room for anti-Sovietism in South Africa" campaign and declared that the Soviets were only helping because of their good, revolutionary—and heaven forbid competing imperialist—intentions. In the *African Communist* they made the almost ludicrous statement, "An even more striking example of Soviet disinterestedness (than the case in South Africa—RW) has been Cuba, today very largely dependent militarily and economically on Soviet aid, but yet completely independent in the development of its own policies... Who would dare assert that Fidel Castro, the liberator, is a Soviet stooge? Who would claim that Cuba is not building socialism according to its own designs?"

And in response to criticisms of their perennial calls for armed struggle but never producing any real moves in that direction, Oliver Tambo stated in *Sechaba* at the end of 1977, "Over the last 10 years the ANC has publicly advocated non-violence because of repression. Either we restrained our people or there would have been bloodshed and we would not have been prepared for it. We can say that at that stage we did more than most organizations in resisting the things that drove us to violence." Keeping in mind that these words were spoken more than one year after Soweto, one can only say that no better example of the slime that passes for "the vanguard of the liberation struggle" in the view of the Soviet imperialists could be found.

The sudden shift and posturing by the ANC and the SACP over the last six years had absolutely nothing to do with a turnaround on their part concerning the question of revolution. In fact it had everything to do with throwing more obstacles in the way of revolution and helping to advance the Soviet strategy for South Africa. Although the ANC attempted to claim the Soweto uprising as a product of their work, it was only to cut out any of the real significance of it. It was also around this time that the ANC publicly began to attack the name "Azania," in a big way, which was growing in popularity among revolutionary masses. Accord-

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Trial Set for Yellow Ribbon Burners

October 6 is the date set for the opening of the trial of two members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), Nancy Whitley and John Kaiser, in Eugene, Oregon. They have been slapped with a bogus charge of "first-degree arson" and they face maximum sentences of \$2500 fines and 20 years in jail apiece.

Last February, in the midst of all the hostage hoopla, ex-hostage spy Victor Tomseth came to the University of Oregon in Eugene. Tomseth was there to run out the typical imperialist line and, as an alumnus, was seen by those who run the city as a perfect conduit to sway the heads of the large middle-class intellectual and student population of the area with tales of the hostages' "ordeal" at the hands of the "barbarians." But as Tomseth stepped to the podium to talk, the two RCYB'ers rushed forward and lit a yellow ribbon on fire, shouting: "We stand with the Iranian people!" They were grabbed by the cops, but not before arousing great controversy and exposing Tomseth (who tried to resume amidst shouts of "CIA, CIA!").

It is the district attorney's contention

that this act, burning an 18-inch yellow ribbon, "recklessly placed 1,000 people in physical danger." The flimsiness of this line of prosecution is most starkly illustrated by the fact that the DA is trying very hard to keep the city fire marshal from *testifying*. Instead, his plan has been to agree ahead of time that there was indeed no structural damage done to the building by the burning ribbon, but to use the absence of technical testimony from the fire marshal to run his hysterical "recklessly endangering" riff.

Another maneuver by the DA has been to try to block all requests by the defense attorney for a joining of the two cases into one case—and for very good reasons. It just so happens that the undercover pig that arrested Nancy Whitley included in his written report of the incident the admission that there was no fire danger to the occupants of the auditorium. The DA's plan is to try to nail John Kaiser first, before going after Nancy.

In general, the DA has naturally been aided by trial judge Woodrich. The judge had initially agreed to hear a motion about throwing the case out altoget-

ther on the grounds of prosecutorial vindictiveness. When this was recently raised, he flatly denied ever agreeing to such a hearing. The defense lawyer protested, and even got the DA to remind the judge that he had agreed to hear the motion. The judge claimed that they were both mistaken. The defense lawyer protested again, and the judge spat: "Look, we don't *have to* allow it!" The motion? Never existed.

Meanwhile, outside the courtroom, the authorities have stepped up the level of intimidation on the lawyer and the defendants. Men in plainclothes have taken to sitting in front of the lawyer's house in non-descript Chevys. A number of his friends and co-workers in the legal field have been questioned and harassed. And, in an effort to let him know that they are indeed watching his every move, a couple of obvious police agents have taken to attending his every court case.

Even before the trial has started, the actions of the state have made clear that the real offense of the two RCYB'ers was the powerful illumination of the crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Iran.

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ing to the ANC "Azania" was an historically inaccurate name for the area comprising South Africa and was in fact a legacy of slavery. Instead, the ANC insisted that South Africa was the only correct name for the area. Once again what this revealed was the ANC's fundamental opposition to and denial of the national liberation struggle of the Azanian people and their dedication to working out a compromise power-sharing agreement.

Attacking Soweto Uprising

In summing up Soweto the SACP in the *African Communist* (first quarter of 1977) declared that this heroic mass uprising was plagued with the weakness of "extreme subjectivism" and a "go it alone tendency." While forced to try and claim it as their own internationally, they also had to totally gut its meaning for the people of Azania. In addition to emphasizing the power of the South African state in their sum up of the "lessons of Soweto" the SACP also declared that in order for Soweto to have had any real significance and in order to advance the struggle, "it is absolutely essential for the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM—which was heavily involved in leading the Soweto uprising—*BB*), if it is to continue to develop its mass character, to bring its adherents into the mainstream of revolutionary ideas and action in the revolutionary movement led by the ANC." While this was a clear effort to throw a wet blanket over the upsurge and revolutionary enthusiasm, thinking and action by Azanian youth, the ANC by no means limited themselves to feeble attempts at trying to lure in the BCM. While hoping to snare a new generation into their cesspool of revisionist treachery, the ANC also unleashed a furious attack on the BCM and its leaders. Throughout 1977 *Sechaba* routinely ran articles attacking the BCM as being "backed by the West" or as Alfred Nzo, the Secretary

General of the ANC, called them "new allies of imperialism" and "substitutes for the Bantustan leaders". According to Nzo, "some of those who only yesterday were hailed as the new revolutionary upsurge inside our country are now important allies of imperialism against the ANC." In addition to their general attacks on the BCM, the ANC tried to hit particularly hard at one of the leaders of the BCM, Steve Biko. (This attack came before he was murdered by the South Africa rulers. Of course, after his death the ANC did their damndest to try and claim his mantle as their own.) According to *Sechaba* (first quarter of 1977) Steve Biko was tied in with British liberals and by implication, to U.S. imperialism. With regard to campaigns to have him released from jail the ANC issued their objection stating that there were more well-known people in jail much longer than Biko had been. When Biko was released they stated in their slickest tones, "Watch with interest what happens to him now."

As another indication of the fact that the "new thrust" of the ANC and SACP had nothing to do with mobilizing the Azanian people for a genuinely revolutionary struggle there is the by-now infamous ANC-Buthelezi agreement. After having criticized Buthelezi, the Bantustan leader of Kwazulu, for being a wretched sellout and enemy of the Azanian people in 1977, the ANC then turned around in 1979 and joined forces with him in a "progressive front." Much after this agreement Buthelezi continued to advocate all of the things that the ANC had criticized him for in the past, including supporting Bantustan education, calling for an increase in foreign investment in South Africa, and advocating the use of South African police and armed vigilantes against striking school students. By September of 1980 the ANC was forced to once again turn around and denounce Buthelezi, using exactly the same

charges that they had used years before.

What's significant about both of these examples, the attack on the BCM, and Biko in particular, and the ANC's Buthelezi agreement, is what they reveal about the aims of the ANC. There's a common thread running through both instances, a thread tracing the ANC's desires to fulfill their own bourgeois aspirations. On the one hand they don't hesitate for a minute to unite with a well-exposed and infamous enemy of the Azanian people, Buthelezi, in an attempt to advance the very same bourgeois aspirations that led them to attack the BCM. More evidence of this is given by the ANC's and the SACP's attempts to nestle up to numerous Western European social democrats including Mitterand in France, Willy Brandt in West Germany and the ruling classes of the Scandinavian countries. Add to this the ANC's and SACP's recent joining in with the Progressive Federal Party (a liberal white bourgeois political party in South Africa) and other liberal organizations to call for a national convention in South Africa in order to write up a new constitution for South Africa and there can be no doubt about what the ANC is up to—and it is not opposing imperialism.

By 1981 the ANC once again announced with a tremendous amount of international fanfare that it was "taking up the armed struggle." And, once again they launched a campaign of infrequent sabotage. In addition, a number of Azanian youth who have been forced into exile have been drawn into the ANC due to its ready supply of Soviet arms and training and to the fact that the Soviet aid received by the ANC has enabled them to set up an extensive external network second to no other Azanian group. As an added incentive for exiled Azanians to join the ANC, both the ANC and various Soviet apologists around the world have been attempting to pressure other Azanian groups, particularly the BCM, to fold up their external organizations and join the ANC since, they say, there is really no way they could ever hope to achieve the backing and international legitimacy of the ANC.

And of course, this recent "intensification" of the ANC's work is in total harmony with the Soviet imperialists' strategy today, particularly as its preparations for war grow more intense. In fact, the Soviets have once again launched a massive PR campaign around the ANC. One of the main aspects of the campaign this time around is the series of international conferences being kicked off in New York City. These conferences are mainly aimed at furthering the Soviet strategy both by whipping up favorable public opinion worldwide for their spokesmen in Azania and by making a special appeal to the various bourgeois elements both within the U.S. and within their bloc who may be inclined to push for some kind of negotiated settlement with the ANC. This is evidenced by their heavy emphasis on drawing in bourgeois politicians like the Black Congressional Caucus and other bourgeois liberals to co-sponsor the event in New York.

For many familiar with the history and current policies and practices of the ANC and SACP and who are extremely wary of their ties to the Soviet Union the question around the ANC often boils down to "well there is no one else to support, no one else who is really taking up the gun in Azania. And, as for the Soviet connection, it is necessary if the Azanian people are ever going to achieve liberation, after all who else is going to give them guns?" In response to the necessity of Soviet aid in order to achieve liberation, one would be better off seriously examining the question of what country in the world has ever been independent of imperialist distortion and domination after being "aided" by the Soviets. And as far as the usual protest of "there's no one else to support" what is particularly marked about the Soviet attempts in South Africa is the attempt to attack, exclude and generally push out of the way any revolutionary nationalist forces who may oppose their schemes. This, combined with the whole history of revisionism in Azania, ought to shake the dust out of the minds of those who feel that this is the way to *oppose* imperialism.

“Quick Fix”

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by the U.S. Air Force up until very recently—to conceal the missiles in a maze of up to 4800 shelters to be constructed in the deserts of Nevada and Utah. Only 48 hours before Reagan announced the junking of this scheme, the *New York Times* had reported in a front-page “scoop” that Reagan was expected to go ahead with a scaled-down version of this “shell game” strategy. But Reagan cited the argument that the Soviets were capable of building enough missiles to take out any number of dummy silos to explain the rejection of this approach. This may be true; however, it is evident on the face of it that installing 100 MX missiles in stationary silos, the location of which is known precisely, does not “solve” what is supposed to be the “key question”: the vulnerability of the U.S.’s “strategic deterrent” to a “Soviet first strike.” The actual reasons for the Reagan administration’s MX decision, which are very revealing, may be summarized as follows:

In the first place, the U.S. imperialists have determined that it is impossible to delay MX deployment while awaiting lengthy construction of an elaborate shelter scheme, or implementation of many of the other proposed “basing modes”; the missiles must be deployed as soon as possible. The administration has made it clear that research and development will continue on such options as an “air-basing” system, which envisions the construction of huge aircraft which could fly around and serve as aerial launching pads. But MX installation cannot and will not wait for any of these fanciful schemes to bear fruit. What’s need is a “quick fix.”

The bottom line is that, while the MX is consistently referred to by the ruling class as a “strictly defensive weapons system,” the mission of which would be to deter any possibility of a successful Soviet “first strike,” the MX system contains no built-in hardware to prevent it from being fired first. The decision to rush the MX into the silos already constructed provides only one advantage to U.S. strategic war planners: The MX is a far more powerful and accurate missile than its Titan and Minuteman predecessors, and therefore it augments the U.S.’s own offensive war fighting capability.

Ironically, an important aspect of the imperialist logic behind the MX announcement involves a deliberate decision in favor of “vulnerable basing.” In the contorted theory of strategic nuclear exchange, this has become a major issue between the United States and its European NATO allies. European NATO is reluctant to give the go-ahead to the deployment of 572 U.S. Pershing medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, which the U.S. insists are essential as a counter-weight to the Soviet Union’s SS-20 missiles, which are based in Eastern Europe and have both medium and long-range capability. The European imperialists’ concern is that the deployment of the missiles on their territory makes a massive nuclear attack, with heavy consequences for the population and economy of Western Europe, practically inevitable; they are suspicious that the U.S. is maneuvering to divert the brunt of the Soviet nuclear strike force to Europe and away from U.S. territory. For this reason, the decision to deploy a complement of MX missiles on U.S. soil—missiles which must be a high-priority target for any Soviet strike—was cheered by NATO as a sign that the U.S. imperialists were really pretty good sports after all. Peter Jennings, reporting from London on NATO reaction to the MX decision, said that it was being attributed to the diplomacy and farsightedness of Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who has been pressing for such a move as a necessary step towards developing a “spirit of true cooperation and burden-sharing” within NATO.

The proposal to construct 100 long-range B-1 bombers to replace the 25-year-old B-52 is another clear illustration of U.S. imperialism’s scramble to

prepare as rapidly as possible for global strategic war. President Carter canceled plans to use the B-1 bomber in 1977, on the grounds that the program was too expensive, that the B-1 was not really qualitatively superior to the B-52, that the B-1 was likely to be outdated before it was deployed, and that the U.S. should devote its main resources to the long-range deployment of the so-called “Stealth” strategic bomber, which is scheduled for production in the early 1990s. The “Stealth,” its designers claim, will have the capacity to fly fast enough and low enough to elude Soviet air defense systems. The B-1 prototype promises no such advantage. The sole argument for reversing field on this issue in 1981 boils down to this: the U.S. cannot wait until 1991 or 1992 to get its new “super sophisticated” bomber. While plans for “Stealth” production are continuing unabated, the Reagan administration is calling for a crash program to produce 100 B-1s, at \$200 million a copy, to be deployed starting in 1985 or 1986. The B-1s will be equipped with the remote-controlled, low-flying Cruise missile, and so will be capable of firing into Soviet territory without actually hazarding the penetration of Soviet air space.

(The major contractor for the B-1 bomber is Rockwell International, a California-based company. All three television networks assigned camera crews to cover the hordes of Rockwell engineers massed to watch Reagan’s speech on TV. When Reagan announced the B-1 decision, the elated cheers of those who had “toiled for years” on this project were duly recorded for airing on the evening news. “When the B-1 appeared to be doomed in 1977,” ABC reported, “10,000 Rockwell employees lost their jobs. But Rockwell continued its research and development, and these project designers never lost faith. Now it appears that their jobs are secure for some time to come.” Thus ABC warmed the hearts of Main Street, assuring all that no weapons systems designer who is really willing to work hard will ever go hungry in this great land of ours.)

President Reagan, in his successive press conferences of October 1st and 2nd, referred on several occasions to the phrase “window of vulnerability” to describe a period of supposed maximum military opportunity for the Soviet Union which U.S. imperialist strategists have projected for the 1980s. The “window” doctrine first came to prominence in the strategic debate in 1978, when Henry Kissinger in a major speech warned that the Soviet military build-up would result in a “window of opportunity” for them. Kissinger cited alleged Soviet military superiority in Europe, the Soviet nuclear arms build-up, the dependence of the West on the Middle East “oil lifeline” subject to a potential Soviet military thrust, and deficiencies in U.S. military preparations. Since that time, the “window of vulnerability” has been raised to the level of a semi-official doctrinal consensus within U.S. imperialist ranks, and it has consistently been used as the major rationale for a wide array of proposals for a massive U.S. war mobilization effort—designed, of course, only for “defensive” purposes, and with the sole aim of “detering Soviet aggression” and “preserving world peace.” A major feature of the “window” doctrine, in all of its several variants, is the emphasis it places on the great likelihood that “push will come to shove,” leading to a general war, within a relatively narrow time frame in the relatively near future, and the consequent necessity for all-out preparations to be ready to wage such a war when it does break out. All of this is “old news” within strategic planning circles, and the first stages of the intensified U.S. build-up were already under way before President Reagan even took office. Thus, the decisions announced last week can hardly be described as “bolts from the blue.” Nevertheless, they represent a highly significant lurch forward in the direction of break-neck “emergency mobilization,” and Reagan’s deliberate bandying about of the “window of vulnerability” code phrase is obviously intended to leave no doubts about U.S. resolve in pursuing this course.

The military measures announced in Reagan’s October 2nd address capped a week of rapid developments on this general front. The day before, Reagan held his first press conference in 3 months, and delivered an appeal to Congress to support the administration’s proposed sale of Airborne Warning And Control Systems (AWACS) craft to Saudi Arabia. The sale is seen by the administration, for numerous reasons, as essential to the U.S. attempts to forge an “anti-Soviet strategic consensus” uniting Israel and the U.S.’s bourgeois Arab allies in the Middle East into a cohesive military and political bloc. But there is strong opposition to the sale from some imperialist quarters in the U.S., notably among those who are nervous about the reliability and predictability of the Saudi regime, and above all about its stability—the looming prospects that “another Iran” could be shaping up in Saudi Arabia. The issue has become a bone of contention within the ruling class. But in responding to critics who question the survivability of the Saudi regime, Reagan unexpectedly delivered what is being billed as “the Reagan Codicil to the Carter doctrine”: a pledge that the U.S. “will not permit Saudi Arabia to be another Iran.”

According to the *New York Times*, “Mr. Reagan’s allusion to the internal upheaval in Iran that toppled the Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi in 1979 was taken to mean that the president was now pledging to support the Saudi monarchy against internal as well as external threats. A White House aide said that this was indeed Mr. Reagan’s intention.” An “insider” analysis by Hedrick Smith in the *Times* added that “As the Reagan administration moves to persuade Congress and the nation to go along with an ambitious military build-up, the president and his advisors are also moving step by step to change foreign perceptions of American willingness to use military power when vital interests are at stake.

“And whatever misgivings the administration may still have about American military capacity, Mr. Reagan appears to have decided that an assertion of American will, such as he made today, is an essential element of protecting friends and deterring adversaries.”

The obvious implication of the new “Reagan commitment” is that U.S. military forces will be brought to bear to prevent a revolution or an unfriendly coup in Saudi Arabia—and, by extension, in other “vital” outposts, such as Egypt, where the “spectre of Iran” threatens also. But this leads back to one of the cardinal aims of the “strategic consensus” approach in the Middle East: establishing a strong U.S. military presence on the ground. A mounting chorus of opinion within imperialist ranks has been pointing out that the faltering progress towards achieving the nirvana of “strategic consensus” would be sped up appreciably if the U.S. were right there “encouraging” its allies at the point of a bayonet. The Reagan “commitment” to Saudi security may, therefore, be a signal that the U.S. will try to ride roughshod over the objections of Egypt and others against the direct stationing of strategic American

ground forces on their territories; at the very least, the U.S. will be casting about for some means of putting teeth into its “commitment.” It seems clear, at any rate, that Reagan’s “codicil to the Carter doctrine” is more than just political rhetoric designed to allay congressional fears over putting AWACS into the hands of a regime that may be overthrown next week.

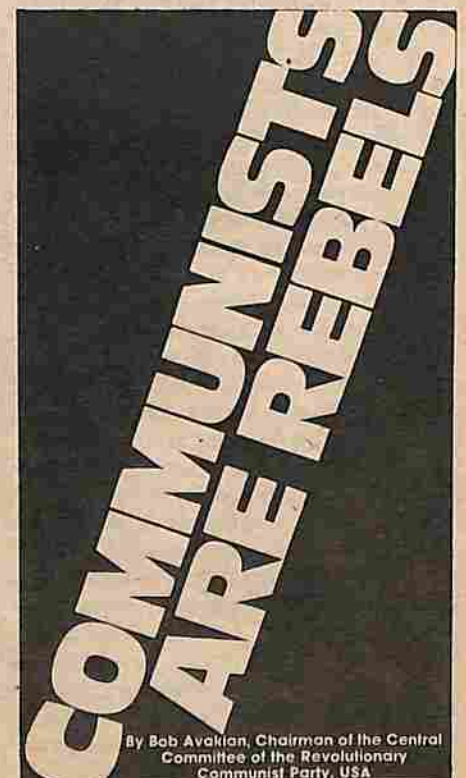
Reagan’s back-to-back press conferences of Thursday and Friday came on the heels of the Haig-Gromyko discussions, the first high-level contact between the U.S. and the Soviet Union since the Reagan administration took office. The discussions were described as “frank and business-like.” This piece of diplomatic coding is intended to be read: “Look at the bright side—no blows were exchanged.” The two sides did agree, as expected, to begin negotiations on Theater Nuclear Force (TNF) levels in Europe later this year, but there is no indication that anyone is thinking that the negotiations are likely to be productive. The meeting between Haig and Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, was preceded by their respective speeches before the United Nations General Assembly, where each outlined in moving terms the peace-loving nature of his own imperialist foreign policy and castigated the aggressive designs of the other’s; the meeting had not yet concluded when the Defense Department released a 99-page full-color brochure rehashing the familiar “chilling facts” about the Soviet military build-up. A spokesman for the Defense Dept. said that the plan was to see this brochure “on every coffee table in America.” The Soviet news agency, Tass, in its review of the Pentagon’s book, said it was “unbalanced” and “showed signs of having been produced in a hurry.”

Well, it probably was done in a hurry; both U.S. and Soviet imperialism, of necessity, are in a great hurry to batten down the hatches and go into the coming conflict swinging as much clout as they can muster. One can imagine how desperately U.S. imperialism, as it prepares to hurl head-first through a plate-glass “window,” wants to believe its own propaganda version of mass opinion in this country: cheering Rockwell workers and loyal citizens proudly displaying Dept. of Defense publications on their coffee tables. And abroad, the citizenry of Iran yearning for the return of the Pahlavi dynasty, peaceful Saudi nomads who just adore the monarchy, Egyptians who believe that Anwar Sadat is a “great world statesman,” Europeans proud to “bear their share of the burden of defense,” Salvadorans impressed with Duarte’s “democratic credentials”... if only the whole world were “Main Street”! But it isn’t. For the imperialists, the world is just one long, dark alley, and millions and millions of muggers are lurking in the shadows.

A Letter from RCP Chairman
Bob Avakian to His Parents
On Philosophy, Religion,
Morals, and Continuous
Revolution

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Duarte

Continued from page 3

forces in the Salvadoran opposition, Duarte stressed his willingness to negotiate with opposition leaders—if they meet certain conditions: “The armed groups have to define themselves, whether they want democracy or they want struggle. Definitely (the junta) is ready to negotiate with the Democratic Revolutionary Front as long as it abandons arms.” After an OAS meeting in Washington, Duarte said, “The FDR, if it considers itself to be a political force and has honestly decided to collaborate in the pacification of the country, should abandon its armed actions, register as a political party and accept electoral debate... We can’t dialogue with people who put the machine gun on the negotiating table.” And in the previously noted Spanish-language TV commercial, Duarte said, “I called upon the FDR to stop supporting the terrorists and... join the effort to save the country. I called upon the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, the guerrilla wing of the opposition—RH), the armed forces of the terrorist sector, these people can also join in the national effort if they abandon violence. That’s the revolution that the Salvadoran people want.”

The point behind the generous “offers” is the same as the point behind the effort to transform Duarte’s image—a desperate attempt by the U.S. to gain the political offensive in El Salvador and their Central American “backyard” generally, an area where they are increasingly on the political defensive. Their very attempts to deal with a situation spinning out of their control have led to more exposure and opposition, not only in Central America but around the world, including within the U.S. and other U.S.-bloc imperialist countries such as Western Europe. The junta is not only

politically exposed in the extreme but is unable to gain any decisive military victory in the country even with massive U.S. aid. The Salvadoran economy too is in shambles, with inflation and unemployment running rampant and the agricultural export industries of coffee, cotton and sugar—the main part of an economy that is virtually totally dependent upon imperialism—are in severe decline from a combination of depressed world market prices and internal political activity. The U.S.’ inability to stabilize the situation is exacerbating splits within El Salvador’s ruling class, and among the U.S.’ European imperialist allies. France’s role in the recent French-Mexican joint declaration recognizing the FDR/FMLN as a “representative political force” in part represented some of the differences among the Western imperialists over El Salvador while also playing a role on behalf of the U.S. in opening a door for certain forces in the FDR to come to terms with the U.S.

This is a very serious situation for the U.S., especially in the greater context of its overall efforts to pull it all together for world war with its Soviet imperialist rivals. In fact, their situation has some similarities with the difficulties that the Soviets have suffered over Poland. But the catch for the U.S. is that in El Salvador, they are widely recognized as the brutal imperialist aggressor—not very helpful when you are trying to get across the perception that the other imperialist superpower is the aggressor and the “cause” of the coming military showdown they are both feverishly preparing for. And quite naturally, the Soviets are making use of the U.S.’ crisis in Central America to increase their influence over class forces which have historically been part of the U.S.



Graffiti on sign in El Salvador—“Death to Imperialism”.

social base there, and to use that to further their influence within Western Europe as well.

It is painfully obvious to the U.S. that their isolation in Central America is extremely harmful to their overall objectives. Some of this is the inevitable result of the U.S.’ military escalations last January, their desperate effort to “draw the line in El Salvador” against popular uprisings and Soviet success in making use of the fact that these uprisings are directed against the U.S. Undoubtedly, the U.S. realized it would have to pay a political price for this emphasis on the military component of their strategy in Central America, but their political losses in the area required a hard-line response. But, as in all other parts of the world, imperialism is not limited to a one-dimensional approach. Even as they carried out their military escalations, there was a “diplomatic” component to their effort, especially in trying to lean on the bourgeois class forces in the Salvadoran opposition, such as those represented by FDR President Guillermo Ungo, a social-democrat and former junta member, to in effect bludgeon them into coming to terms with the U.S. and its junta, limit the Soviet maneuverings among these forces, and hopefully buy some temporary stability in El Salvador. Even at this time all diplomatic doors were not closed to those such as Ungo.

Now, Duarte’s visit and “offers” of negotiations, elections, etc., represent the U.S. urgently trying to make some headway on the “diplomatic” side in the hopes of strengthening its political arsenal. The stronger the U.S. political position is in El Salvador and Central America the better position it will be in, including militarily (which is the bottom line after all), to hold on to its “backyard” and defeat its Soviet rivals. Of course, further military escalations in El Salvador are hardly out of the picture; in fact, the junta is slated to receive more military hardware—such as helicopter gunships and electronic sensors—and new military options are being furiously studied, including possibly an “inter-American force” organized by the OAS. But there are real dangers in this course, including the possibility of sparking off conflagrations throughout Central America and up into Mexico, getting the U.S. (and its puppets in El Salvador and elsewhere) bogged down in an extended war with no immediate victory in sight—hardly conducive to their worldwide preparations.

The particular emphasis of Duarte’s call for a “political solution”—that is, the proposed 1982 elections and the insistence on “abandoning arms”—is a try at taking the wind out of the sails of the Soviet (along with their Cuban


frontmen’s) efforts at their own version of a “political solution”—to get their most-trusted revisionists in the FDR/FMLN in a position of shared power in El Salvador, including their demand for a restructuring of the military that would put some of these forces in high positions in the Salvadoran army. So far, the FDR/FMLN has rejected Duarte’s “offer”; Guillermo Ungo called it a form of “pacification by death.” But Ungo has reiterated his desire for “negotiation in whole terms,” stating that this “presupposes the cessation of state terrorism as an essential prerequisite.” Given the stakes involved, the U.S. will undoubtedly try to make much more use of the “diplomatic” component in its current maneuverings around El Salvador.

The role of Mexico and its President José Lopez-Portillo in all this may yet loom quite large. The *New York Times* reported that, according to an unidentified U.S. official, Reagan and Lopez-Portillo had discussed what to do about El Salvador during “informal discussions” at the dedication of the Ford Presidential Museum on September 17 and 18. Then, when Reagan subsequently met with Duarte, “President Reagan raised with Mr. Duarte the possibility of a role for Mr. Lopez-Portillo in future negotiations to end the Salvadoran civil war, according to the official,” said the *Times*. *Excelsior* was more explicit, saying that Reagan and Lopez-Portillo had come up with a plan for Mexico to “influence Ungo” to “face a negotiating process” with Duarte and the Salvadoran military. And *Excelsior* also quoted a State Department spokesman saying that the U.S. was ready to unite with Mexico and other countries to “provide good offices capable of helping the Salvadorans in the search for a political solution...” There is no doubt that Mexico’s much-vaunted “support” for the Salvadoran opposition will be made use of by the U.S. overlords.

All this talk of “political solution” is indeed striking when one realizes that its purpose—for all the imperialists involved—is to put themselves in the best position for their overall “military solution,” and on a world scale at that. However, the fact that they are forced into such desperate tactical scrambling opens the door wide for further exposure of their reactionary nature and that of their dependent lackeys. Duarte’s sad-eyed lies coupled with the imperialists’ diplomatic maneuverings and their massive bloodletting in El Salvador are but two sides of the same counter-revolutionary coin and both are but means to the same bloodthirsty ends. □

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Aleuts

Continued from page 9

ment. A lawyer who testified before the Commission ran down a list of "who's who, who knew": "The highest of officials in the Interior Dept. and the territorial government knew full well in minute detail the conditions that existed in these camps. The Governor visited Funter Bay himself, and the Attorney-General of Alaska was there as well. The Director of the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service made a personal tour of the Funter Bay camps. There were scathing reports by territorial health officials, by medical inspectors and others. Yet virtually nothing was done. Throughout this ordeal, military censorship was used to prevent the general public from finding out about the conditions at Funter Bay." A case in point: when fishermen approached the Aleuts' camp at Funter Bay, the federal agent in charge, Benson, pulled out his shotgun and held it on the fishermen, making it plain that if they wanted to save their skins they'd turn right around and shove off, which they did.

From Prison Camp to Occupied Territory

Finally the Pribilofians were returned to their homes in May 1944, the rest of the Aleuts in May 1945. They returned home to a military occupation. 167,000 troops were stationed at Unalaska alone. They returned to their villages unable to resume their former lives; all means of livelihood has been destroyed. A white, long-time resident of Unalaska was furious at the Aleuts' treatment at the hands of the U.S. military: "It was at the time that they were gone that their homes were vandalized...I boarded their homes up, and that was the immediate thing that they (military—RW) tore open again...The people returned with practically nothing. I represented the Red Cross at the time. I had blankets and coats and some clothing, and I wired to the head office in Seward for permission to give this material to these people. And they said it was only to be used for cases of disaster and not to give it to anyone. But I figured it was a disaster. I took the lock off of my warehouse and I told them I was going downtown, I wouldn't be back for two or three hours. Then when I came back, there was nothing left. But nothing was said about the supposed sacking of Red Cross material. I also represented the International News during the war. I got a scoop of the bombing (of Dutch Harbor—RW) that I couldn't use. I also took pictures of the houses, the homes, the damage that was done. They even confiscated the pictures and I couldn't use that material. That says something

about the United States Army."

In Nikolski, the small whaling industry had been completely dismantled and a few houses built in its stead to make sure it could never be rebuilt. As an Aleut described in her testimony, "Herring salteries and fox hunting were the basis of the economy of the villages evacuated. And fishing, tidal food harvesting, caribou hunting and seal hunting were for subsistence, essential to sustain the villages throughout the year. Foxes, caribou and seals were killed in great number by servicemen...Herring spawn and tidal-harvest food were literally wiped out by the oil spills perpetually lining the beaches with about a foot of black goo coming from the newer ships plying the waters in the vicinity of the Aleutian Islands." The process has not been reversed but intensified. For example, in 1972 the Alaska Limited Entry Law was passed, which does not permit anyone without a history of commercial fishing to fish commercially without purchasing a license. Due to the evacuation, the disruption of their economy and the destruction of all their fishing gear, the Aleut people, fishermen for 9000 years, do not "have a history of commercial fishing." Licenses cost them anywhere from \$60,000 to \$300,000.

The Aleuts who inhabited Attu were relocated and interned by another conquering army, the Japanese imperialists. 42 in all were captured. Less than half returned. Their conditions were no different from those of the refugees in the U.S. One man explained, "I ate out of garbage cans to survive." Another woman, overcome with emotion after testifying, was furious, "I meant to tell them that they chopped our church down to the ground. I meant to tell them my two babies died, starved to death. I lost my father, my brother-in-law, my sister..." In World War 2 the Aleuts learned very well that imperialist "liberators" are all alike.

Once returned to the Aleutians, Attuans were forbidden by the U.S. government to return to their village at Attu. It was too far for the government to be able to "care" for the Attuan people. "We couldn't keep them well supplied," they wailed. Of course they managed to keep Shemya Airforce Base, located on the western end of the Aleutian chain, well supplied. Four other villages were also forbidden to be re-inhabited. The people of Nikolski had to fight for "permission" to rebuild their village.

The internment of the Aleuts led to great destruction of the people and their culture. A woman testifying explained, "In the case of the Aleuts from time immemorial, they were the longest-lived people and had the least proportionate number of infant deaths in the northern country. Look at the number of both age groups that were lost either by death or by hospitalization for TB and other

diseases during the evacuation. The number returning to the villages was further reduced by people staying in southeast (Alaska) for employment. Also, many women didn't return because they had military husbands. Children had to stay in southeast for school. The result was few people returning. Important leaders were lost, which played a very important part in Aleut society, lots of old people, children, and women of child-bearing age. Survival of the Aleuts was always a community effort...it was because of community effort that the race survived and flourished for thousands of years. The evacuation not only interrupted the culture, it devastated it...Every facet of life that was disrupted has not been the same since, from the family and community unit to transportation, education, health care, the economy, housing...a few coins, a placement in a history book and a monument are not enough."

Lenin said that war reveals all that is dead in institutions. So it was in the case of the Aleut people. Tale upon tale, a vivid picture of what imperialism and imperialist war have meant for the indigenous people here. In preparation for the hearings, the Commission had done all it could to keep the testimony within the bounds they had planned, a little personal tragedy, a few errors on the part of the government. And "censorship" continued—the story of the murderous evacuation and internment of the Aleut people was barely to be found on the TV news or in the press, even locally. It was to remain hidden in the Federal Archives, at least kept within the four walls of whatever room the hearings were held in. And in case a little too much slipped out to the masses of people, locally it was overshadowed by coverage of *Military Appreciation Week* in Anchorage! Shopping-mall displays of tanks, and special recruiting tables, interviews with generals and local military officialdom, were a constant reminder that the purpose of these hearings for the government was to prepare for their next inter-imperialist war.

For the hearings on the Pribilof Islands, the bourgeoisie took even greater measures to confine them. The bourgeoisie expected "trouble" at that hearing, and so the government scheduled it so that the only way to get there without missing another hearing, was to charter a plane. (Meanwhile they travelled by military aircraft with "just the number of seats we needed.") The only member of the press present at the hearing was from the *Tundra Times*, the newspaper for Alaska's natives. His plane fare was paid for by the Aleuts themselves. Behind the scenes, the bourgeoisie pulled strings and made threats. In at least one case, a government official informed an Aleut that they were prepared to take drastic measures if he told his story to anyone.

In sync with the imperialists' bounds, the Japanese-American Citizens League (JACL) prepared and distributed "Suggested Guidelines For All Testimony." They read in part: "Don't draw comparisons (e.g., Holocaust, Sioux Nation, Black slavery) that will invite questions which may prove difficult to answer. Keep in mind the make-up of the commissioners." And later, "Don't get verbose in condemning the government's actions in 1942 (e.g., "One of the greatest constitutional injustices in the history of the U.S.") because this type of statement, like the legal argument, is too vulnerable to a challenge by the commissioners...the effects of the government's action and rationale should be condemned in light of the personal tragedies it created." In every hearing, people testifying broke the stifling bounds of the imperialists. Each time this happened, the audience responded with enthusiastic applause or by congratulating the speaker. One Aleut thoroughly ripped the velvet glove off the hand of the Commission and threw its mailed fist right back into its face. "I have to hit a little bit on the Aleut culture, history, because I feel everything is interrelated, whether it's the Japanese who were put in camps or whether it's Black people who were

under slavery, or whether it's a lot of people in this world today who are under slavery." She went on, "Under the Americans, before the evacuation, we could not leave the islands without permission. We had to have permission from Washington, D.C. And you can say that's democracy in this country? Huh! I didn't know what else. But when I got off the islands, when I saw the rest of the country didn't have it either, I learned real fast after I left the islands."

Overall, and in dramatic contrast to the line pushed by the JACL and others at the Japanese internment hearings, there was virtually no mention of loyalty by the Aleuts. Rather broadly among the Aleuts, there is an intense hatred and distrust of the U.S. government. Those who testified were more than a little skeptical as to the outcome of the hearings themselves, but determined to expose to the light of day the hands of the U.S. government, dripping with the blood of an entire indigenous people. One Aleut explained to the RW, "I was skeptical about testifying but I decided to because the government did the same thing to Blacks, to Japanese, in Vietnam, probably in Korea too but I don't know too much about what happened there."

While the Aleut people have never had illusions about the "benevolence" of U.S. imperialism, there are contradictory views on how to deal with the imperialists and some express the notion that they can somehow get control of their islands back through economic "reforms." One of the sharpest examples of this is that today, the Aleut economy, including their landholdings, is tied to the Aleut Corporation, one of 12 corporations set up among native peoples of Alaska as part of the 1971 land claim settlement. While an analysis of this settlement is beyond the scope of this article, overall it is a more disguised form of the consistent imperialist treatment of indigenous people: "Give them some land, then take it back." In this case, while the land was given to the natives, it was tied to corporations—if the corporations fail to become solvent, i.e., milk the resources and exploit the people to the max, when they are bankrupt and/or in 1991, all the native corporations become open stock for any buyer, so any major financial institution would have no trouble in quickly buying controlling interest. This corporate scheme is promoted by the imperialists and their agents and feeds certain illusions among a section of Aleuts that the land claims represent a chance of financial independence for their people. This was particularly true of a section of the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, which coordinated testimony for the hearings, passed out the JACL guidelines for testimony, and reprinted sections of it in their newsletter.

The hearings were supposed to tie the Aleut people more securely to imperialism's coattails, at least give the government a somewhat less offensive image in the eyes of Aleuts. The Aleutian Islands are now more strategic than ever before. Shemya Airforce Base lies only a short distance from the key Soviet Port of Petropavlovsk, home of all the ballistic missile submarines in the Soviet Pacific fleet. Adak Island, about midway in the Aleutian chain, is a key U.S. naval base and, like Shemya, was crucial to the U.S. in World War 2.

But the political questions posed by the exposure of the internment stood in sharp relief to the plans and needs of the bourgeoisie—with more than a few Aleuts breaking out of the bounds set and tilling some very fertile soil for the revolutionary line of the international proletariat.

As our airplane took off from the Dutch Harbor Airport on Unalaska, I looked out at the dozens of quonset huts, abandoned Fort Mears, and the rest of the skeletal remains of World War 2. I remembered how struck we were by the lack of American flags in Unalaska, and the great warmth with which we were received by the Aleuts, the lively discussions about world war, revolution and communism. And I smiled to myself, oh no, bourgeoisie, this one is far from being sewn up for you.

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 2 p.m.

Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University
and New York City, November 20, 21, & 22

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Behind the Blueprint Revelation

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At this time, the bourgeoisie had already made their widely publicized show of force and had demonstrated the intention to jam their nukes down the throats of the world's people. At the same time, at the blockade itself, then still in full swing, there were deep political rumblings challenging the patriotic "loyal opposition" line which had held sway and been promoted on the media together with the imperialists' message about the "futility" of opposing them. And more, the events around Diablo had tenaciously raised what the *Times* sneeringly refers to as "theological questions"—stripped of the *Times*' sarcastic arrogance, one can read that as "questions of principle." For millions who witnessed the performance of the imperialists at Diablo, big questions were indeed raised, questions like why the hell should the imperialists insist on their deadly nukes, and why are they planning yet another world war, and how do we put a stop to them? Yes, they had to throw down the gauntlet at Diablo, as we pointed out in *RW* No. 121: "They are compelled to enter dangerous waters by the intensification of world events, and their necessity to wage world war. Their drive to open Diablo has to be seen in the same light, as part of the same political attacks on the masses, as their announcement of their plans to assemble the neutron bomb... and carries with it the potential for some of the same explosive political shocks." But, now it was high time to shift the "focus" of things. There were other big problems to attend to, which their own necessity to draw the line so sharply at Diablo had in fact exacerbated for them.

As the *Times* is quick to point out, the blockaders are only a relatively tiny, if concentrated, segment of the widespread public outrage over the imperialists' nuclear policies and everything that's connected to them, especially nuclear warfare. The *Times* editorial pointed to a demonstration by "locals" against the Diablo plant as symbolic of this widespread anger, saying, "With these silent protestors in mind... we hope the court insists on one last rigorous examination of the doubts that

have been raised about Diablo Canyon." And the editorial ended ominously: "Until the nuclear industry learns to deal with these small questions (like doubts on safety—*RW*) it will never satisfy the public about the sort of big question that was raised at Three Mile Island."

All this must have been a bit painful for the bourgeoisie. "Look," the editorial seems to be saying between the lines, "doubts exist, like it or not. And since they do—and very widely—better talk about these doubts on the level of 'small questions' like safety, than on the level of big questions like why should we hold political power!" If there must be a debate, the bourgeois logic seems to be that the imperialists can live with a debate about safety.

And beyond that, as the editorial points up at its end, not only can they live with this debate, but they *have* to. Their nukes are deadly timebombs, and they know it. If another Three Mile Island happens, they won't be able to sweep away "theological questions"—profound questioning and hatred of the crimes of imperialism—with one quick note from the editor's typewriter. In connection with this, it's quite possible that the *Times* editorial also reflects real contradictions in the upper echelons over how to proceed now that the necessary force has been brought down to make their political point to the masses. Not that any of them give a damn about the safety of millions affected by their nukes (building Diablo Canyon right next to an earthquake fault had certainly demonstrated that), but another Three Mile Island would be a *political* catastrophe that they do want to avoid! For this reason, some bourgeois forces may be pushing for more—the very minimum, or at least a good show—of "safety."

The discovery by PG&E engineers of safety problems occurred on Friday, two days after the *L.A. Times* editorial was published. Also preceding the discovery by only a few days were the court hearings pushed through by Governor Brown focusing also on the safety question (these are referred to in the editorial). Did these creeps already have

wind that something was about to break at Diablo? Were they already moving to make the best of a bad situation?

In any case, whether or not the *Times*—and Brown—had specific knowledge of the earthquake support problems, the blueprint scandal and federal investigation of the plant is in fact accomplishing the "one last rigorous examination of the doubts that have been raised about Diablo Canyon" which the *Times* called for. ("Last," that is, before finally opening it, which they still certainly intend to do, although, given the depth of this latest fuck-up, this may take awhile. If they can avoid it, the imperialists do not want to back off of Diablo.) And while it is necessary for them to do this, and it may represent some contradictions among them, it would be foolish to think that this signifies any real trend to back off their program to go ahead with these nuclear reactors. Likewise, while they have opened up the safety questions around Diablo, it must be pointed out that the timing of this announcement came shortly before Reagan's announcement about going ahead with the MX missile and the B-1 bomber—which is certainly a more direct avenue for them to raise the "theological" questions of world war and so on, in their preferred imperialist fashion.

Though the blueprint errors appear to be real—and in fact quite typical of the anarchic mess that the imperialists have made of their nuke—the timing and publicity given to the announcement is a matter of decision—and quite a gamble at that. In the past there have been other major errors, as well as severe "routine" damage done to the environment by the reactor, but these were never given this kind of publicity. At one point, PG&E even sought to literally camouflage damage done during construction of the plant by painting over ground scars with green paint. But this time the imperialists have decided to risk it, and bring all this out in the open to "dispel the doubts."

At the same time, the imperialists clearly intend to attempt to turn this to political advantage. The blueprint scandal, as the *San Francisco Chronicle* put

it in its front-page story, "raised the possibility of a whole new set of legal challenges by anti-nuclear groups...." This kind of legal, red-white-and-blue opposition is something the imperialists certainly can tolerate. After all, didn't Jerry Brown, who first threw out the figure of 10,000 police and National Guard to enforce the "peace" at Diablo, also announce that only legal "opposition" to Diablo would be tolerated? Thus, Mr. Brown, among others, would be more than happy to try to make the point that his action in the courts was responsible for such a "revelation" of safety problems at Diablo (which came as a surprise to no one) to say that "democracy works after all." This was a theme, we might add, which was put out on a national news program at the start of the blockade, where a spokesman from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, lying through his teeth about how sound the construction at Diablo was and trying to make the point that the blockade was a useless ritual, said that the "environmentalists had been very helpful in making sure that the proper safety precautions had been taken." There have always been opposing trends within the anti-nuke movement itself, one focusing on the connections with nuclear weapons and war, and one narrowed to safety and other much narrower problems. Undoubtedly some effort will be made to use the blueprint scandal to strengthen the most narrow and backward trend in the anti-nuke movement and more broadly, the idea that people should oppose nukes because "they're in your backyard"—to hell with the people of the world and such "unrealistic" things as doing away with imperialism.

But what makes all this almost laughable is that, in reality, exposing this ridiculously messy and deadly error will hardly "dispel doubts." They can hope that the scandal will demonstrate their "rigor." But the fact that the imperialists must now reveal their stupidities, really shows how deeply they are enmeshed in contradiction, and how ripe they are for the garbage heap of history.

Bob Avakian

Continued from page 1

the defendants would have been spared the expense of these hearings." Positively touching! If the prosecutor's motion is granted it would leave (for now) pre-trial hearings only on selective prosecution and bad faith prosecution.

This kind of maneuver aimed at preventing a pre-trial hearing on a motion to dismiss the indictments is an almost literally unheard of move. But this isn't the first such "unheard of move" by the government in this case and it won't be the last—as it squirms between the twin rocks of its own determination to ram this railroad through and its desire to avoid the exposure these very moves bring upon it.

While the whole trial promises to be highly political, this hearing will be one special high point of exposure of the legally rotten and politically motivated government case. In this hearing the defense intends to bring to light the facts and political motivation behind the government's attack on the 1979 demonstration. Government documents will be produced to show surveillance and harassment of the RCP and Bob Avakian. Communications between government agencies will be subpoenaed to determine how and by whom the order was given to keep the demonstration from reaching its legal destination—the White House, where Carter and Deng were meeting. That such orders to attack could not possibly have been given by such distinguished government officials may be a bit harder to pretend these days with the recent revelations of Nixon's plots to send goons to "bust

up" demonstrators in May 1971. Jimmy Carter has been subpoenaed to appear in this case to tell of all this. Obviously precious international relations between the U.S. and the latest member of its war bloc—China—are very much involved here. The FBI has just said that they are reviewing some of the surveillance material they were supposed to release on account of "dangers to national security." Much of the exposure that comes to light here would add force to Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. No wonder the government is seeking to avoid all this in the dismissal hearing and then will proceed to try to bar it all from the trial itself as "irrelevant to the facts"—when it is obviously at the heart of the matter.

The contortions of the prosecution to do this are getting truly remarkable. In their motion against the hearing they cite as an argument a quote from an earlier appeals court decision on "prosecutorial vindictiveness" in this case. This court, in passing, had said back in October 1980 in a footnote that it "found little merit" in the other defense motions for dismissal, along with prosecutorial vindictiveness. Since this was flagrantly out of line and out of the jurisdiction of that court—which had been considering arguments only on vindictiveness—the defense had immediately gotten this footnote struck from the official decision. Of course, that didn't deter Mary Ellen Abrecht, who cited it anyway in her motion to the judge, saying only that this footnote had been "unnecessary."

Going further still, the prosecution

argues that "dismissal of the charges against six of the originally indicted defendants (six who had not been identified as principals in assaults—*RW*) and dismissal of seven counts (in which the principal attacker was unidentified—*RW*) moots some of the defendants' arguments for dismissal." In other words, all the problems are now resolved—the prosecution has made it even clearer that this is a purely criminal case.

Bob Avakian—Only Remaining "Aider and Abettor"

But far from "mooting" the defendants' grounds for dismissal, the prosecution's streamlining of this case, their attempt to clean up some of its ragged edges, only further highlights the political motivation of their attack and their zeroing in on Bob Avakian. When the prosecution dismissed the charges against six of the defendants—all six from among the eight so-called "aiders and abettors" who were not cited with any specific criminal act in the indictment—the ruling class made it even clearer that Bob Avakian, one of only two "aiders and abettors" remaining in the indictment, is the focus of their attack. And most recently, the prosecution has even leaked out that it considers Tina Fishman, who had been thought to be the only other "aider and abettor" remaining in the indictment, to be a "principal" in the case. This makes it even more obvious that the focus of their attack is on Bob Avakian, the *sole* remaining "aider and abettor."

At the recent hearing the prosecution was hard pressed to explain why, if this is as they say a non-political "criminal case," Bob Avakian, who is not charged with any specific criminal act, remains in the indictment. Once again the prosecutor let the cat out of the bag: "He's the leader" and "He gave the or-

ders." No politics here!

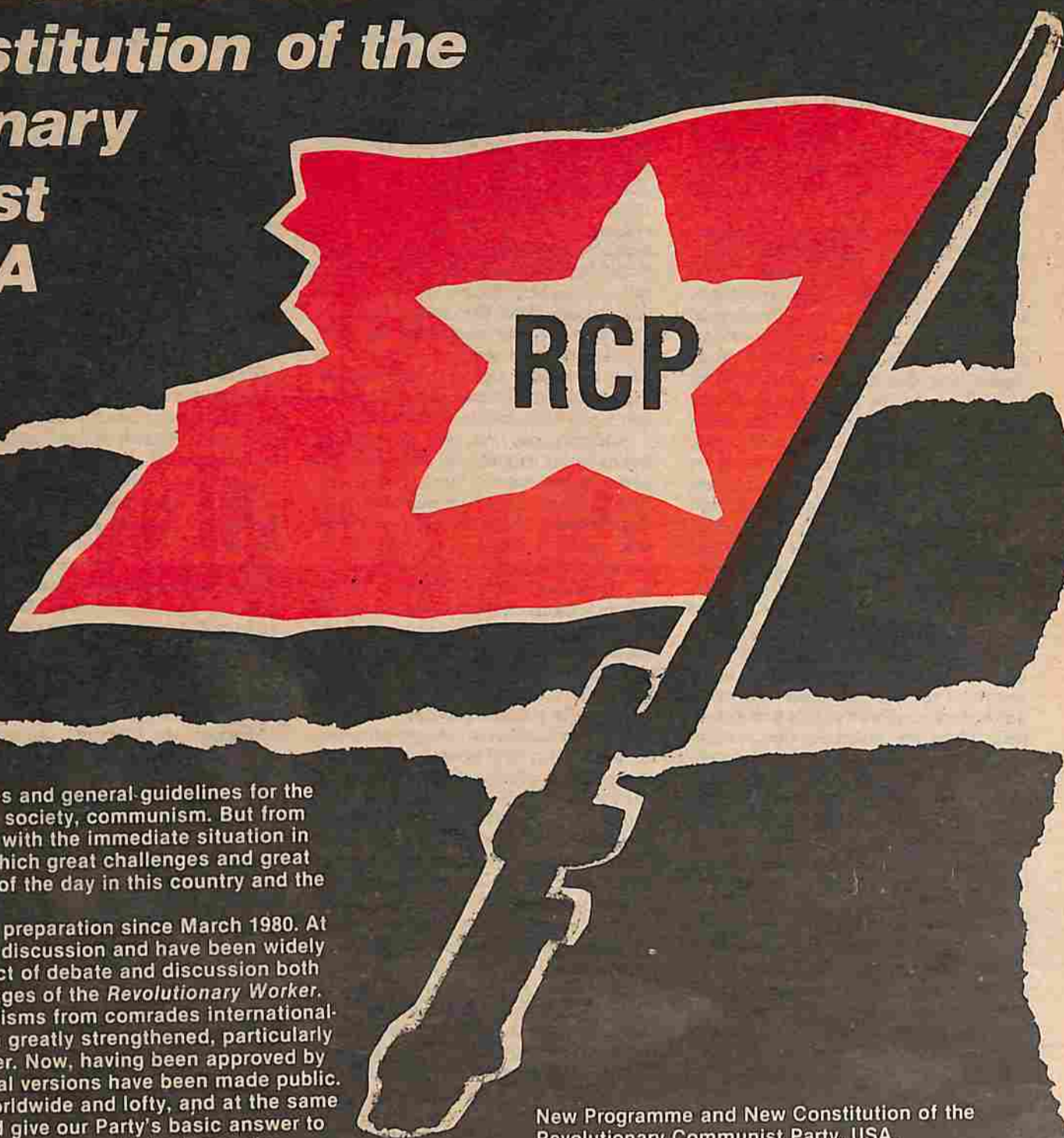
The prosecution also claimed in this hearing that it has only been the defendants, not the prosecution, that has been making a big deal out of distinguishing between "aiders and abettors" and "principals." Apparently the prosecution is hoping for an epidemic of amnesia so that no one will recall their own earlier statements. In July of 1979, for example, in arguing against the joining into one trial of the then separate indictments of these two groups of defendants, Mary Ellen Abrecht had said, "These are two separate indictments; these are two different types of cases... there would be a hardship, a great confusing of issues... (if the two were mixed together—*RW*)."

Taken together, the essence of these two prosecution arguments cited just above is clear: "Evidence? What does that count for? We're the bourgeois state and we aim to get you!"

The hearing on the dismissal motion will play an important part in the overall campaign to overturn the railroad once and for all. As far as the ruling class is concerned, it will not occur. It should be noted that it was on the eve of these same pre-trial hearings in 1979 that the ruling class was forced to temporarily retreat and maneuver in their attack. While this forced retreat was due to the whole political climate created against the railroad, undoubtedly one aspect of their decision to temporarily back down was that they did not want to risk the major political exposure entailed in these hearings in that climate.

The question of whether or not this pre-trial dismissal hearing will occur will be formally decided on November 16 by the judge. In their maneuvers to avoid political exposure at this hearing, the government has only generated more self-exposure.

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