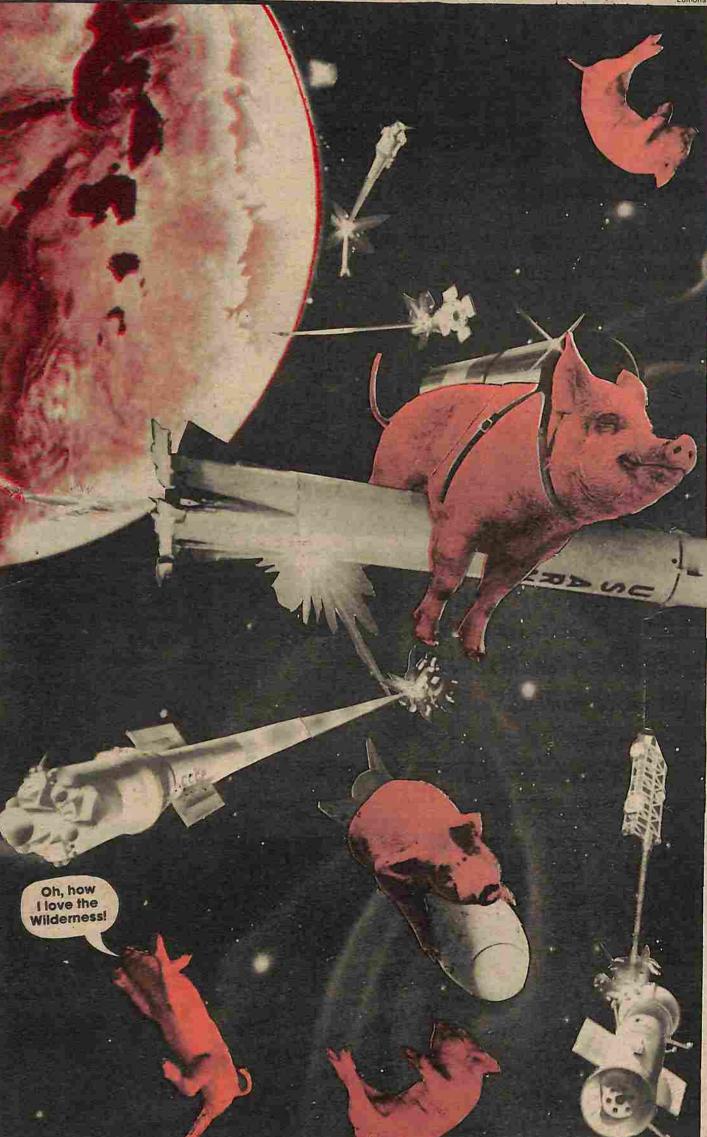
# REVOLUTIONARY Voice of the

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**Pigs** Space:

"The Next Frontier"

As 1984 opened, the media has fallen all over themselves denying that Big Brother has arrived. But Reagan's State of the Union speech was a perfect example of doublespeak at its crudest. Speaking at about the level of a Superman comic (universally labeled a "great speech" by the pundits), Reagan declared that "we occupy no countries..." and a couple of minutes later paid homage to a marine who took part in the Grenada invasion. He proposed a constitutional amendment to balance the budget when crisis and imminent war make that impossible and everybody knows it. He spoke about the Scowcroft Commission ("which strengthened our ability to deter war and protect peace") as if it were a peace group, avoiding mention of the commission's successfully completed job - pushing through the MX. At the center of all this chauvinist gobbledegook was Reagan's declaration for a manned space station, the next step in the "next fron-tier."

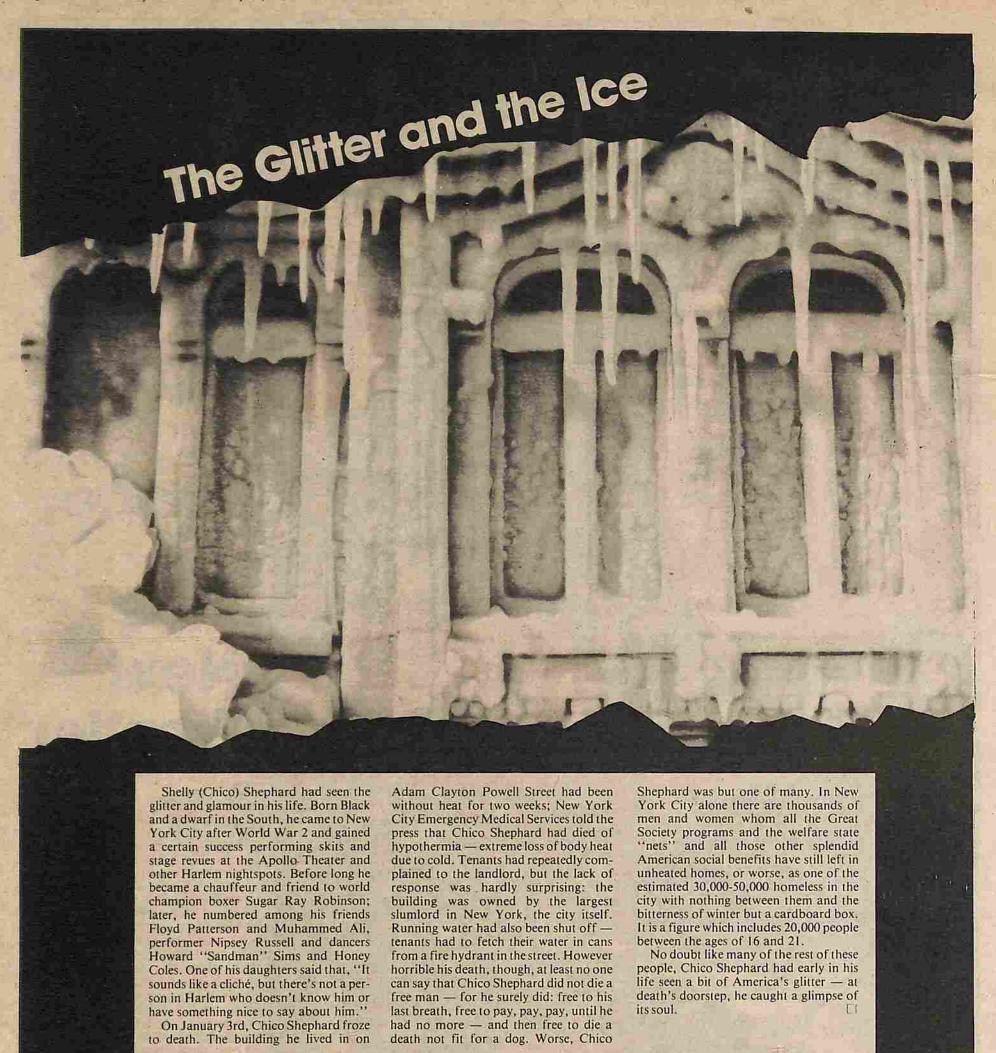
The orbiting space station idea was bathed in rhetoric about its priceless worth to humanity: "opportunities and jobs will multiply as we cross new thresholds of knowledge" etc., etc., "quantum leaps in our research in science, communications, and in metals and life-saving medicines...." and so on. The key word here is our research. The imperialists don't want to take us out to lunch on this "humanitarian" business - the whole point of this is to trumpet and materially strengthen the U.S. boast

Continued on page 6

Part IV: Against Zionist Apologetics

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# OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian

# The Dave Patterson Show: A Glimpse of the Future

Dave Patterson: There's a political movement in this country called the Revolutionary Communist Party. As I understand it, the Revolutionary Communist Party would like to overthrow the government, by force if necessary. We have as our guest this morning Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Bob Avakian is a man who came through the '60s and was involved in some of the student activities of that time which we are all familiar with. Then he sort of disappeared from our view and now has re-emerged. We will ask him about this political movement and let some of you in the audience ask him some questions, too.

Good morning and welcome to our program. Bob Avakian: Thank you, It's nice to be here.

Dave Patterson: I want to talk about the Revolutionary Communist Party because what little bit I've been able to read about it leads me to believe that the word communist is not even strong enough for you. You know, you're really even more to the left than the regular Communist Party in this country. Maybe you should tell us a little bit about it.

Bob Avakian: Well, the word communist is perfectly strong enough for us because the word communist is the most thoroughly revolutionary thing that there is in the world. It's the most thoroughly emancipating thing there is in the world. It's not even fair to say that we're much to the left of the Communist Party because the Communist Party is not to the left at all. It's just a pitiful little group of reformists who only want to see a few changes made to put them in more positions of power, so they can get in on the action of ripping off the people here and around the world. They want to get some top trade union positions. They're envious of George Meany and they would like to see themselves sitting in Congress. Gus Hall, no doubt, would very much like to see himself sitting in the Presidency issuing the orders and sending people off to war in the name of socialism.

Dave Patterson: Wouldn't you?

Bob Avakian: No, definitely not! What we want to do is abolish the system that requires people to go to war to protect the profits and the empires of people that are robbing us and mangling the lives of people here and around the world every day. We're not interested in just making a few changes in faces and keeping the same madness going.

Dave Patterson: Well, Bob, if we were to try to picture how it should be, what country in this world is the most similar to the kind of society that you think would be the right kind for this country?

Bob Avakian: Well, I think the one that advanced the farthest, until things were reversed there, was the society of China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung where people had begun to eliminate a lot of the things that we consider everyday problems and a part of the everyday hell of just trying to live and to survive in this society - whether it's all this pornography you have to pass on the way to get down to this station here, or the prostitution that teems all over the city, or the alcoholism, or the drug addiction, you know, people having to pop pills. Somebody told me that in this latest movie with Burt Reynolds, Starting Over, there's this scene where he has an anxiety attack and a doctor comes running up and says, "Does anybody here have a Valium?" There's fifty people standing around and everybody reaches into their pockets to get one. This is mainly the middle classes we're talking about, but what kind of society is it where millions of people have to take Valiums just to try and get through the day? Eight million people, most of them women and most of them housewives according to the numbers that they admit, eight million of them suffer from depression. That's almost one out of twenty-five in this country.

Dave Patterson: I know that you've been through a lot of talk shows and I know you've been asked all these questions before, but let me ask...

Bob Avakian: Whatever you want to ask.

Dave Patterson: Let me try and get as serious as I can about something. How are people going to be less depressed living in some kind of faceless society where everybody wears the same thing, does the same thing and has absolutely no reason to think that it would ever be any different?

Bob Avakian: I don't know what you're talking about. For example, I have a face, all these people out here have faces; I don't see any of them that are wearing the same kind of clothes. That's not what we're striving for. We're striving to make people's lives much better and richer and fuller. In fact, what people could be contributing to society is now squeezd out of them. Talk about faceless and nameless, that's what we are to the capitalists, faceless and nameless. People they just use up and spit out in their factories and their wars, whenever they need us until they don't need us anymore. And we're talking about getting rid of all that, letting people fully develop and make their contribution to society really for the first time in history.

Dave Patterson: No one would argue with you that the people who are on the bottom end of the ladder are really up against it. But there are a lot of people who are somewhere in the middle there, who are working their way up or feel that they are working their way up, who have some motivation out of life and don't want to change anything no matter what it's like for them. They want to continue to think that if they put in, they're going to get out.

This article is the twelfth in a series of material compiled from a 1979 speaking tour by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. This was the last public speaking tour Bob Avakian has been able to make due to international political persecution, which continues to this day. The above are edited excerpts from the Dave Patterson Show, which originates out of Cleveland, Ohio. This is the first of two parts — ed.

Bob Avakian: Well see, that's the American Dream, but it's exploding in the face of more and more people because it's a lie. You know, it's like going to a gambling house. You go to a gambling house in Atlantic City, Reno, or Las Vegas, and they'll tell you if you just keep pumping your money one way or another, down the slot machine, at the black jack table, or at the roulette wheel, you'll be the lucky one to make it. You can get ahead if you just keep throwing your life savings away while all your life is thrown down a slot-machine hole. But of course they've got it set up to encourage that because when somebody does hit the jackpot, the bell goes off, everything lights up, and they let everybody there know that somebody won. "Just keep playing," that's what they tell people out here. People's lives are given to all this madness, their families fall apart, divorce is as common as marriage, and that's all because people are caught up in this dog-eat-dog treadmill where you're chasing the promises they make and the lies they tell. That's why more and more people are rebelling against all this. And we're not just talking about the millions of people who have literally nothing, but even the people who slave their lives away and that's what it is, working for these capitalists...

Dave Patterson: Yeah, but there's nothing about anything that would change. If you had your thing....

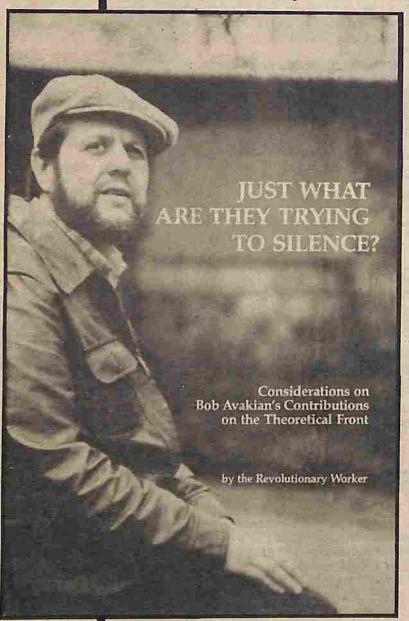
Bob Avakian: Yes it is.

Dave Patterson: You'd still work Monday to Friday.

Bob Avakian: It's not a question of working. You see, most people understand that you have to work if there's going to be anything: these cameras, the

Continued on page 4

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# Glimpse of the Future

Continued from page 3

clothes that people are wearing, the things they are sitting on were all produced by labor. People understand that we have to work. In fact, if I could go out here and really work, let's say to rip down these slums and put up some decent housing and work with the people in the community, I'd gladly be willing to work twelve or sixteen hours a day to rebuild things in this country to make it decent for the people. I'd gladly work to provide a real future for the kids, and not the madness we have to go through every day: young kids walking down the streets today and this military recruiter comes out and lies to them to get them in the Army, then prepares them to go off and be shot and kill to keep this same thing going. So this is just a part of the whole deal that's going on in this country. Right now they're preparing people for World War 3...

Dave Patterson: Hold on for just a minute...

Bob Avakian: You know what that's going to mean? What about the people who think they have their lives together? This is what one guy told me. He went to this demonstration around Three Mile Island and met this other guy who said, "Listen, I'm from the middle clases, I'm doing pretty good. I've got my life together, I'm out jogging every day, I thought I'd get myself physically fit and last another forty years. Then boom! All of a sudden up comes this Harrisburg thing and I realized that the people who run this country have got your life in their hands." It's true, they are holding the fate of literally billions of people in the world in their hands and they'll snuff it out when they get ready. Even people like that have no future under this system.

Dave Patterson: Okay, now as I said, you have all your answers pretty well under control. These are the kinds of things you are used to telling people all over the country when you get on talk shows and programs like this. But you still haven't addressed the point.

Bob Avakian: Well, what is the point?

Dave Patterson: The point is it isn't going to be any different.

Bob Avakian: Yes it is!

Dave Patterson: People are still going to work five days a week. They're still...

Bob Avakian: What's wrong with working?

Dave Patterson: They're still going to divorce each other. They're still going to have to worry about nuclear...

Bob Avakian: No, they're not going to have to divorce each other...

Dave Patterson: Three Mile Island doesn't have anything to do with capitalism. ...

Bob Avakian: Yes it does.

Dave Patterson: Three Mile Island has to do with a guy who made a mistake when he designed a plant. And if he's a communist or a capitalist or anything that he may be, he can be black, green, yellow, or blue, if he makes a mistake, the thing is still going to screw up. Three Mile Island doesn't have anything to do with what party he belongs to.

Bob Avakian: No, it has to do with what system you have because Three Mile Island and the DC-10 accident, all these things came about because...

Dave Patterson: They came about because somebody made a mistake.

Bob Avakian: Wait a minute, wait a minute.

Dave Patterson: You're not going to be any smarter!

Bob Avakian: Why were they making those "mistakes," as you call it? Because the capitalist system puts the profits of a handful of people above everything else. American Airlines told their maintenance mechanics, "Never mind about some of those things, we have to beat out United Airlines and TWA. Put the planes in the air. Never mind if they're not safe." The people who designed...

Dave Patterson: That's just not true.

Bob Avakian: Yes it is true. We did some investigation among the mechanics right there at O'Hare airport...

Dave Patterson: It's just not true.

Bob Avakian: In other words, you're saying those mechanics don't know what they're talking about. You're saying the people who came forward to testify don't know what they're talking about.

Dave Patterson: I'm saying that the whole thing has been pretty exhaustively investigated. If you want to talk about the DC-10...

Bob Avakian: Yeah, by agencies whose people are appointed by the airlines. Dave Patterson: They found out that the whole thing was that they had made a mistake when they set up the thing to start with. Then, when the controls were passed down and the mechanics were told what to do, some did and some didn't

Bob Avakian: In other words, you believe these fairy tales these federal agencies come up with, whose people are working hand in hand with the airline executives in the first place. Look at Three Mile Island, everybody knows it was a coverup. I mean, a little bit of this came out in the movie, The China Syndrome...

Dave Patterson: Which was shot a long time before the thing happened.

Bob Avakian: Yeah, well that's the whole point, it's not untypical at all, it's very typical — "Never mind if it's unsafely constructed because we have millions and billions of dollars tied up in all this." More than that, it is not simply a question of putting profit above everything else, and that movie brought out a little bit of it. For example, as that movie showed, they even brought the S.W.A.T. squad in, shot down the engineer who was trying to tell people the truth, and then called him a bumbling idiot.

Dave Patterson: Right, and you think that would really happen?

Bob Avakian: Of course, it happens all the time! What did they do to Karen Silkwood? They ran her off the road and killed her because she had...

Dave Patterson: They have never proved that.

Bob Avakian: (Chuckling) In other words, you just believe whatever the people that run this country tell you because they control all the evidence and the courtrooms. I remember when they shot Fred Hampton in Chicago. It was a coldblooded murder after an FBI agent had drugged him to make sure that he was asleep. Then Hanrahan, the pig, yes, pig who ordered it, who ordered coldblooded murder in the name of the law (and that's what they do out here every day), he got on television and said very sanctimoniously and piously, "This incident just shows how vicious the Black Panther Party is." He praised those murdering officers for their "restraint" and their "heroism" in pumping two hundred machine-gun bullets into a sleeping body. But that's not what he said happened, oh no!

Dave Patterson: Well, you know, there isn't any difference in him saying that and you saying what you are saying. (Applause)

Bob Avakian: There is a difference, you see. The difference is the truth. That's what the difference is. Even the media in Chicago, like the *Tribune* and the Sun-Times, attempted to cover up the incident. They dutifully reported

everything.

Dave Patterson: Let me just ask you this question . .

Bob Avakian: Wait a minute. Then what happened? All of a sudden the Black Panther Party did a very intelligent thing. They opened the apartment up to all the people in the community, to anybody who wanted to come and they said, "Come look and see what happened here. The police and Hanrahan claim all these shots were fired out. You come and see if there are any such bullet holes or any bullets going out." And nobody could find a single one. The one hole going out that Hanrahan claimed to have found was a nail hole while there were hundreds of bullets that had been shot from the outside into the apartment. The truth was exposed and the police and Hanrahan didn't even hardly try to cover it up. They just went and murdered him and then they got people like you to say, "Well, how do you know that they really murdered him?"

Dave Patterson: I'll tell you something, the Fred Hampton thing, I think they probably did murder him.

Bob Avakian: But what does that say about this system?

Dave Patterson: The point of the matter is, if you really think that we're sitting around with some kind of big massive brain trust in this country that comes around every week or so and tells me what to believe, or what to say, or what to ask you, that's a bunch of garbage. By now 1'd think that you would understand that you can't just get on television and spout off and have people believe it, because they know it's just not true.

Bob Avakian: Of course they tell you what to believe. You can read any kind of a study, for example the book about Henry Luce and his whole empire. . . .

Dave Patterson: I don't want to ...

Bob Avakian: Wait a minute, why don't you?

Dave Patterson: It's self-serving, it's . . .

Bob Avakian: Why not? You're not interested in finding out what's really going on even in the network you work for?

Dave Patterson: No, I mean the point is . .

Bob Avakian: Oh, okay. Well, that's your problem, but many people are interested.

Dave Patterson: That's not what I mean. The point is that if you read something like that, you don't necessarily swallow it word for word.

Bob Avakian: No, but you can look at it critically which is what we do and decide whether it does, in fact, correspond to what is actually going on. Ask yourself what interests someone has in promoting this book. For example, this book was written by David Halberstram, who is by no means a communist in any sense of the word. He quoted Henry Luce, who owns a lot of this big media, as saying straight out, "I don't pretend that this is an objective magazine (Time magazine). It's an editorial magazine from the first page to the last and whatever comes out has to reflect my view and that's the way it is." That's what he said straight-up in his book. And as Walter Cronkite now says, "That's the way it is." (Scattered laughter and applause)

Dave Patterson: We're going to be back in a minute because I think we've got a pretty good idea of what the philosophy is and I'd like to talk a little bit more about what you want to do to make the philosophy work, okay? I think this is the thing that people are really going to wig-out over, when they hear what you want to do next. We'll do that in just a minute.

Bob Avakian: I hope they do.

## (Station Break)

Dave Patterson: In the early part of the program we mentioned the fact that, really, the overthrow of the government is one of the main things that you see has to be done. How is that going to happen, Bob? Are you going to go out and shoot people?

Bob Avakian: Well, it is the first thing that has to be done. But I want to say one last thing very quickly before we get to that. The main thing is that the ruling class is coldly calculating and preparing for World War 3 — carrying out military exercises, whipping up a lot of propaganda, and openly writing studies and surveys which they pass back and forth among themselves, debating about whether twenty million, forty million, eighty million, or a hundred and twenty million people's lives can be snuffed out by these capitalists to see if they can beat out their Russian counterparts.

Dave Patterson: How do you know that?

Bob Avakian: I've read the studies. Anybody can read them if you go dig them out. But most people don't have time. . .

Dave Patterson: Yeah, but you're talking about people who like to figure out the different atomic confrontations...

Bob Avakian: Well, they're very openly talking about...

Dave Patterson: They're not using that to justify going to war. They're talking about what would happen if they did go to war. That's a good reason not to Continued from page 14

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"China has opened its door and will never close it again." This could well have come from 19th century Mandarins in the court of the Qing Dynasty eager to act as middlemen for the imperialist bloodsucking of the Chinese people. Actually, it was uttered in Washington, D.C. recently by Premier Zhao Ziyang, a representative of the new mandarins now ruling in Peking. According to the Chinese revisionists, "open door policy" refers to their policy of "vigorously promoting economic relations and cultural exchanges with foreign countries." To be sure, opening China up to imperialist economic penetration is comprehended in this "open door policy." But more importantly, the "open door policy" points to China's political capitulation to imperialism and, more specifically, strategic enlistment in the U.S. war bloc against the Soviets.

Who indeed could miss the message as Zhao was wined and dined in colonial Williamsburg, striding across the colonial red carpet set out for him as he was greeted with sickening smiles by his imperialist mentors? For the cameras, the Williamsburg stage set was perfect: welcome to an historical Disneyland where the American colonies prospered under the English! Forget the real history that this prosperity was based — with Virginia as the center — on human slavery! And for heaven's sake, save for later the talks in private, the cold bargaining and capitulation that was the real reason for Zhao's trip.

reason for Zhao's trip. The U.S. attitude was definitely upbeat on the visit; typical was the official who said that the Zhao-Reagan visits culminate a period that has "restored momentum and a positive tone in relations" between the U.S. and China and that "you can see the results in atmospherics and concrete results." It has been a period in which the U.S. has both dangled enticements, as in stepped-up economic and military relations, and applied pressure as on the Taiwan issue. However, despite all this and despite Zhao's servile assurances, the U.S. imperialists are not about to just take the revisionists' word that China's door to the West "would never close again." The U.S. is quite aware that the Soviet imperialists are trying to pry open their own door to China, using their powerful lever of a big military threat poised right on China's borders. Even as Zhao was visiting the U.S., it was revealed that the Soviets were adding to the arsenal of SS-20 nuclear missiles in Asia. And Peking, in an effort to deflect some of the pressures bearing down on it and open up some maneuvering room, has been sitting down with the Soviets in talks for normalization of relations. For the U.S., Zhao's visit (and the upcoming Reagan trip to China in April) are part of stepped-up efforts to pull China more tightly under the wings of the U.S. bloc - and in the course of this, to thwart attempts by the Soviets to foment cracks in U.S.-China relations and drag Peking towards their own bloc. The pace of moves over China is indeed getting fast and heavy as can be seen, for example, in the packed agenda of major diplomatic action recently: in November, U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger went to China and revealed that U.S. arms sales to Peking could begin soon; in October, a round of Sino-Soviet negotiations was held in Peking; in November, the revisionist party general secretary Hu Yaobang went to Tokyo and endorsed

April, Reagan will fly to Peking. In the "atmospherics" accompanying all this, a few sour notes have been sounded. The Far Eastern Economic Review several months ago quoted a Reagan administration official complaining about China "chewing at our heels about hegemonism and superpower rivalry": "We'd like them simply to say in public what they tell us privately about the nature of the Soviet threat." The U.S. imperialists do have some understanding of the necessity faced by the Chinese revisionists to keep at least a facade of "independence" from the U.S. For one thing, the revisionists want to avoid provoking the Soviets too blatantly and risk costly retaliation. But there is a greater necessity faced by the U.S. to accelerate the forging of the anti-Soviet consensus

Japan's military buildup for "self

defense"; in January, Zhao comes to the

U.S.; in March, the next round of Sino-

Soviet talks are planned for Moscow; in



# The Neo-colonial Red Carpet Treatment

throughout its bloc, and Peking has also gotten the message to step more into line and cut down on some of the "two superpowers" rhetoric. At a pre-trip press conference in Peking, Zhao repeated the usual homily about China's opposition to "any big power" pursuing "hegemony." But he let the cat out of the bag as he referred to the huge Soviet mintary buildup along China's northern borders and declared: "I believe that we know better than the Americans where our threat comes from. In this regard, we do not equate the U.S. and Soviet Union either." During one of his stopovers in the U.S., Zhao was asked which "superpower" would be the more likely to cause war. "I'm in the U.S., and this is not an appropriate occasion to single out the other superpower for condemnation," he replied - thereby making clear which he thinks should be condemned as the source of war.

# Taiwan

In seeming contrast to all this was Zhao's continuing insistance that the issue of Taiwan remains "the principal obstacle to the growth of Sino-U.S. relations." The U.S.-China charade over Taiwan by now has come to follow a predictable scenario. Especially when further development of U.S.-China relations is on the agenda, the Chinese revisionists mount a chorus of histrionics about U.S. "interference in internal affairs" and "meddling" over Taiwan; the U.S. ignores the outbursts or lets out a

few words of reassurance to the Peking regime; China finally says, "O.K., but next time..."; meanwhile the U.S. continues to supply arms to Taiwan. Before Zhao's trip, the revisionists raised a big fuss about a recent Congressional resolution calling for a "peaceful" solution to the Taiwan question and Reagan's use of "Republic of China" in referring to Taiwan. There were even some threats that the Zhao-Reagan exchange would be cancelled. But Zhao did come to the U.S. and, as the Washington Post pointed out, for all Zhao's grumblings about Taiwan, his description of talks with Reagan as "friendly and candid" as well as in the "spirit of growing accord" indicated that Zhao "considers his journey a success."

The U.S. imperialists realize that Taiwan is a sensitive issue to the Chinese revisionists. It involves the question of national sovereignty, and therefore the U.S. role in Taiwan is one of the attacking points for forces in China opposed to Deng and his pro-West policies. The Deng regime must raise shrill voices of protest even as they concede at every point to the U.S. In a commentary for the Asian Wall Street Journal, Robert C. Downen, Director for Pacific Basin Studies at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, lays out clearly why the U.S. insists on keeping its hold on Taiwan, despite the risks involved: "First, Taiwan occupies a not insignificant geostrategic location among the western Pacific nations, through which Middle East oil shipments,

regional commerce and expanding Soviet Pacific needs regularly pass. The continuously updated logistical support capability of Taiwan's sophisticated arms arsenal, together with its extensive modern airstrips and port facilities, would be invaluable in some future U.S.-Soviet confrontation in the area."

Taiwan is especially important, it should be mentioned, in view of questions about China's stability and continuity of ties to the U.S. bloc. Downen lists a second supporting argument for the present course of Taiwan policy: the Taiwan connection has given Washington important political leverage in its prior dealings with Peking, not unlike the tactical advantage Moscow wields in talks with Peking through its border weapons and its support for Vietnam. Notwithstanding the rancor involved, the Taiwan factor in the U.S.-China relations will remain a valuable 'card' in our deck." Although Downen lists U.S. economic stakes in Taiwan as another factor, this is decided-ly secondary compared to his other points.

## China's "Independence"

Along with Taiwan, Zhao also made claims about China's "independent foreign policy" and said that "it is impossible to establish a comprehensive strategic partnership" with the U.S. because of "differences" in some important foreign policy areas. The Foreign policy areas. tant foreign policy areas. The Far Eastern Economic Review had this to say about such claims by the revisionists of "differences" with the U.S.: "... in practice, there is less distance between Peking and Washington than meets the eye. U.S. officials argue that China's continued criticism of U.S. policy in the Middle East, Central America, Southern Africa and on North-South issues allows Peking to project a nonaligned image and retain distance from the U.S. But they are quick to point out that China's criticism of U.S. policies is loudest when the issue involved is of little direct consequence to Peking. Meanwhile, the U.S. and China continue to have largely parallel views of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Indochina." The Chinese revisionists, in other words, can indulge in puffing themselves up as spokesmen for the Third World and in limited mouthing off about U.S. policies in areas where they have little or no influence anyway. But it's a different story altogether when it comes to areas like Afghanistan and Indochina where China, because of geographic proximity and ties with anti-Soviet insurgencies, plays a pivotal role. In such areas, China not only has "parallel views" but pursues political and military action in coordination with U.S. imperialism (the starkest example of this was China's 1979 invasion of Vietnam, which came only a little over a week after Deng Xiaoping's trip to the U.S. where he no doubt received a green light for the attack).

In fact, the absence of a "comprehen-sive strategic partnership," i.e., a more formal military setup (including large scale infusions of military aid into China) has more to do with the U.S. views of China's role in the bloc than with the revisionists' desire to maintain some outward appearance of "independence." The principal strategic importance of China for the U.S. bloc lies in the fact that, even with China's inferior position vis-à-vis the Soviets in military firepower and technology, the Soviet Union is still forced to commit a sizeable portion of its armed forces and resources to the Chinese border. China also inhibits Vietnam's ability to act on behalf of the Soviets in Southeast Asia. Conversely, if the Soviets were able to wrench China away from the West, they would then be able to exert greater pressure in other directions, especially towards Japan.

Thus, massive inputs of military aid into China are not in the picture, at least at this time. In fact, a China with overdeveloped military muscle might prove to be less amenable to U.S. dictates and influence, thereby presenting more problems than advantages for the U.S. bloc. At the same time, the U.S. does want to enhance China's military capability in certain select areas, as well as improve coordination with, and control over, China in its overall military affairs. Antitank and anti-aircraft weaponry and communications equipment have been mentioned as possible types of military

Continued on page 15



Continued from page 1

are the best." Actually, the station has less to do with advancing humanity than with obliterating a large part of it. The space station is the signboard on the American dream of extending its twisted and exploitative social relations, including especially its wars, out into the heavens - contrary to all the assurances

that (as Reagan put it) "we are first, we

of Robert Jastrow on ABC Nightline that no, no, no, the space station has no planned military application, an assessment which has as much to do with reality (and pro-imperialist nonsense) as his thesis that the Big Bang proves the ex-

istence of god.

The space station is in more ways than one the counterpart to Reagan's Star Wars goals proclaimed last March, Like the Star Wars, the space station is meant to be a "bold stroke," marshaling the scientific community and beyond that public opinion at large to the great cause of America's global "pre-eminence," its power and its will to "finish the job," as Reagan said elsewhere in the speech. In other words, it is meant to be a big deal, more like the Apollo moon flights than the shuttle program, which was seen as "modest" (although the station is very much tied in with the shuttle program as we shall see). And the function of the station is not so different or separate from the Star Wars project, either.

Although at present there are no firm designs for the station, it will certainly be ambitious and expensive. Earlier this year, NASA projected a station complex constructed of various separate modules and platforms, some manned, others not, tied together like a string of tin cans in orbit. Another component of the station is to be an unmanned platform plying a near polar orbit over the North and South Poles "for earth-viewing." All this is projected to cost about \$1 billion a year, although the pricetag is likely to at least triple by the time the station is operational. At first, the station would house four to six scientists, technicians, in "living modules," with population later to be expanded to as many as eighteen. NASA officials, like Reagan, speak grandly and abstractly about the technicians' work in fields where the space environment of zero-gravity can be exploited: such as developing new materials, work with plasma, and above all growth of the nonhomogeneous crystals used in semiconductors.

But, though the "bold stroke" of the space station project resembles in some ways the Apollo moon project (and indeed the Reagan speech contained more than one Kennedy reference), this is not the Kennedy era all over again. In proposing the station idea last July, Reagan's science advisor George Keyworth said, as paraphrased by Aviation Week and Space Technology, that the Apollo project "came when the U.S. was economically and militarily secure, and the only real threat posed by the Soviet Sputnik was to 'our national self-image and interna-tional prestige.' Today we are challenged by an aggressive Soviet military buildup, as well as by a revitalized Europe and Japan on the economic front, he said. Unlike the 1960s we now need to strengthen our science and technology base to meet these challenges." This same theme was sounded by NY Times science writer John Noble Wilford a couple of months later when, in an article on the proposed space station, he commented that "NASA is under pressure to make spaceflight a paying proposition in which private enterprise plays a leading role...and to work more closely with the Defense Dept. even at the cost of . . . its reputation for conducting an open program for all the world to share." The job

Pigs in Space: "The Next Frontier"

first undertaken by the space shuttle program was to be shifted into high gear: the formidable U.S. space science potential was to be mobilized, not for any grandiose humanitarian vision, but for industrial application and most important,

Today, Wilford says, there are "only echoes of the period of testing and exploration" in space. While of course, U.S. space science has always developed in the imperialist framework, today the push for military and - related to this industrial application is the name of the game. In various times in the past, for example, NASA was headed up by two university professors, a lawyer, and a physicist. Today, its chief is James Beggs, past chairman of General Dynamics, a major weapons contractor; second in command is Hans Mark, a former Secretary of the Air Force; overseeing the shuttle flights for NASA has been General James Abrahamson, who headed up development of the F-16 fighter. NASA's annual budget for interplanetary research is now \$300 million of a total \$7 billion, a miniscule amount compared to the past. (The Defense Dept. also has its own \$8 billion space budget.) This means that the U.S. has tossed out as so much garbage the projected "tour of the planets" of this solar system, the orbiting of the sun's poles, and the planned '85-'86 rendezvous with Halley's Comet.

A certain phase in this space war mobilization was carried out by the space shuttle which, according to one critic in the administration, contained "numerous Defense-oriented design compromises." Prominent among these "compromises" is that, according to Richard Aldridge, an anti-nuker who once designed missiles for Lockheed, the space shuttle in the '80s will orbit all U.S. military satellites. And right off, this raises one direct military mission for the space station since the station is linked to a major expansion of shuttle capabilities: at present two launches of the shuttle per year have been possible, whereas up to eleven per year would be possible with the station as a "transportation hub." The flight duration of the shuttle would also be extended to about twenty days.

A second ominous aspect of the space station is the unmanned polar-orbiting platform. This component of the station is described in reports on Reagan's speech in neutral terms, as "earth-viewing." Wilford, however, describes this component as "earth-sensing for military reconnaissance and command." What the relationship is between this specifically military arm of the station and its human occupants has yet to be explained, but it suggests more than concerns with lifesaving medicines for the technicians aboard.

But probably the biggest military payoff from the "next frontier" program is indirect. This is the fact that the very same technology that is needed to develop and operate the space station is that which could be used militarily. Earth and satellite sensors, maneuvering spacecraft in orbit, large-scale on-board power systems, such areas as "civil" laser beam development, even weather observation, all have application to developing military reconnaissance communications, satellite-killing, and space weaponry. Not for nothing is the Defense Department training 27 spaceflight engineers. Right now the military is supporting the space station but allowing NASA to carry the ball (thus enhancing the "civilian" and "visionary" aims of the project). But Wilford is no doubt correct when he states, "in time, Pentagon backing may become vital . . . as it was in winning support for the shuttle.'

As for the imperialists' dream of "making space a paying proposition," probably in the broadest sense they are serious about this. The notion of space freighters plying some moon-mining operation, profiteering and polluting and

laying waste to resources on other planets and in space itself, is certainly part of the American vision, the imperialist peace that could be had if only the nasty rival Soviet social-imperialists were out of the way first. But at present, the commercial space payloads are heavily subsidized by the government, and profits are certainly to take second place to the need of strengthening the high-technology so critical to U.S. warmaking capacity. This is best represented by the planned crystalgrowth laboratories of the space stations. On earth, growing crystals is expensive and inefficient because of gravity, which affects the combining of heavier and lighter materials in the crystals. Judging from experience of Soviet stations, crystal growth will be a central function of the space factories. Science Digest cites one Soviet scientist, Vladimir Khryapov: "First of all this will concern semiconductor materials which do not have enormous weight requirements, but which are very expensive to produce on earth. These may be for instance, the crystals which are used in television technology, high-speed computers, medical equipment ... and other analogous devices." And Science Digest comments: "Some unmentioned analogous devices include missile

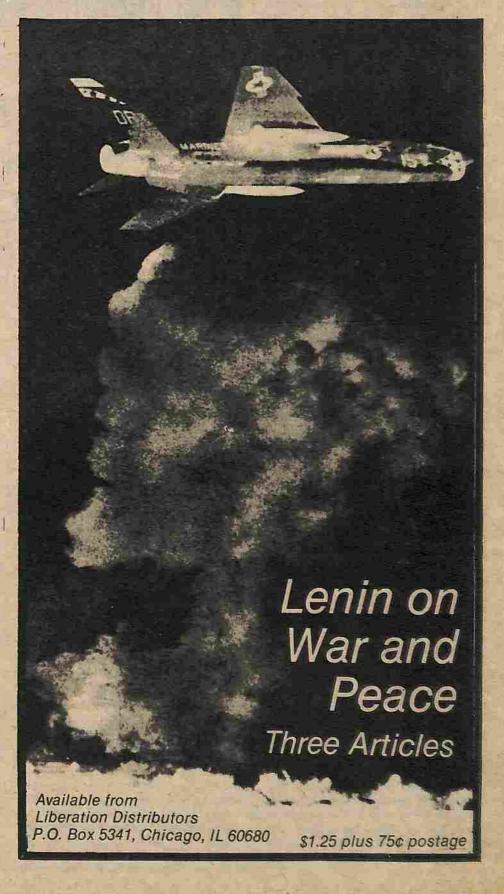
guidance systems, and infrared tracking devices such as those used by anti-aircraft weapons." In short, the space factories will not be making Sony Walkmans or improved Saran Wrap. They will be used, as Keyworth says, to "bolster (the U.S.) science and technology base to meet these challenges" of the Soviets, stimulating and shaping the direction of the high-tech industries on which the U.S. military, and especially nuclear, capacity rests.

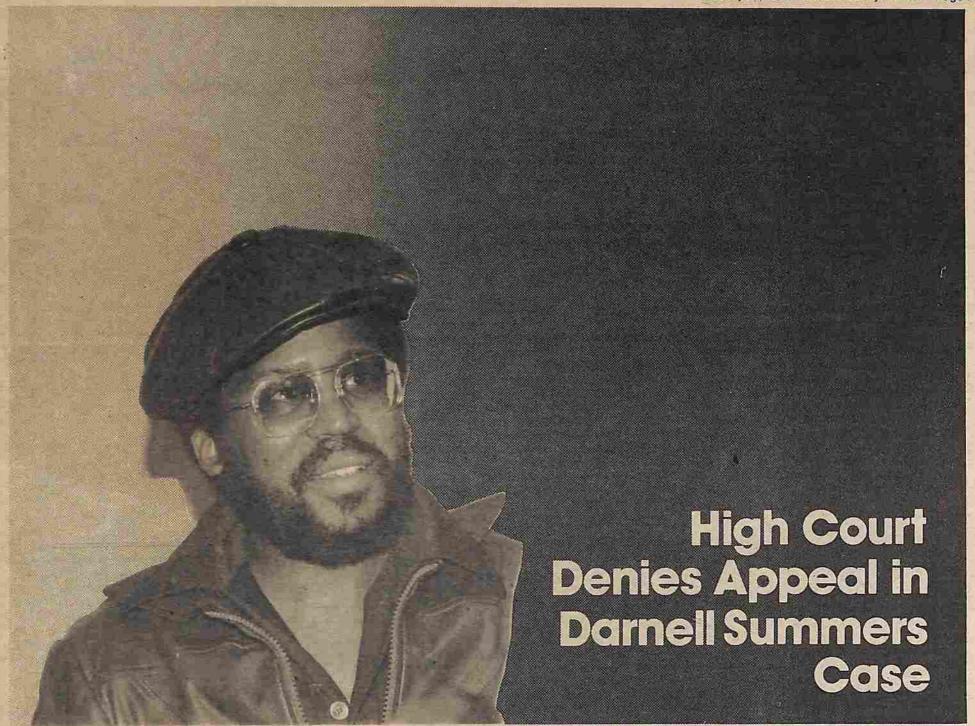
When you get down to it, the "next frontier" really is very much like the "old frontier" - the station has even been compared to the transcontinental railroad. Only at the time of the "old frontier" the U.S. bourgeoisie was young and just becoming fat on the blood of its genocide, broken treaties, and oppression. Today the imperialists have grander dreams of distant stars to which they can

bring their nightmare.

### Correction

Last week in the article "From The Mud On The Serial Number. . . " on page 2, we incorrectly identified Las Trojes as a Nicaraguan town. In fact, it is a Honduran town very close to the Nicaraguan border which is being used as a contra staging





On December 29, the Supreme Court of Michigan denied Darnell Summer's application to appeal on two key defense motions that were previously denied by lower court judges: one, moving to dismiss the charges on the basis of lack of speedy trial, and the other requiring the prosecution to turn over the name of a police informant who had testimony relevant to Darnell's defense. This latest high-court outrage brings to a close the months-long process of pretrial appeal in this 14-year-old rerun railroad of Darnell Summers on trumped-up charges of murdering a Michigan State red squad agent at the time of an intense struggle against national oppression in 1968, and returns the case back to the Wayne County Circuit Court.

The following is the content of the Supreme Court ruling on these motions: "That ... application for leave to appeal is denied because the court is not persuaded that the questions presented should now be reviewed by this court." The court received the transcripts upon which their decision was supposed to be based on December 14, and with a breathtaking burst of energy handed down their decision December 29. This one-sentence reply, along with their unusually quick review of the "facts," was not only a green light to press on with the railroad, but a slap in the face to the increasing numbers of organizations and supporters that have stepped forward to demand that these outrageous charges be dropped

Given the seriousness of the case, the legal issues and precedents it encompasses, to essentially reply "Motions denied, No comment" is an enlightening admission itself. Really what else could the higher court say which would not make matters worse from their point of view — in other words, serve to expose them further? Much of what has been brought out and exposed during the pretrial process rather sharply points this up. What further justification could they give for the fact that they have no credible witness, no evidence, and that key evidence favorable to the defense has been destroyed?

What is the state's explanation for why these same charges of murder against Darnell Summers were dropped in 1969? By their own admission, "The case was dismissed for lack of evidence and

reopened when circumstances changed." But what gets further revealed here is that the changed circumstances are political circumstances and these renewed charges are based on the same lying stories they coerced out of their "star witnesses" in the first place. Further, they cannot explain why they really moved to drop the charges in 1969 without revealing their maneuvering to manipulate witnesses and use perjured testimony, thus further exposing how much of a railroad the first prosection of Darnell was, and how they hid all of their trumped-up charges and maneuvering by dropping the charges then to prevent acquittal. Today they stand in the courtroom having renewed these same charges. But what has been dragged into the light of day through the pretrial hearing is they have no credible witnesses. Gail Simmons, only two days after Darnell was extradited back into this country, once again publicly recanted her testimony saying she was coerced and her testimony was scripted by police. Milford Scott, now serving time on unrelated charges in Michigan, has by his own admission given perjured testimony in this case and has been totally discredited. They have no evidence, no weapon was ever found and the car agent Gonser was driving was destroyed by police during the 14-year lapse in prosecution. Two key witnesses for Darnell, Carl James and Turhan Lewis, have mysteriously died during the same period. Given all this, how can the state explain why their "investigation" was suddenly started up again in 1980 and the same charges renewed in 1982? It was definitely no secret that Darnell Summers had remained politically active throughout this period. He was well known in West Germany as a Black Vietnam veteran and a revolutionary musician, a supporter of the revolutionary GI newspaper FighTbAck, and for his other revolutionary political activity among U.S. troops, immigrants and the youth movement in Germany. In fact in 1980, the same year the state renewed their investigation, Darnell spoke at a demonstration held in front of U.S. Army headquarters in Heidelberg to protest the attempted American "hostage rescue" invasion of Iran. Given the intensification of the crisis and war preparations of the imperialists, it is quite clear to the growing number of Darnell's supporters why the U.S. imperialists and their West German allies rediscovered this case and dragged Darnell Summers 3,000 miles to stand trial.

Darnell's new trial date has been set for May 6. It's interesting that the prosecution seems to need additional time to try and shore up the inherent and growing flaws which have been exposed in their case.

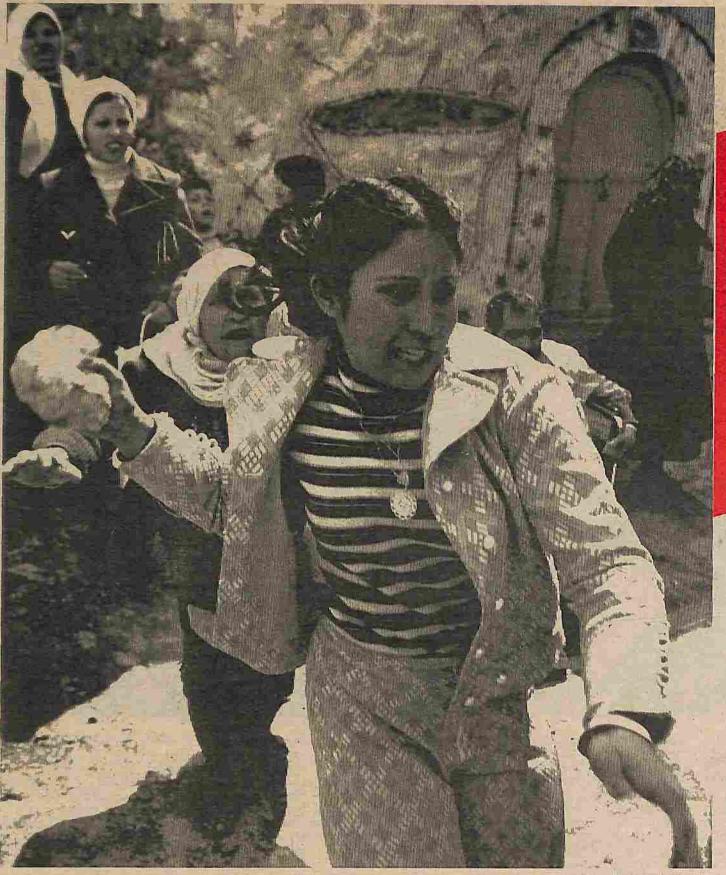
This next period will prove to be quite a challenge. There are still some critical pretrial hearings scheduled on February 22. In the legal arena, despite the fact that both appeals courts have refused to hear Darnell's appeal and the case is now being returned to the Wayne County Circuit Court, the prosecutor continues to be plagued by what he once termed "a Pandora's box of legal problems." In particular the defense is now fighting to have Judge Sullivan enforce two orders which he himself signed early last year requiring the prosecution to turn over to the defense certain discovery documents, as well as all local red squad files concerning Darnell and the political organizations and activities of which he was a part. In this prosecution the state is in danger of a veritable dam of military intelligence operations and reactionary intra-bloc intrigue bursting forth. Although the prosecution, judge and appeals court have worked together to withhold all federal surveillance materials targeting Darnell, these discoveries and local surveillance orders, which Judge Sullivan was forced to concede last year in the midst of all his denials, are a crack in this dam. With many eyes focused on this highly political prosecution, Darnell Summer's lawyers will seek to open up this and other cracks in the prosecution's "legal case."

# Support Broadens

Some of the effects of the exposure of the state's twisted machinations in this case can be seen by the large number of legal organizations that have filed to do amicus briefs for Darnell. And in the past few months the Darnell Summers Coalition has generated further significant national support for Darnell's case. Statements of support have been submitted to the coalition in the form of formal resolutions from the Michigan branch of the NAACP, signed unanimously by the entire chapter, as well as the state board of the anti-nuke Vandenberg Action

Coalition in California. In November Darnell kicked off a tour that began in Lansing, Michigan, where he was the featured speaker at a symposium on political repression in the '80s. Organized by the Lansing chapter of the Darnell Summers Coalition, this symposium was endorsed by the Peace Education Center, the Lansing Lawyers Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, Zolton Ferency, and the Democratic Socialists of America. The tour included several radio programs: one an interview with Pablo Guzman that was aired on WLIB in New York City, and a program aired by the Cleveland State University radio station. While in New York Darnell did a cable television program on the Walter Brooks show and an interview with Newsday, the largest evening newspaper in the country. He also addressed a conference entitled "A Call For Black Leadership," at Medgar Evers College, where over 100 people attended, and met with Black studies and Black nationalist activists in several east coast cities.

This latest ruling must be answered with a heightened and powerful expression of the widespread opposition to this railroad, and in the period ahead the coalition is intensifying its efforts to raise the political ante in this battle still higher - by broadening support, continuing the national speaking tour, and printing the statement of opposition which the coalition has been circulating for signatures, demanding that the charges be dropped. The statement has already been signed by a wide array of forces. The coalition is working to raise the necessary money to place a Statement of Opposition to the Railroad of Darnell Summers as a major ad in the Detroit Fress Press just before the opening of the pretrial hearings in late February. Publication of this ad will be quite important politically to create a different setting in the arena of public opinion than the state is driving to achieve in this trial. Their ability to ram this railroad through without paying a high political price will be severely diminished. Funds are still urgently needed. To contact the Darnell Summers Coalition, write: 2832 East Grand Blvd., Suite 324, Detroit, MI 48211, or call (313) 871-4616. Pick up the gauntlet, free Darnell Summers!



On the West Bank.

This is the concluding segment in our series "Fort Apache, The Mideast." The previous three parts appeared in RWs No. 237, 238, and 239.

The last three articles in this series have documented the past and present of Zionism and the state of Israel; but what of the future? The Lebanon invasion brought that question into sharp relief to many left-wing Jews and supporters of Israel. And while there has been bending away from and struggle against the uglier manifestations of Zionism, there has also been tremendous resistance to fully rupturing with it. This article will try to address a number of questions and arguments that arise among these forces.

In his book about Lebanon, The Longest War, Jacobo Timmerman (correctly) castigates Begin for trading on the Holocaust. But in a pivotal moment in the book that occurs during the fifth week of the war, Timmerman stands literally at a crossroads surrounded by ancient ruins, a kibbutz, an IDF camp and a museum devoted to the Holocaust. Timmerman agonizes over what Israel has become, standing for hours in this spot, before entering the museum. There he finds the name of an uncle murdered by the Germans, and concludes: "The true question - the only valid one, the only one worthy of a reply, was answered. The life of survival here in Israel is the true Jewish destiny." In the book, the murder of his uncle provides a sort of moral reinforcement. Timmerman has received affirmation during a pilgrimage of a secular religion whose central defining event is the Holocaust.

For Timmerman and many others the Holocaust presents a compelling mix of moral right (arguing that the tremendous suffering of the camps endowed the survivors, as well as other Jews, with the right to claim Palestine as an exclusive

Jewish refuge) and political realism (drawing as the chief political lesson from the Holocaust the necessity for an independent and well-armed Jewish state to provide protection against what has proven to be a hostile world). These are the central arguments on the left in support of Israel's right to exist.

## Strange Reasoning

Curious indeed is the idea that Palestine was owed the Jews as moral retribution for the crimes of World War 2. It was Germany which carried out the bestial murder of the Jews (and the Gypsies, and of millions of Russians besides). It was the U.S. and Britain which maintained their highly restrictive immigration quotas against Jewish entry throughout the period 1933-1945, and which later, during the war, cynically refused to bomb either the concentration camps themselves or the tracks leading up to them ("can't spare the bombs," the . rchitects of Dresden are supposed to have said). But no, "justice" is allegedly served by forcibly extirpating a people entirely unrelated to the historical outrage from their homeland, and then hounding and persecuting them in their exile. All reparations to the Jews, all the sanctimonious "making up for the past sins of anti-Semitism" by the West, was carried out on the hides of the Arab masses, especially the Palestinians, and in the service of the same sort of imperialist interests that had led to the hideous victimization of the Jews by Hitler in the first place. The U.S., we note, never offered the Jews a homeland in, say Delaware; more to the point, they discouraged the survivors of the furnaces from settling in the U.S., maintaining stringent immigration quotas and penting the refugees up in camps (while providing safe passage for the Klaus Barbies of the

world). Though no scientific sampling was ever taken of the camps, a number of observers with first-hand experience held that the majority of the Jews in them preferred emigration to the U.S. over Palestine (as do most Soviet Jewish refugees today, who are nevertheless pressured to go to Israel).

This line of reply invariably draws forth angry demands to stop being flippant about a serious subject - which in itself is revealing. It's lunacy, you see, to even suggest reparations at the expense of the great powers responsible for the carnage, but it's perfectly sober to demand that the Palestinians be forced to clear out (through dispossession and massacre), and that the Arab masses generally open wide for the creation of a neo-Ottoman state acting as gendarme for the imperialist powers! After all, the line goes, it's only a "small part" of the Arab world anyway (as is Delaware, or New York City, of the U.S., we might

# What's "Good for Zionism"...

Some who concede certain unjust consequences of the founding of Israel argue that the overriding consideration from the Holocaust centers on the sheer need for survival, and that what Jewish history and the Holocaust teach most of all is the need for a powerful Jewish state with a well-oiled military machine. Or as it was recently argued to the author: "if there had been a Jewish state in 1938, the Holocaust would never have happened."

While the last argument in particular is transparently metaphysical to many, this sort of thinking carries weight and there's something to be gained by addressing it (and then moving to take on its more polished form).

For one thing, as long as we're writing up historical wish lists, it's equally

justified to point out that if one of the several attempts at socialist revolution in Germany that transpired after World War I had succeeded, not only would there have been no Holocaust but the very physiognomy of history would have been radically changed - to put it mildly! And the chances for that eventuality were at least as realistic as for a Jewish state in the post World War I world. The reason to invoke that is because an argument is being made here about how to deal with anti-Semitism. No less an imperialist than Winston Churchill remarked in the early 1920s (when Trotsky was still associated with the leadership of the Bolshevik Revolution) that the struggle for the Jewish soul would be one between Chaim Weizmann and Trotsky. The Jews of Eastern and Central Europe made up an important component of the revolutionary forces of that period and generally took up the orientation of fighting for social change (including, but hardly limited to, the eradication of anti-Semitism) within the countries in which they happened to be

part IV: Against Zioni

But from Herzl on down, the theoreticians of Zionism had held that assimilation into European society was impossible, due to the allegedly special character of the Jew, and that the orientation of those wanting to stand and fight was a wrong-headed one, a diversion. Chaim Weizmann, for instance, at the Versailles Conference in 1919, addressing the pogroms then being carried out by White (anti-Bolshevik) troops in Russia, opted against any attempt to marshal action against them. He wrote in his diary that: "Jewry and Judaism were in a frightfully weakened condition, presenting, to themselves and to the nations, a problem very difficult of solution. There was, I said, no hope at all of such a solution since the Jewish problem revolved fundamentally around the wholelessness of the Jewish people - without the creation of a national home" (Weizmann, Trial and Error, page 243). (We note in passing Weizmann's concession to the anti-Semites in labeling the Jews - rather than the Jew-killers — the problem.)

While there was no Jewish state at the time, there was a Jewish settlement and a worldwide Zionist movement aiming at such a state, and it's worthwhile to examine just what they did in the face of the persecution of the Jews throughout the 30s, and later the Holocaust itself. This has recently been extensively documented and analyzed in Lenni Brenner's important book, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators. The Zionists, it can and must be said, were guided almost entirely by a consideration of what was "good for Zionism" in the narrowest possible sense; Ben-Gurion himself spelled out his rather brutal calculus in late 1938:

"If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing

them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael, then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel' (Brenner, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators, p. 149).

Specifically, this orientation showed itself in things like the Havara Agreement struck with the Nazi regime. The terms of this agreement allowed certain Jews to emigrate from Germany to Palestine if they would first cash all their wealth into German merchandise, which would then be shipped ahead to Palestine; this in effect was a trade deal between Germany and the Yishuv in Palestine. The Germans were hardly motivated by the wealth to be gleaned from this; as they themselves noted, the principal benefit of this deal for them was political, in that it cut against efforts to isolate the Nazi regime and strike at it for its anti-Semitic measures. At a time when many Jews were demanding a boycott of Nazi goods, the Havara had a thoroughly demoralizing and disorienting effect.

Hitler actually favored the Zionists, in comparison to other Jewish groups, allowing them to publish their newspaper, hold meetings and even fly their flag up until 1938, long after every other Jewish group had been suppressed (Brenner, pp. 84, 86). Why was this? While partially due to the Havara and partially perhaps to some weird recognition by Hitler of an underlying unity of the "blood and soil" approach to history, most likely the main factor involved was the political advantage of confining the political options for Jews to

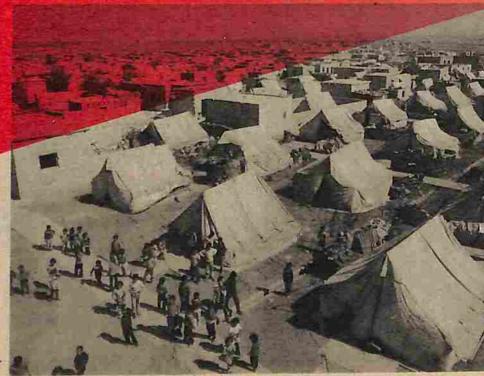
an essentially quietist one with an orientation a whole continent away. (Hitler also allowed emigration to Palestine up until 1938 in an attempt to exacerbate British problems with the Arabs in the area, though after this point he switched to courting the Arab rulers himself and for more overriding reasons too complex to go into here — definitively cast the die towards the extermination, rather than emigration, of the Jews.)\*

At any rate, what's more relevant in this ugly welter is the Zionist trade-off of the interests of the masses of Jews to build up their own state — hardly a compelling brief for what an Israel might have done for the Jews had it existed at that point.

The American Zionist establishment had their own version of the trade-off, by the way. At no time did the established leaders go public with a demand to lift, or even slightly loosen, the emigration quotas; such a public demand was feared and opposed by Rabbi Stephen Wise, an advisor to Roosevelt and the leading spokesman of the Jewish establishment at the time. Changes in immigration Continued on page 9

\* The reasons for the final solution had much to do with the numbers, the class make up, and the political bent of the Jews of Eastern Europe, especially the three to four million living in Poland who made up 10% of the country's population. Why Hitler opted for final solution — a crime which has never been given a really materialist explanation — is beyond the scope of this article but will be treated in depth in a forthcoming issue of *Revolution*, the propaganda organ of the RCP.

"If I knew that it would be possible to save all to over to bringing them over to bringing them over to bringing them over the children in Germany by bringing transporting the children in Germany by transfor the life and only half of them by transfor the life of these children, but also the history of the life of these children, but also the Gurion, 1938 the life of these children, but also the life of these children in life of these children, but also the life of these children in life of the life of t



Above: Ben-Gurion on a kibbutz in the 1950s. Right: Palestinian refugee camp in Syria.

# Fort Apache, The Mideast criticize Israel from outside its borders?)

Continued from page 9

regulations were cautiously suggested by certain elements in U.S. ruling circles, though no changes were ever made law and the reasoning behind the proposals is unclear. In response to this, Wise wrote:

"I have every reason to believe, unfortunately, that any effort that is made at this time to waive the immigration laws, however humanitarian the purpose, will result in serious accentuation of what we know to be a rising wave of anti-Semitic feelings in the country.... It may interest you to know that some weeks ago the representatives of all the leading Jewish organizations met in conference to discuss the President's proposal and other proposals which have been made to waive the immigration barrier. It was the consensus of opinion that such bills at this moment in the light of present unemployment in this country and in the light of the inspired propaganda directed against the Jewish people, and circulated throughout the country, would be injurious to the purposes which all of us would like to serve. For that reason it was decided that no Jewish organization would at this time, sponsor a bill which would in any way alter the present immigration laws" (Brenner, pp. 146-47).

It's hard to know what to say about such self-serving cowardice, but Wise did even worse when he got the news of the Final Solution. He witheld publication in favor of the putative interests of the Allied war efforts, which he held would do more to save Jews. "Allied war efforts" by that point were more aimed at figuring out how to let the Soviets do the brunt of the fighting without giving up too much in territory to the Red Army and were never intended to save Jews (or anyone else), most of whom were long since slaughtered by the time Eisenhower toured Belsen. From both ends of the stick - the Zionists in Palestine and the Jewish leadership in the U.S. - the masses of European Jews got nothing but the shaft, sacrificed to the narrow selfinterests of both forces.

The myth of a "rescue operation" carried out by the Zionists is just that: a myth. The Zionists saw an opportunity to build their state and subordinated emigration to that goal and that goal

alone. First priority was given to those Jews who were able to leave Germany with \$3,000 or more (20% of the emigrants fell into this group - highly disproportionate to their numbers in the Jewish community of Germany). Next came members of Zionist youth groups, and finally those people with special skills useful to state building (including military skills). Communists were unconditionally barred.

The point in all this is not to accept the narrowing of the debate about Israel to an argument over how best to save the Jews, then or now - Israel is unjust, a bulwark of imperialism, and cannot be supported in any event. But the facts show how an orientation in which the bottom line is "is it good for the Jews?" can only lead into a progressively narrower view, a concentric circle in which the vision of "me and mine" rules everything and becomes ever smaller, ever more constricted and of necessity ever uglier.

Most importantly, this kind of thinking inevitably lands the outlook and actions of Jewish critics of Israel into apologetics (and support) for Zionism and for the global strategy of U.S. imperialism itself. After all, if your one absolute in politics is the survival and flourishing of Israel, then by extension you must support the fundamental condition of its existence, i.e., the U.S. and its global empire and Israel's special role within that. (The option offered by the likes of the CPUSA — an Israel which develops ties to the Soviet Union as well - is a distinction without a difference.)

The most salient feature of current political life is the increasing preparation of both imperialist blocs for a war of redivision - a world war, that is, and one likely involving nuclear weapons from the very start. Israel as we have shown can only exist as a member in good standing with an imperialist bloc, a junior partner; if and when as part of its duties in that empire or if you like, in its struggle for existence, Israel drops nuclear bombs on Damascus or Cairo - as it threatened during the first days of the 1973 war will Israel then still be justified by the Holocaust? (And will Elie Weisel still tell us how worried he is by "madmen like Khomeini dropping the bomb," and still say, as he did in 1982, that he will never

### Other Arguments

"But the Israelis, like it or not, are already there; you can't move them, so isn't it better to compromise?"

This argument, also very common, was never applied, it must be said, to the Palestinians themselves; they have always been eminently moveable, and are talked about as if it's a matter of little or no moment - as if it's just a "grievance" - to uproot and dispossess an entire people, drive them from their land and put them in camps for over three decades.

Even granting that, are we not just proposing to do unto the Israelis what they have done these many years to the Palestinians? Here two points must be made: first, whenever a fight is waged against a settler state, the tendency within the mother country (and America is certainly the mother country of Israel) is to always focus on the settlers, shedding tears about the sacrifices of the pioneers, etc. The French saw this as the big crisis of conscience during the Algerian War in which French troops and settlers killed 300,000 Algerians while the agonizing went on. The oppressors are glorified; the

oppressed are slaughtered.

Second, and realistically speaking, what has tended to happen in such revolutions is that once independence is gained by the indigenous people - be it in Portuguese Africa, Algeria, Zimbabwe, etc. - the bulk of the colonists who cannot get used to giving up their privileged position above the oppressed indigenous peoples usually leave, returning to the mother country or resettling in another settler state. Face it, until imperialism is wiped off the planet Earth, these people will always have some place to run to. Looking for a minute at South Africa, one could reasonably predict both that on liberation most Afrikaners are unlikely to embrace or even perhaps choose to live under the new society and that a minority will in fact work to build up the new society (even as some whites have already made certain sacrifices, including their lives, in the struggle against the apartheid regime). For Israelis, the choice is and will be similar: some will choose to stick it out to the bitter end and give everything, including their lives, in an effort to retain their dominant and oppressive position; some will rebel against the oppression of the Arabs and seek to build and support a revolutionary movement for the Israeli state's overthrow as it

develops (as some are doing today); some will one way or another come to terms with a new secular state; and some will leave. The demagogical canard that it's either a Jewish state or a one-way ticket back to the death camps is just that: demagogy, which obscures who is really threatened with genocide (and who is really actively preparing to carry it out).

"But why can't the Palestinians settle

for a mini-state?'

While there is of course some sentiment for such a deal among certain sections of the PLO, it would in no way solve the question. Why? For starters the ministate does not speak to the overall role played by the state of Israel in the region and in the Third World as a whole. Further, it's unrealistic to assume that Israel would allow such things as water rights, military parity, etc. Given that, the ministate smacks of a bantustan arrangement.

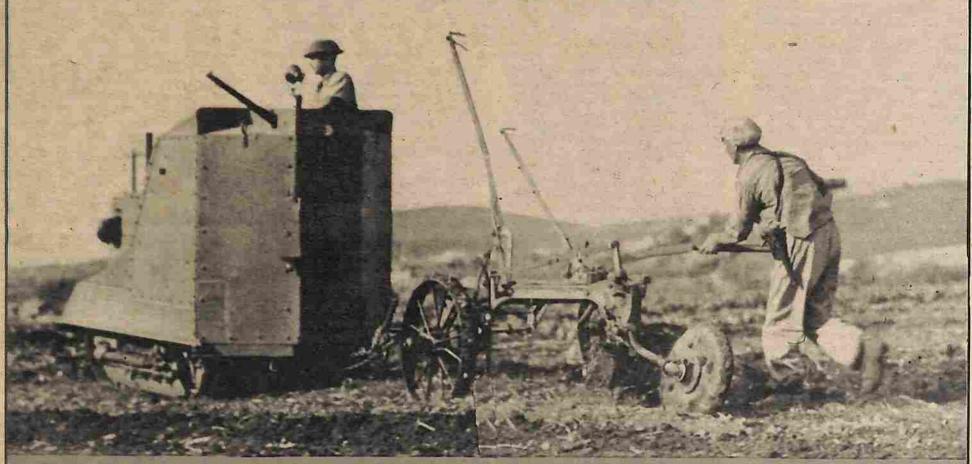
Moreover, it's necessary to concretely analyze the role played by the "mini-state" solution, especially in the thinking of those who still support Israel. Israel at this time has no intention of granting a mini-state; instead, the mini-state has been utilized as a carrot to go along with the big Israeli stick, a crumb dangled just out of reach if only the Palestinians will cease struggling and channel their efforts entirely into the diplomatic arena. And all the while that this chimera has been promoted the Israeli juggernaut has plowed on to its goal of a full deracination of Palestine.

Those supporters of Zionism who propound a mini-state often do so only within certain limits, and end up betraying their better selves. One group, for instance, which has done some valuable work exposing Israeli repression in the West Bank and which opposed the invasion of Lebanon, nevertheless in a recent publication defended the idea of a ministate against mainstream Zionist objections by arguing that such a state would be economically and militarily quite weak, and therefore no threat to Israel! A strong revolutionary socialist Palestine, struggling to break the bonds of imperialism, would presumably be unacceptable. Despite the professions of this group and others concerning the right of selfdetermination for the Palestinians, it would seem that as yet they can't break with a bottom line of Israel's continued dominance. At the same time they have inadvertently expressed some truth which those who genuinely support (or want to Continued on page 11



Palestinian youth.

# JUST WHAT BLOOMED IN THE DESERT?



The following books, valuable for further reading on Israel and the Palestinians, are available from REVOLUTION BOOKS, New York

THE FATEFUL TRIANGLE, The United States. Israel and the Palestinians by Noam Chomsky (South End Press)

Just published! A massive and all-round Indictment, extensively documented with material from the Hebrew language press, targeting Israeli terror in Lebanon and the occupied territories. Probably the very best work on the U.S. sponsorship of Israel. It especially exposes the cant and hypocrisy of Israel's liberal supporters.

ZIONISM IN THE AGE OF THE DICTATORS by Lenni Brenner (Lawrence Hill) \$8.95

Brenner has thoroughly documented the activities of the Zionist movement in relation to fascism before and during World War 2; a wide-ranging exposure of converging interests, similar outlooks and, at points, actual collaboration.

ISRAEL'S SACRED TERRORISM, a Study Based on Moshe Sharett's Diary by Livia Rokach (Arab-American University Graduates)

Israel's Pentagon Papers! Rokach dissects the private papers of a former Israeli Prime Minister, revealing the real thinking in Asrael's rolling circles during the "Golden Age" of the '50s.

ISRAEL'S GLOBAL ROLE, Weapons for Repression by Israel Shahak (Arab-American University Graduates)

This Israeli activist has put together a valuable pamphlet detailing Israeli military activities in the Third World, from

ISBAEL: A SETTLER-COLONIAL STATE? by Maxime Rodinson (Monad) \$3,45

A French scholar analyzes the close links between Israel and the various imperialist powers, especially during the years leading up to statehood. Good historical perspective.

## THE ARABS IN ISRAEL

by Sabri Jyris (Monthly Review)

\$5.95

Generally acknowledged as the definitive work on the Palestinians in Israel.

Also available:

OUR ROOTS ARE STILL ALIVE: The Story of the Palestinian People (Guardian) \$5.45

BATTLE OF BEIRUT, Why Israel Invaded Lebanon by Michael Jansen
Michael Fadl \$6.50

BEIRUT: FRONTLINE STORY by Salim Nassib (Africa World Press) \$6.95

INSIDE THE MIDDLE EAST by Oilip Hiro

PALESTINIANS: FROM PEASANTS TO REVOLUTIONARIES by Rosemary Sayigh

Selected titles from the above list are also available from other Revolution Books stores and outlets. For all Revolution Books' addresses and phone numbers, see page 4.

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Continued from page 10

support) Palestinian national interation should note; the mini-state can only necessarily be a minor adjustment in the status quo, and would only be accepted on those terms.

Finally, of course, there are the religious arguments,\* or the ones about preserving Jewish tradition. Whatever it is about Jewish tradition that those on the left who advance these concerns wish to preserve - and one would suspect it is that part associated with the role played by some Jews as a social base for dissent, criticism and rebellion in the Western societies of the 19th and first part of the

\* Israel Shaahak, human rights activist in Israel and author of Israel's Global Role, has quipped that many Jews may not be sure whether God exists, but they know he promised them the land of Israel.

20th centuries - Israel today preserves nothing but a most atavistic chauvinism. This is the Judaism of Old Testament patriarchalism made incarnate - a theological politics, be it noted, that has shown a peculiar resonance among the Protestants of Belfast, the Afrikaners and the erstwhile Puritans of New England - and the guidance it seems to draw from that book is found in passages like the following from Deuteronomy:

"When the Lord your God brings you into the land which you are entering to occupy and drives out many natives before you - Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivvites, and Jebusites, seven nations more numerous and powerful than you - when the Lord our God delivers them into your power and you defeat them, you must put them to death. You must not make a treaty

2 10/

with them or spare them. You must not intermarry with them, neither giving your daughters to their sons, nor taking their daughters for your sons; if you do, they will draw your sons away from the Lord and make them worship other gods . . . But this is what you must do to them: pull down their altars, break their sacred pillars, hack down their sacred poles and destroy their idols of fire, for you are a people holy to the Lord your God; the Lord your God chose you out of all nations on earth to be his special possession" (Deut. 7:1-6).

To get to the nub of things it's time for people who insist, despite everything, in supporting the state of Israel to ask themselves what it is they're clinging to, what they're defending - and where it's all dragging them. Why keep trying to separate "what is good about Israel" from... Israel?! There is no "progressive

Jewish nationalism," nor can there be. The banner of Jewish nationalism rightly belongs in the hands of the Begins and Sharons, and the Ben-Gurions and Dayans. Let them have it. One cannot combine Zionism, no matter how refined or anguished, with internationalism and without internationalism it will be difficult indeed to resist the horrors of the holocaust now being prepared, and impossible to stop it.

Lebanon, in so many dimensions, presented a forte for the future but the horror, the challenges and yes, the opportunities, that stood in bold relief on the streets of Beirut will multiply exponentially in days to come, on a global scale. To wrench a future out of that demands a break from the dead hand of the past and, as a crucial part of that, a rupture with all forms of imperialist chauvinism including Zionism.

# The Problematic Prosecution of Pig Alvarez

Following another week postponement, jury selection in the manslaughter trial of Miami cop Luis Alvarez is finally underway. Alvarez is charged with slaying Nevell Johnson in a video arcade in Overtown one year ago. So far even the process of jury selection has been characterized by sharp contradictions, reflecting the high level of tension in Miami in the face of this trial, and deep disagreements in certain circles over how to proceed. At least part of what has been called "passions so high" in the courtroom and among prospective jurors is being quite consciously fomented by some of the forces in this city who want the trial moved out of town. Other passions are the real feelings of hatred of national oppression and the police among the Black

On the second day of jury selection, the entire 8-story Dade County Courthouse was evacuated. A bomb threat had been called in, as prosecutor Abe Laesser announced in the Alvarez courtroom, "by a Latin male voice," raising the specter of the city's not so distant past. According to courthouse security guards, this was the first time in seven years that the courthouse had been evacuated. Back then a bomb actually exploded in the Dade County Courthouse; that year Miami bombings averaged two a day as several different reactionary Cuban paramilitary groups battled it out with each other. Bomb threats have impact in Miami since there has been such a high rate of follow through from those reactionary quarters.

Last week while K-9 squads roamed the hallways, and several thousand people milled around the parking lot across the street, the 44-person jury pool for the Alvarez trial was carefully ushered into a smaller parking lot away from the crowds. Judge David Gersten and a bevy of bailiffs accompanied the jurors, but within minutes chants rang out. As Alvarez's defense attorney railed at the judge on the record in court afterwards, "the inmates of the jail all began chanting out the windows 'kill Alvarez, kill

Alvarez!' " The predominantly Black prisoners in the jail had evidently recognized the judge and seized the opportunity to let their feelings be known. The jury pool was hurriedly moved again, until it could be escorted back into a private courtroom where it is being held under lock and key. Of course, Alvarez's attorney immediately used this to make his third separate motion to move the trial to another city, raising another specter of riots - and alleged threats to his client from "Black extremists." At this early stage of things in this trial, all manner of "uncontrollable violence" was being bantered about in the courtroom with enough basis in the real contradictions in Miami to have a ring of truth to it. Both the prosecution and the defense have been continually asking such questions as, "Do you think that your verdict might be influenced by the possibility of a riot?" and "Do you think that you would be able to render a fair and impartial verdict if you thought your wife's life was being threatened while you were sequestered?" (After several days of that and more, a bailiff was called to the stand to reveal that one juror had said he'd risk contempt charges before he'd serve on the jury and others were afraid of having their names made public.)

The fourth floor of the Dade County Courthouse has been transformed as well, with the beginning of jury selection. A blockade of tables, an airport-style metal detector and a number of threepiece suited police and security guards make an imposing barrier in front of the Alvarez courtroom. But even with all the heavy police presence, there is an obvious public policy of low-key, friendly rela-tions with all of the mostly elderly Black people who have been mobilized through church organizations to monitor the jury selection. About a dozen or more people sit in each day, their stated purpose being "to have Black people represented on the jury at this sensitive trial.

The small groups of more unruly Black youth, who pop in and out of the tediously boring courtroom scene are another story altogether. One young man, who had the audacity to hum a tune to himself after he passed through the metal detectors, was literally surrounded by six guards and forced to show I.D. before he was "asked" to leave. He was never allowed to step a foot in the courtroom.

The other regular court spectators are off-duty Cuban and white cops. Dozens of them check in and out each day, slapping Alvarez's shoulder as they go by. For several days many of these cops came in uniform, which was somewhat out of synch with the rest of the public relations foray outside. An Internal Affairs major was overheard telling several of these uniformed boys that they must have missed a roll-call memo in the Miami police department, forbidding them to wear their uniforms at this trial. So now, the cops just flash their badges to the guards at the metal detector when the buzzer screams at the concealed guns. Some of them simply hook the brass pig badges on their Jordache belts. A swaggering group, a perfect match to the arrogant, unrepentant demeanor of murderer

Ah, but . . . Alvarez is "innocent until proven guilty," the judge insists on reminding the TV camera periodically. One of many such flowery pitches came down on day one of the jury selection just minutes after the same judge had ruled that the Alvarez defense team could indeed put their "critical witness" on the stand to "prove" that Nevell Johnson had robbed a woman two months before he'd been shot. Nevell Johnson was never a suspect in that case until after he'd been murdered and his picture was in the newspapers and the TV. The Alvarez defense attorney argued in court, "We are entitled to know what Nevell Johnson's motive was, why in the face of two police officers did he go for his gun. He was worried about at least one robbery that we can prove." The judge agreed (casually letting his "innocentuntil-proven-guilty" principles take a

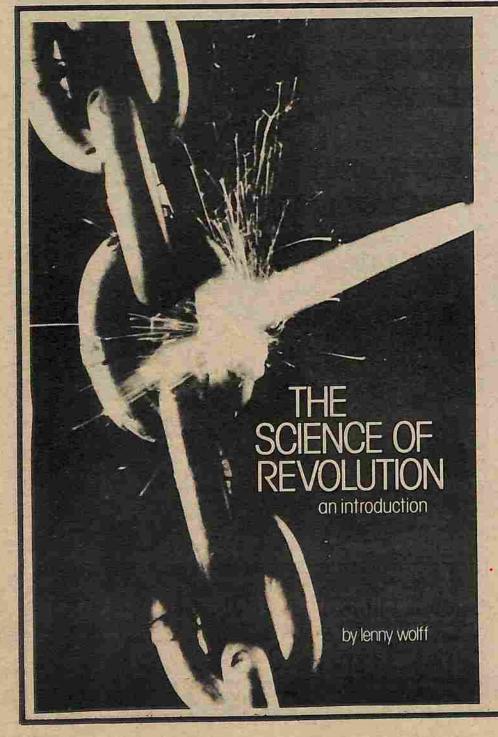
walk.) Nevell Johnson is to be assumed guilty for a crime he was never even charged with in order for the cop who murdered him to be found innocent. Now that's a real lesson in American justice.

In fact, day one of jury selection was quite a day for officer Alvarez. Another of the last pre-trial motion hearings was held that day and afterwards neither the prosecution, defense, or judge could remember who even contested for it, there was so much agreement on both sides. It was a hearing that focused on the two guns (one of which exists thanks to the common throw-down practice of police) - the "gun" concealed under Nevell Johnson's shirt, and the service revolver of officer Alvarez that "fired accidentally while being pointed at the ceiling." Apparently Nevell Johnson's head got in the way. That is a scenario that both sides in this trial have basic agreement on, since it is the conclusion of the police investigation last April.

At this last pre-trial hearing on the "two guns," two Miami police department detectives, both prosecution witnesses, were asked to stand up and show how Luis Alvarez moved in response to Nevell Johnson's so-called "sudden move." The cameras were treated to a play and replay of the police version of that few seconds occurrence which was entirely based on what the murdering pig Alvarez told them! But what was even more significant than these "life and death reflexes" of officer Alvarez, so carefully portrayed by the detectives, were the comments of one of these two detectives on what the detective first noticed when he walked in the video arcade less than ten minutes after Nevell Johnson was murdered, "I observed officer Alvarez with a small black revolver tucked in his gunbelt. I approached officer Alvarez and asked him if he was involved. He said he had just taken this gun, he pointed at his gunbelt, off the victim. I had no idea what had occurred, the officer advised me he had been pushed." Remember, that this is a prosecution witness answering direct questioning from the prosecutor.

This detective's testimony about the "small black revolver" is clearly intended to deal with a particularly thorny problem in this case. The problem is that Nevell Johnson did not have a gun and that no one that night in the arcade saw either Alvarez or his partner Louis Cruz take any gun out from under Nevell Johnson's shirt. Therefore no one will testify to such a thing at the trial. Therefore an expert prosecution witness has already stated in a report last fall that Alvarez "left the gameroom without taking Johnson's handgun, a stolen .22 Saturday night special." Evidently, what everyone did see that night is both Alvarez and Cruz running out to their police cruiser immediately after the shooting to "radio for help." It was only after these two cops had been out to their car that Alvarez was seen with a small gun "tucked in his belt." This is indeed a problem.

One of the key remaining disagreements between the prosecution and defense centers on whether or not Alvarez's revolver was cocked. If what got revealed at this hearing is the bottom line of the prosecution's "evidence" against Alvarez, then the answer to that question, according to the police summary report written on January 5, 1982, and according to sworn depositions made of the detectives who conducted the investigation, Alvarez's gun was not cocked. It comes as no surprise that these are the terms of disagreement in this trial. Either way it goes on these terms, it's a question of "accident." Maybe a few degrees here and there, but still "accident." What gall these pigs have. Did Alvarez cock his gun?!? Not only did he cock it, he put it right to Nevell Johnson's head and pulled the trigger. There is another problem with the police story on these terms: at least one cop had trouble on the witness stand remembering the story line. The detective contradicted his earlier written statements by claiming that Alvarez really told him he "did not recall" if the gun was cocked. It will be interesting to see if this detective gets charged with perjury like at least two Overtown youth have been, who said they saw the gun planted on Nevell Johnson by the police.



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# SEARCH AND DESTROY IN ALLENTOWN

The following account was sent by a reader in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Greetings Comrades,

I am writing this to inform you of some happenings in Allentown, Pa. I started this before I saw the RW article on the "accidental" nuclear attack warning in Allentown. (See RW No. 238, "Three Minutes in Allentown.")

Last spring, a few homeless proletarian youth and others began getting organized around establishing mobile camps in Fountain Park. This park lies about a mile from downtown Allentown and was a frequent sleeping place for the homeless. The idea of security in numbers was accentuated by the rapes and robberies of others trying to get a night's sleep as well as some personal experience of our own. This park seemed ideal because of its long winding nature and heavy tree cover. It seems to have fit in well with plans during WW2 to hide factories and mills from air raids as it borders a Mack Truck plant and a metal fabricator. The heavy concentration of willow trees earned it the name of "Vietnam" during the '60s. This park also leads into the most popular youth hangout, Lehigh Parkway, and was seen as an escape route out of downtown fast and unseen.

These camps were constructed out of trashpickings of carpet and sofas, etc., as well as donations, including tools and a tent. The need to be mobile was hammered home by harassment from assholes and police. One campsite was sprayed down with water hoses from above to "put out the fire."

As our numbers grew so did a support network among the downtown youth. Many will face the housing crisis sooner or later and supported the idea of safe communal emergency housing being established. These camps also provided a safe haven from the Hamilton Mall Shopping Center clampdown on youth. We based ourselves on the understanding that we would only be allowed to continue until school began and the Mall had been "pacified."

In mid-July we moved into a previously built "fort" that had since become a sleeping place after the original builders were cleared out by the police. This 15'x25' wooden shack was soon transformed into a full home unit with kitchen, bathing and swimming facilities; and declared a squatters camp.

We continued to build and decorate over the next month and a half as well as feed and house over 50 people at i various times. This included "out of towners" passing thru, which seemed to rouse the interest of the police as / undercover cops asked us and others about the camp's connection to some vague "cross country tour." This was a right before the Peace Walk from New York City to Washington, D.C. was slated to complete on August 27th. Up until the end of August, police had maintained sporadic surveillance and periodic checks for fires (illegal except for fishermen and "official picnics"), but had not asked for I.D. or searched anyone. Although some of the squatters and supporters were involved with

political activity around the RW and the Call to Debate the Nature of the Soviet Union" leaflets, the camp remained a ! means of survival rather than a conscious tool to reach people politically This was transformed by the "clampdown" on youth at the mall, as various means of protest were debated. The more advanced youth saw the need to put out a leaflet exposing the connection of local police actions against \ 'undesirables" and the overall context of war preparations for World War 3. This leaflet was released the first day of the Allentown Fair (the big deal around here). Unlike the usual hassles for selling the RW or leafletting the Fairgrounds (also the scene of most of A-town's rock concerts) we were left alone for the four-day event. This included holding a large banner less than 50 ft. from the security guards' office on Labor Day which read: "I don't believe there are any Russians and there ain't no yanks...there's only corporate criminals playing with tanks!" and 'Patriotism is poison; Workers have no country, We are internationalists!'

This lack of police response was noticed two days later when police raided our camp the first day of school, Sept. 7th. We had an RW "conspiracy" poster as well as our leaflets and poster for a demo around the U.S.S.A. (sic) role in Nicaragua laying about and taped to the walls. Drawings of burning U.S. flags didn't even bring out the usual anticommunist remarks; instead these professionals netted a runaway and a delinquent fine payer after checking everyone's I.D. During this raid the police were forced to admit that they had no reports against us by some. steelworkers who came away from their without any problems." These workers, as well as the water workers, had helped us by sneaking us into the plants for showers and fresh water, and refusing to tear down our camp when told to by their foremen.

On Friday, Sept. 9th, we had a party that lasted until 2:00 am. There were only four people in camp sleeping when two individuals entered about 3:00, claiming to be after someone not associated with us who had ripped them off. After being told he wasn't there by those who woke up, they began using our tools to smash things and beat the others. They repeatedly said, "Who the hell do you people think you are? We're going to burn this place down!"

After they left the place burning and some of us hurt, the police and fire departments showed up right away but left the camp burned to the ground. The police took a full report as well as taking one of us to the hospital for a head injury, but wouldn't let us go thru the mug shots to try and identify our attackers.

The two people who remained in the area were awakened to a massive military-style search operation, supposedly for an escaped convict named Grello. Unlike the newspaper articles told it, the police pointed shotguns at these youth (who looked nothing like Grello) as they were searched down to the telephone numbers in their wallets. These youth had just talked to police hours before; and given the planning of this operation, which was recounted in

newspaper articles, it is unlikely the attack on us and the fire wasn't mentioned at the 5:30 am police briefing. The front page Sunday paper claimed that we were "found" when the police knew that we were there all summer. The article said nothing about the attack on us, but made a point of mentioning that one youth was a diabetic and had syringes on him, which seemed to be aimed at creating unfavorable opinion against us since we had told the reporter everything. And this is hardly "reporting the news."

The same article also noted that the chief of operations had "advised them to check around the remains of the shack for anything that could be salvaged and then located elsewhere." In a follow-up article in the local section the reporter notes "together, state police, FBI and Allentown police could come up with only two youths sleeping under clothes on the property of a metal fabricator, no trace of Grello, or evidence that he had been there." (Note: all raids, including his further capture, were carried out by local police only no state pigs or FBI, including when they knew where he was in Bethlehem.) The picture on the front page showed police at the waterworks, directly across from our former camp.

While moving supplies to a new campsite (one built for an emergency) on Wednesday, Sept. 14th, we were told by a steelworker that two uniformed police and four plainclothes detectives or FBI agents had been poking around the remains of our former camp the day before and had told the workers we had an internal fight and burned the place ourselves. Later an older water worker that had heard things about the fire told us he was better off keeping his mouth shut about what he had heard.

On Sept. 15th, hours after camp members and supporters marched in a Nicaragua demo with red flags and a banner calling for victory to world revolution, two undercover cops came into our camp and got the drop on us with a .45 pistol. They said, "O.K., everybody freeze, where's Grello?" They kept the drop on us without yet identifying themselves as police and questioned us about how many lived there, how long, and asked if we had any weapons. As they were leaving they ran into people bringing in supplies and called two squad cars which arrived immediately to harass and question us.

Over the next two months, we were forced to move twice and experienced about eight more raids, which included remarks from police about the fire and danger of living in the woods....

Towards the end of '83 the police began accusing us of being a guerrilla training camp based on our defensive measures which included an 8-foot-high barrier of dead trees and brush surrounding our camp and punji stakes and tripwires inside the compound. We assume

Continued on page 14

# Glimpse of the Future

go to war.

Bob Avakian: You're the type of person who, when they fire the first missile, is going to be saying, "How do I know that?" See, we shouldn't be so blind and pragmatic. You should look at what they are actually preparing and how they are preparing public opinion. Why have they got people standing in long gaslines? It's not just to extort higher gas prices. It's to get people used to what went on in World War 2, rationing and everything else.

Dave Patterson: Rationalizing is a pretty good word for what you're doing. You're taking all these things that are happening and using them as some sort of a scheme to get us set up for something, (Applause)

Bob Avakian: What happened in Angola? What is happening in Ethiopia? The Russian and the American imperialists — both of them — are presently

Dave Patterson: They're playing games with each other.

Bob Avakian: That's not a game when people are getting killed. They are fighting through proxy troops right now. In fact, they even switched partners. Dave Patterson: Wait, that doesn't have anything to do with us.

Bob Avakian: It doesn't? Well, it has to do with people all over this country and all over this world.

Dave Patterson: Not in this studio.

Bob Avakian: Maybe you're so narrow-minded as to think that. Maybe your world isn't any broader than this studio, but most people have to be concerned about the whole world. That's what we're concerned about, because we want to make revolution and get rid of the system that causes this misery and oppression throughout the whole world. That's why the first step is to rise up and overthrow the capitalist system and defeat their armed forces.

Dave Patterson: How are you going to do that? Are you going to shoot me? Is that the thing to do?

Bob Avakian: I don't think the question is you. You seem to be too much hung-up on yourself. (Scattered applause and jeering) We're talking about the conditions of the masses of people out here. We're talking about changing a system that is going to force hundreds of millions of people to face nuclear war - if we don't abolish the system first. We're talking about millions and tens of millions of people being organized by our Party, being politically educated, and fighting consciously to rise up and make revolution with guns in hand. Now that's a question of fighting and dying for our own interests.

Dave Patterson: What's the difference between you and somebody like the

Symbionese Liberation Army?

Bob Avakian: The difference is that they didn't believe that masses of people - in particular the working class, who are the backbone of this society but are enslaved under capitalism - they didn't believe the masses could recognize their own revolutionary interests. They didn't believe people could be educated to rise above all these petty divisions - such as Black and white, men and women - which the capitalists sow in our ranks. They didn't believe people could become conscious of the need, and therefore become willing and determined, to rise up and put everything on the line to make revolution. That is what we believe. Revolution is a question of the masses of people rising up, not a question of a few heroes.

Dave Patterson: When do you decide that it's time to go? When do you decide that it's time to get the guns and go out?

Bob Avakian: You see, we're out here every day in these factories and these

Dave Patterson: Okay, I understand that but I said how do you decide when

Bob Avakian: I'm explaining that to you. We're out every day in the streets with the people when they hit the streets to fight back against this system, whether it's in the factory, the neighborhood, or wherever it might be. We are out there when they take to the streets against these nuclear outrages (whether you recognize them or not, two hundred thousand or more have already recognized them and decided that they had to do something about them). And many more millions of people will come into motion as they see world war looming and much more clearly on the horizon. We're going to be in the midst of all that and we'll be talking to people as we are every day. We know when they agree with us; we know to what degree they agree with us; we know to what degree they disagree with us because we are not afraid to go out and criticize and struggle and argue with them. We talk and argue with them openly about what has to be done and listen to what they have to say, and we try to show them that the only way forward is revolution. Right now we influence tens of thousands of people. When we're able to influence hundreds of thousands and millions and tens of millions of people - as things sharpen up and people see more clearly the bankruptcy of this system, as they see more clearly that the only answer the system has to this economic crisis (which nobody can deny) is to go to war, when they say, "I've had enough, maybe it's true what you say and maybe it's about time we did something about it in a thoroughgoing way" - then, we will be there with the military plans and lead them in armed revolution.

(Continued next week)

# The First Significant Deepening of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism

"This is a provocative reinterpretation of Marx and Lenin from a viewpoint opposed to capitalism and imperialism and also opposed to what it calls the 'socialimperialism' of the Soviet Union. It is therefore worth reading as an unusual point of view, rigorously presented."

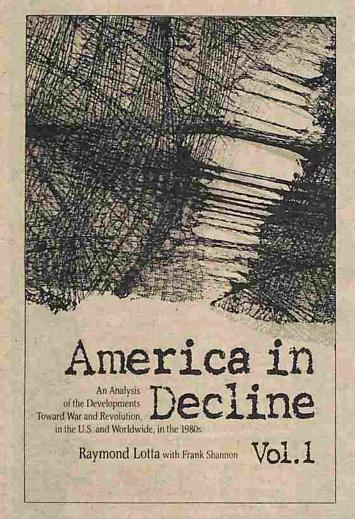
> Professor of Political Science, Boston University author of A People's History of the United States

"From a theoretical perspective, the chief significance of this book is the way it develops Marxist political economy in the light of Lenin's analysis of imperialism. It argues that the laws of capitalist accumulation now operate at the level of the world as a whole, including both East and West. The problems of individual countries must therefore be seen in the context of the world system. This is an important argument and it is developed here not only with scholarly care but also with an eye to the guidance it provides for political action.'

Graduate Faculty at the New School for Social Research author of Growth, Profits and Properts

America in Decline is a multivolume study of the origins and implications of the contemporary crisis of world capitalism.

This work breaks new ground and offers fresh insights into the nature and history of monopoly capitalism. Its theoretical point of departure is the integrating and determining role of the world imperialist economy. The structures and trends of particular national economies can only be understood in light of a world dynamic. Indeed, the contradictions, tensions, and conflicts to which imperialism gives rise must ultimately - and can only under this system - be resolved through the forcible recasting of international relations, that is, through world war. At the same time, revolutionary upheavals are inextricably bound up with and profoundly influence this world dynamic. America in Decline represents a remarkable defense and the first significant deepening of Lenin's theory of imperialism.



Volume 1 contains three introductory studies. The first chapter lays the theoretical foundation for the work as a whole and sets forth its principal theses. The second chapter surveys the rise and ascendance of U.S. imperialism, emphasizing those factors which would play a crucial part in the bolstering and unraveling of its international position in the years after 1945. The third chapter subjects the received tradition of Comintern crisis theory to blistering criticism.

America in Decline is an immensely important and timely work. Three decades of the greatest growth in the history of capitalism have now led to a crisis of massive proportions and brought the world to the precipice of the most destructive war in

human history. America in Decline combines a mastery of material with a sense of urgency. Marxism here is presented and applied with rigor and with vision. No one wishing to understand the causes and dimensions of the world crisis of the 1980s and the potential that it holds for revolutionary transformation can afford to overlook this work.

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Continued from page 13

that these accusations resulted in a threat to firebomb the camp for this reason by one of the guys involved in the first attack and fire.

The police then carried out the first overt political act by tearing down our red flag flying over the compound after a 4:00 am raid and search before

On January 2nd, '84, we were raided again by six cops looking for a "Harvey." Of course, not finding him, they continued with the normal search and I.D. check. This time they tore up our tripwires and kicked down the punji stakes and informed us not to replace them as someone might get hurt. About two hours later a fire inspector showed up and said that the camp will have to be torn down as an unfit living structure and a fire hazard. We were told we had a few days to get out. On January 4th, about 9:30 am, we were awakened to threats to kick the door in. We were told by the police that we had 30 minutes to get our stuff together and split. Immediately they started tearing the place apart, with us still in it. One of the cops said in front of us two or three times that: "The only way to get these people out is to burn them out." As these pigs took delight in tearing down the camp, we collected what we could and we took it outside the compound. We tried to talk to the city workers as they arrived but were ordered to leave under threat of arrest for "defiant trespassing." We hid what we could in a pre-arranged hiding place and made our way to downtown. We heard the nuclear alert sirens but paid no attention. We didn't know we could have been atomic fallout until the next day's paper informed us that of all the 44 counties alerted, only Lehigh County had been ready for war! We wondered if that included civil war, but on second thought we didn't doubt it for a minute. We had come to the same conclusion as the RW article that the likelihood of the "accidental" alarm being some kind of test was very real, and we found it ironic that we may have unknowingly provided the state a little opportunity to prepare their forces for the war at home. It reminded me of a story from one of the East German peace activists I read in the RW where he described being trained in the East German army during some student unrest,"how to mop up in the streets, how to herd people together with the use of water cannon, and even supposedly how to hunt 'troublemakers' in the hills around the town. . . .

In struggle, In Allentown

# The Neo-colonial Red Carpet Treatment

Continued from page 5

hardware that could be sold to China. Such military influence would make China a tougher nut to crack for the Soviets, while not significantly improving China's capability to strike outward. An agreement to start an exchange of military officials between the U.S. and China was reviewed during Weinberger's trip to Peking last year. Presumably, such exchanges will help the U.S. establish more direct contacts with figures in the Chinese military. The U.S. is also stepping up coordination with China in the intelligence field. Recently, Chinese foreign minister Wu Xueqian held a secret meeting with CIA director William Casey in Washington. Although the subject of the talks was not revealed, there is some speculation that it dealt with covert action in Afghanistan and Indochina. In October, the director of the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency made an unpublicized stopover in Peking, a stop which possibly included coordination of U.S. intelligence on the Soviet Union.

### The China Market

Although the political and strategic aspects of Zhao's trip - and indeed of the U.S.-China relations as a whole - are principal, the economic aspect certainly is still of significance. For some in the U.S. the phrase "open door," it seems, still manages to conjure up visions of a huge market for imperialist feasting. In the late 1800s, the U.S., then a rapidly rising power in the worldwide imperialist scramble for colonies and spheres of influence, pushed its own interests in the carving up of China under the name of the "Open Door Policy." The Christian Science Monitor remarked that, "Today, as more than a century ago, the dream of furnishing oil for the lamps of China beguiles the American businessman." In an editorial titled "China's Open Door to Nuclear Trade," the New York Times pointed out that the mere consummation by China of an agreement to buy reactor hardware from France "has incited American nuclear vendors, desperate for foreign sales now that domestic orders have ceased, to fight the French for the lucrative Chinese market they envisage."

Indeed, several agreements that were signed or discussed during the trip are intended to smooth the way for the penetration of U.S. capital into China. Under one agreement, according to the New York Times, "China would provide in-formation on major industrial projects in which it wants American participation, and the U.S. would agree to facilitate consultations, financing and bidding by American companies." Under discussion is a treaty that would more precisely define the legal ins and outs of U.S. investments in China. China was the first "communist" country to sign such a treaty. The list of countries who've signed similar agreements with the U.S. in the past few years - Egypt, Haiti, Panama and Senegal - gives an idea of the kind of dependent relations that such treaties are intended to reinforce. According to one Reagan administration official, "At the top of the present agenda" of negotiations taken up during the Zhao trip was a proposed agreement permitting China access to American nuclear reac-tors and other "peaceful" nuclear technology. The official predicted that the nuclear pact would probably be signed during Reagan's visit to China in

Within China, the revisionist regime has been taking steps to insure greater influx of foreign capital. One of the measures is the law on joint ventures adopted last year. The new rules, explained Beijing Review, "show China's determination to adhere to a policy of opening to the outside world. By giving favorable treatment to Chinese-foreign joint ventures, the new regulations will insure profits for the industrialists." The "favorable treatment" includes lenient

tax and custom policies, more "soft management" as compared to regular enterprises, and permitting a greater portion of the products to be marketed in China rather than abroad.

Of course, the revisionists explain that all this is indication of greater "economic cooperation" between China and the advanced capitalist countries. But the revisionists themselves shamelessly advertise just what such "cooperation" entails. Zhao, for instance, told reporters that, "The U.S. is the biggest developed country in the world. It has capital and technology. China is the biggest developing country in the world. It has untapped resources and materials. So there is much that our two sides can do in developing economic cooperation and trade between our two countries." A similar theme was sounded last November during the trip by Hu Yaobang, the secretary general of the revisionist party, to the Deng regime's other imperialist main state, Japan. Beijing Review declared that "China abounds in natural resources while Japan has advanced science and technology. There are many ways in which the two nations can complement each other." Imperialism and revisionist China certainly "complement each other" - in the manner of a servant "complementing" his master.

# Dealing for "The Long-Term"

However, while the flow of Western capital into China is real and on the rise, this is taking place in the context of a sharp and fundamental crisis of the entire imperialist system. The newly published America In Decline points out: "...even the opening of a vast new market in the colonies may not, at a given point in a spiral, substantially push forward accumulation. That China, for instance, has thrown itself open to Western capital - its capitulation at least now taking the form of moving into the orbit of the Western bloc - has had no significant leavening effect on crisis, nor has it obviated the need for total redivision, visions of a one-billion person consumer market notwithstanding. The depth of the world economic crisis, from which China is now hardly immune, sets limits to the tapping of these possibilities and the intensity of interimperialist rivalry imposes additional constraints on the viability of piecemeal restructuring" (Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon [Chicago: Banner Press, 1984], 175n, p. 154). In short, the only way for the U.S. and other imperialist powers of its bloc to forge a basis for a revitalized spiral of accumulation and pursue a more thorough penetration of areas like China is to defeat the rival imperialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union in an all-out war for redivision of the world.

While the "opening" of China indeed has not had any "significant leavening effect on crisis," the question of which imperialist bloc China is attached to is of paramount strategic-military significance in the preparations for and waging of the world war. Thus, even the "economic" questions discussed during Zhao's trip must be looked at in this light. Facilitating a somewhat greater flow of capital and technology to China, for example, is intended in part to give Deng some ammunition against forces within China who argue that capitulation to the West (as opposed to the Soviets) is costing too much in terms of pressure from the Soviets, while China is getting too little in return. As for the proposed accord of transfer of "peaceful" nuclear technology to China, it is of course no secret that nuclear power technology is very much linked with nuclear weapons development and the operation of 'peaceful'' nuclear reactors with production of materials for nuclear weapons. China already possesses nuclear weapons and some long-range delivery systems capable of reaching fairly deeply into Soviet territory (although these are, of course, nothing like the nukes deployed by either the Soviets or the U.S.). Again, the U.S. is not aiming to pump up China too much beyond present levels. Through the agreement on nuclear technology, the U.S. hopes to exercise more control over China's nuclear development. The preconditions set forth by the U.S. for the signing of the accord have been that China agree to "safeguards" such as U.S. veto over the transfer of U.S.-supplied nuclear fuel and

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Another "Gang of Four"

Edited with an introduction by Raymond Lotta

The 'gang of four,' according to Lotta, was actually a 'gang of five' including and led by Mao himself, because these revolutionaries were Mao's close allies and ardent supporters. In a lengthy introduction (pp. 1-50), Lotta traces the fierce struggle as it evolved in the years during 1973-76 between the Left led by Mao who strived to reaffirm and extend the innovations of the Cultural Revolution and the anti-Mao forces grouped around Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping who sought to reverse the 'correct verdicts' on the Cultural Revolution. Lotta asserts that Mao's 'last great battle' was ended in a right-wing coup barely one month after Mao's death resulting in the ouster of the four most prominent followers of Mao, and that the post-Mao leaders have repudiated Mao's revolutionary line and instituted a revisionist rule.

Also included in the volume are more than 50 documents and articles mostly published in Red Flag, Study and Criticism, and People's Daily. These are highly useful reference materials for understanding the developments of 1973-76, whether or not one agrees with Lotta's thesis.

- Parris Chang, China Quarterly

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technology to third party countries and over reprocessing of nuclear waste to make weapons grade material. Last year, China joined the International Atomic Energy Agency. And during his U.S. visit Zhao publicly declared that China would agree to the preconditions set by the U.S., thus clearing the way for the signing of the agreement.

However, the aforementioned New York Times editorial, "China's Open Door to Nuclear Trade," still expressed concern about the nuclear pact. The editorial talked of the "uncertain" future of "China's policy after the departure of the 80-year-old Deng Xiaoping." "Any deal," cautioned the Times, "needs to be fashioned for the long-term, not

November elections." Could dramatic changes in China in the not-too-distant future (note the reference to "the departure of the 80-year-old Deng") put sensitive nuclear technology in the wrong hands, wonders the Times. What is striking here is that despite the revisionists' willing assent to agree to the various preconditions in order to get a little handout from their masters, despite the steps in integrating China further into the bloc, and despite Zhao's pledge that China's open door will never close again, the imperialists are still very much worried that such a crucial and strategic area for them might get very shaky very quickly. This is a sharp reflection of the intensity and volatility of the world situation today.

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