



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

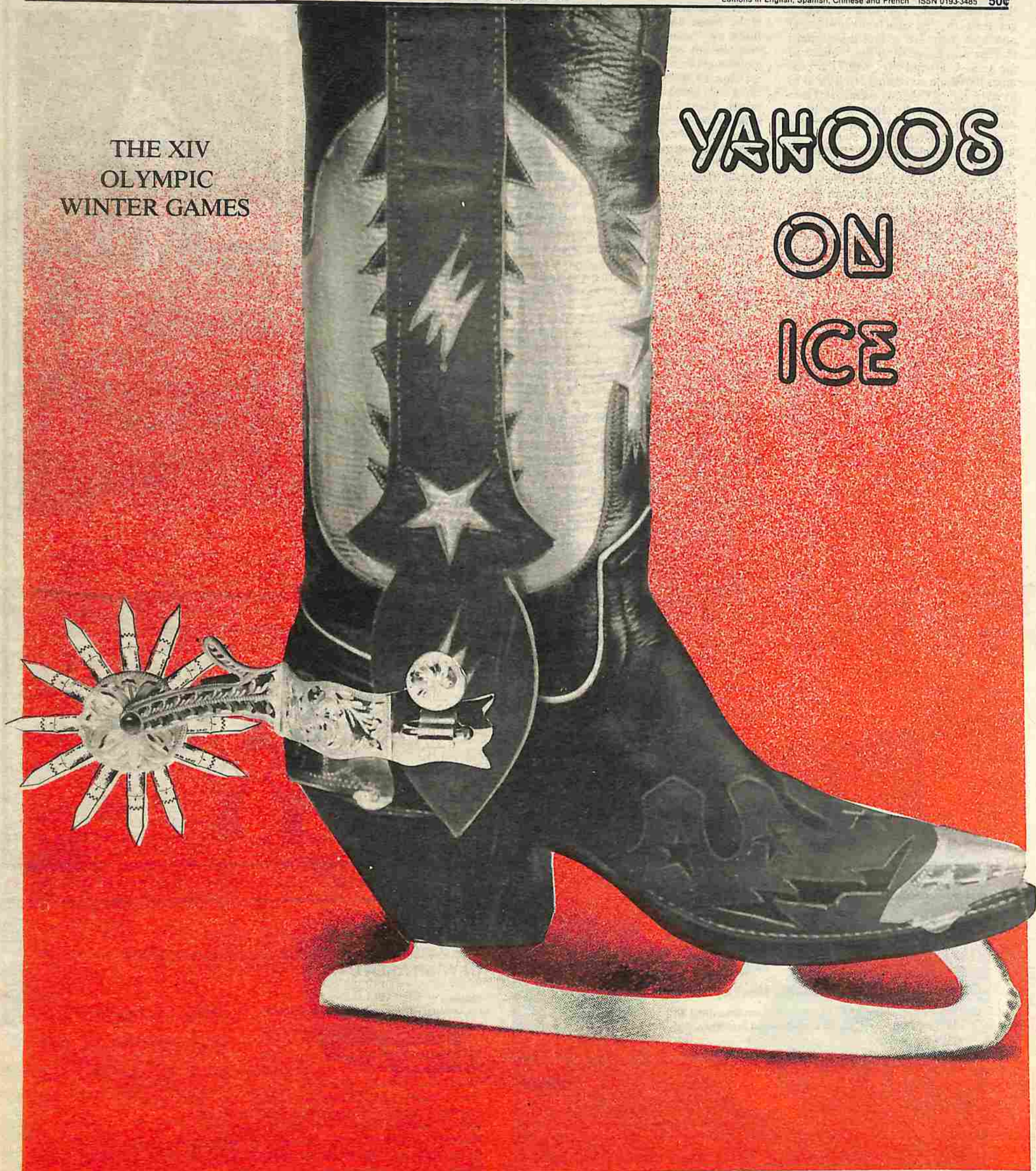
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THE XIV
OLYMPIC
WINTER GAMES

YAHOOO
ON
ICE



For those who would cast doubt on the biological possibility of goosebumps appearing on dinosaurs, consider the 1984 Winter Olympics. And what better way to rev up the new jingo juggernaut than to harken back to previous Gold Medal glory — especially that euphoriant moment when the impossible dream became the miracle on ice on its way to becoming the Eighth Wonder of the World. Or, as *Time* magazine's trumpets bellowed in its recent special report on the Games: "Even after four years, it comes back in a sweep (also known as a *media blitz* —

RW). All it takes is one glimpse of a hockey shirt with U.S.A. planted on the front, and suddenly the scene re-erupts in the mind: sticks waved like flags, teammates hugging, a crowd in sweet tears. Odd for the summertime nation that a Winter Olympics provided such a memorable moment in sports, so memorable that half of us still swear that we beat the Russians, not the Finns, in the finals. But winter plays tricks with the senses." How modest of the free press — giving Mother Nature credit for its own accomplishments.

But great as this achievement was, it could not be enough to fulfill the voracious needs of a summertime nation readying its minions for a nuclear winter. Many more memorable moments in sports must be created — moments that will stir the blood of, and activate, loyal patriots everywhere, moments that can demonstrate America's ideological superiority and indomitable will to win for all the world to see, moments that can inspire confidence in the American way of death. Nothing in the world of sports can match the Olympic spectacle for the

manufacture of such moments. Where else but in an Olympics could a statement be made like this one from Lou Vairo, the current coach of hockey Team USA: "We have one little ingredient going for us that the Russians don't. We're Americans." And Vairo, not content to let such profundity stand on its own, went ahead in the same interview to note that: "Because we're Americans we believe we can succeed at anything we do. I think that's a tribute to our country, our heritage, our way of life." This power-

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THE XIV OLYMPIC WINTER GAMES YAHOOOS ON ICE

Continued from page 1

play of propaganda is itself a tribute to Vairo's qualifications as a U.S. Olympic coach.

However, there is a definite possibility that all this will not be enough, at least for the hockey team. The Soviet pucksters are clearly the best team in the world right now and there are several other teams that are also expected to finish ahead of the U.S. Consequently, ABC-TV promises to remain exceedingly flexible as to its coverage of Olympic events. If Team USA is winning, the tube will be inundated with ice hockey. If not — well, there's no percentage in dwelling on America's defeats (nor the "enemy's" victories), at this time.

As we go to press, the best guess is that our screens will be heavily lit up by figure skating and Alpine skiing — two sports where U.S. "hopes are high," as they say. Sports fans may wonder what happened to speed skating, a sport that was so-o-o-o exciting in 1980, when the U.S.'s Eric Heiden set a record by winning five gold medals, and seemed to be in our living rooms every night. It seems that the sport has become dull in the past few years, what with the U.S. team in disarray, the favored East German women being a bunch of "automotians" according to the *The ABC Sports Official Viewer's Guide To The XIV Olympic Winter Games Sarajevo 1984*, and the Soviet Union men favored in some of the sprints. There is a chance that a Japanese speed skater could upset the Soviets — and thereby revive some interest in the sport for the U.S.-led bloc — but this remains to be seen. Even figure skating, a traditional strength of the U.S., must be carefully considered to make sure that the proper events are emphasized. For example, the men's and women's singles look pretty good for the U.S.'s chances and have thus been getting a lot of pre-Olympic hype. However, the Soviets are clearly favored in the pairs competition, so that event has been superseded by ice dancing, where the U.S.'s friends from Britain are expected to show-up the Russians.

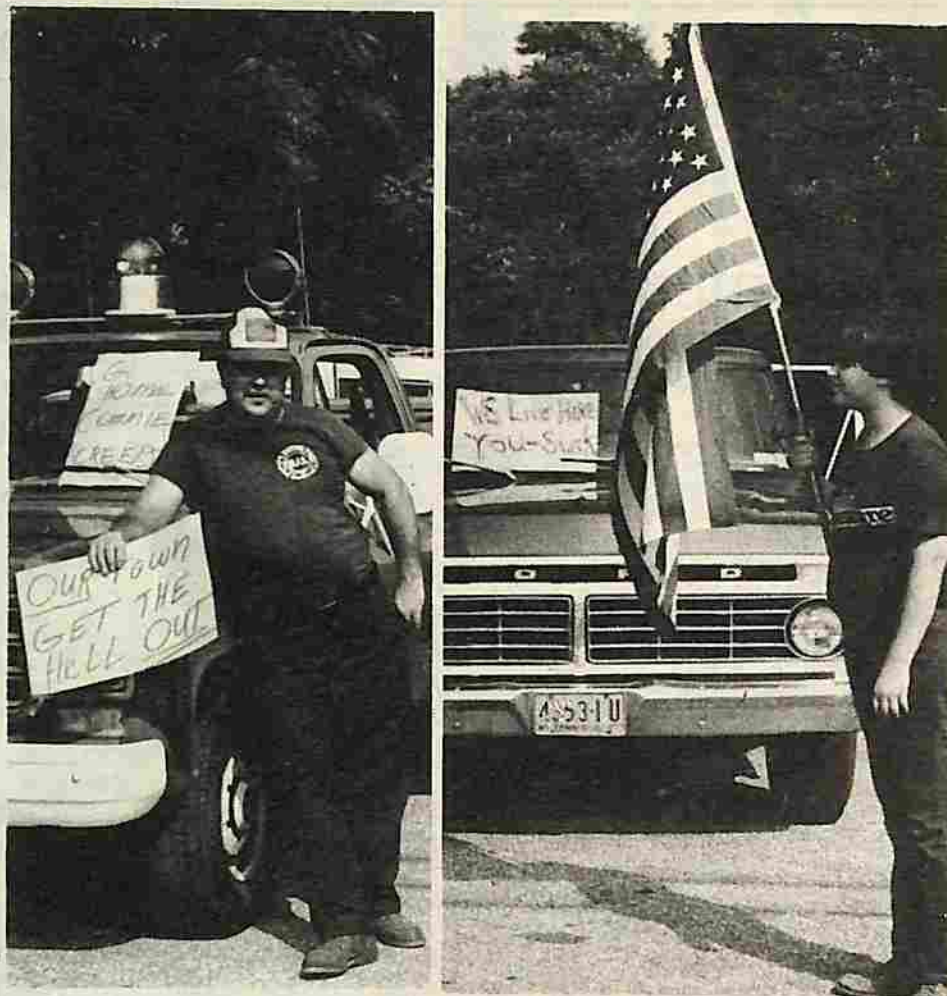
Of course, the specifics of all this can change depending on how it goes in the various events, and the *RW* will be following the developments closely. But the basic theme has already been mandated by the world situation and the U.S.'s pressing necessity. It is expressed in the *Time* heading "Clear The Way For The U.S.A." It is also expressed in the cowboy hats and sheepskin jackets that the U.S. Team will wear in the opening ceremony, recalling the spirit of Manifest Destiny and the determination to ride over everything in its path, that resulted

in the "winning of the West"; no word yet on whether the coaches will pass out symbolic representations of smallpox blankets in the opening parade. There will also most likely be a great deal of commentary about how the U.S. is usually the "underdog" in the Winter Games (note the "summertime nation" comment above), as if the U.S. didn't have any mountains with snow on them, not to mention all the ski resorts, ice skating rinks, advanced equipment and high-protein diets (for some people) that comes from sitting atop the imperialist mountains and riding the backs of the oppressed throughout the world. But the point will be made that now the U.S. is coming from behind and is ready to roll over the enemy — and let its friends in the Western bloc know who's boss as well. Indeed, as regards the U.S. Team, ABC's Olympic standby Jim McKay will have to modify his main slogan somewhat to make sure that any possibly depressing results are skipped over; perhaps he could change it to "The thrill of victory, the thrill of victory."

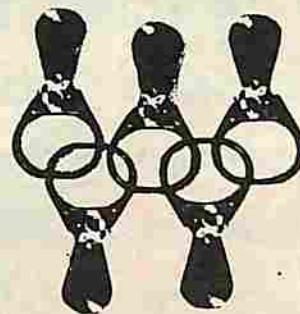
With all the subtlety of a MX missile, the entire U.S. press seems to have simultaneously discovered that the site of the Winter Olympics — Sarajevo, Yugoslavia — was also the site of the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1914, the event that is credited by bourgeois pundits everywhere with sparking off (some actually say "causing") World War I. While the insipid commentary usually includes some mention of students getting the right answer on history tests from now on, it is the present and what is immediately ahead that references to Sarajevo's past are designed to convey — a helpful reminder of just what time it is, and by inference, just what is at stake in this pinnacle of international sports.

At the same time, there is also a concerted effort afoot to regurgitate a fantasy scenario of the leap to World War I. The specter of "terrorists" igniting a global conflagration, and the major imperialist powers being pulled in as if against their will, is finding its way into these little Sarajevo "histories." One shouldn't be surprised if direct comparisons to Lebanon (instead of the current, unspoken variety) are next to appear on the free press's agenda. Needless to say, the coverage has not included any discussion of the imperialists' geopolitical jockeying over spheres of influence or the military buildups that preceded the archduke's demise. But such oversight is understandable; after all, winter plays tricks with the senses. □

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OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian

The Dave Patterson Show: A Glimpse of the Future Part II

Dave Patterson: You've got a few people here in the audience this morning who came here because they support you and they live here in Cleveland. We're going to talk to a few of them in just a moment, if they'll talk to us.

Bob Avakian: They'll talk to you, I'm sure.

Dave Patterson: But the question is, if you're out there doing all these things, we have a studio full of people who, I suspect, think what you're saying is a bunch of garbage. (Applause) I'm not setting them up. They hear what you say, they're reacting to you, and it isn't going to be any different any other day of the year.

Bob Avakian: Oh yes it is.

Dave Patterson: You're going to go out and talk to people and they're going to react to you the same way these people do.

Bob Avakian: Well, you see, first of all, most of these...

Dave Patterson: Are you going to write off the...

Bob Avakian: No...

Dave Patterson: Let's say that these are not young people who are just getting into the economic structure; let's say that they have a little time on you or on some of the other people with you. You're not going to change their minds.

Bob Avakian: Well see, I don't believe that. People change their minds all the time. Certainly I did. I grew up believing in the American Dream. When I was a kid I used to pray, "Oh my god, how glad I am to be born in this greatest of all countries," and I learned all that was childish foolishness as I got out and saw the real world for what it is. I think many young people awakened in the 1960s and they succeeded, through a lot of bitter and painful struggle, in waking up a lot of older people. This doesn't disturb me at all because people's ideas do change. I remember fifteen years ago when I first began to understand what the Vietnam War was about: it was a war of plunder and aggression on the part of the rulers of this country; they didn't care what they did to people over there any more than they care what they do to people here; they would do anything to make a profit and to get more money. When I went on radio talk shows then, the response was always the same at the beginning of the antiwar movement. The majority of people who are on these talk shows, frankly speaking, are not the masses of people who live the hell of this society because they usually can't afford to come down here. They don't have the time to do it. That's unfortunate but that's the truth. Nevertheless, even the middle-class people would always get up and say, "You don't know what you're talking about. How do you know about Vietnam? You've never been to Vietnam. Our government knows what it's doing. Why would they lie to us?" But millions of people learned about Vietnam. It didn't bother me that they said that because what I'm saying is extremely controversial. It's challenging every prejudice, every convention, everything you've been taught from the *Reader's Digest* to Sunday School to all the lying history books and text books. We're calling on people to wake up. You know when Galileo came along...

Dave Patterson: Wait a minute, we don't need to go back to Galileo.

Bob Avakian: Yes we do. When he came along and said that the Earth went around the sun and not the other way around, the great Church gave him the Inquisition and threatened to kill him for saying the Earth went around the sun.

Dave Patterson: We don't have to go back to Galileo...

Bob Avakian: Well, maybe you should.

Dave Patterson: What I'm talking about is, if you had really made some points with those people back during the Vietnam War, if they could look back and say, "That's right, I heard Bob Avakian on that radio show talking about those things," they would be clustered in here right now, talking about the same things as you.

Bob Avakian: I'm not worried about who is in the studio right now.

Dave Patterson: I don't mean in the studio, I mean in your movement.

Bob Avakian: Many of them are.

Dave Patterson: Just because they were disillusioned by the Vietnam War and maybe some of the things that...

Bob Avakian: See, I remember being in a march in 1969 against the Vietnam War. A woman came up to me, a middle-aged, more or less middle-class woman, and she said, "Remember when you were on a radio talk show a couple of years ago down in San Francisco about the Vietnam War?" and I said yeah. She said, "Remember the woman who called you up and gave you the most hell and told you that you were silly and crazy and everything else?" I said yeah. She said, "That was me and you were right."

Dave Patterson: Okay, that was one person.

Bob Avakian: Well, millions of people went through that change, not just one person. That's just one typical story you see.

Dave Patterson: Is she in your party today?

Bob Avakian: I haven't seen her since then but I'm sure that she hasn't

forgotten everything she's learned. The ruling class would like to think that everyone who learned all about the bloodthirsty nature of this system has forgotten about it. I'll tell you right now, there's a lot of veterans in our party. There's a lot of veterans right around here who learned what a filthy rotten system this is from being on the frontlines in Vietnam...

Dave Patterson: No doubt about it.

Bob Avakian: And that the rulers of this country will do anything, anything, even unleash nuclear weapons to try to preserve their rule and plunder in the world. And these vets haven't forgotten that.

Dave Patterson: We're going to take a quick break and come back to talk to some of the people in the audience who have been listening to Bob, find out how they feel about it, and maybe have some questions for you, too.

Dave Patterson: ... How can you say that the masses of people who work for any of these drug companies are a bunch of criminals...

Bob Avakian: I didn't say they were a bunch of criminals...

Dave Patterson: And that their only interest is to suppress this creativity so they can make money.

Bob Avakian: See, you tried to sneak something in here. I didn't say anything about the masses of people except that they are oppressed and they are exploited. The owners are the criminals and that's because of a criminal system which says profits are above everything else.

Dave Patterson: The owners are the people.

Bob Avakian: No, the owners are a handful of capitalists. The people are the ones here who work for them.

Dave Patterson: Who in this audience owns stock in a company? Okay, these people have ownership in a company. Now, are you talking about them?

Bob Avakian: Okay. That's interesting because I think it shows two things. First of all, how many people here have more than one-hundred-thousand dollars worth of stock?

Dave Patterson: What difference does it make? Maybe they never made a hundred-thousand dollars...

Bob Avakian: It makes a lot of difference because that is who controls all these corporations. How many people here don't own any stock and, in fact, have to work for these companies, if they can even get a job? Okay, basically we're talking about two different classes of people in the audience. One is the working class and the other is the middle class.

Dave Patterson: These people are in the working class...

Bob Avakian: Wait a minute. I just asked how many...

Dave Patterson: These people aren't rich.

Bob Avakian: Let me finish. I just asked how many people here have to work for these capitalists and don't own anything except their ability to go stand in the employment line, have to go through humiliating questions to get a job, and then work their life away for these capitalists? How many people are in that position? Okay, now you see who raised their hand? (Laughter, as a small minority of the audience hold up their hands.) Okay, now wait a minute, that's exactly the point. We've got two different classes of people here. Those first people who raised their hands and who own different stocks, especially if they don't own more than a couple hundred-thousand dollars of stock (and nobody said they owned more than a couple of hundred-thousand dollars), we would say that they are in the middle classes. Whereas the people who have nothing and only have their ability to work are in the working class. We will seek to unite with the middle classes of people. The people we say are the criminals are the people who own billions and billions of dollars of stocks and bonds. Over two-thirds of the controlling interests and assets in this country are controlled by less than two hundred corporations. The heads of them — the Rockefellers, the DuPonts — that's who we are talking about.

Dave Patterson: So you're going to kill them and get rid of them?

Bob Avakian: We're going to overthrow their system. And we certainly think that some of them will have to be punished for their crimes, very definitely.

Dave Patterson: We're out in the audience now and one of our guests has a question for Bob Avakian.

First Woman: I'm a waitress, for crying out loud, and if I wanted to go buy stock with my tips and my money I could go buy it. There's nobody going to stop me. (Applause)

Dave Patterson: Would you consider yourself in the working class?

First Woman: Yes, very much so.

Bob Avakian: Well, okay, so what's the point?

First Woman: The point is that I can go and do what I please and nobody is going to stop me.

Bob Avakian: In other words, here's the point. What are you saying but that you can work for a capitalist and he will give you enough to be able to keep working...

First Woman: My boss isn't a capitalist.

This article is the thirteenth 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 second of two parts, the first of which began in last week's RW — ed.

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Glimpse of the Future

Continued from page 3

Bob Avakian: Anyone who makes money by working someone else, by definition that's what a capitalist is.

Dave Patterson: Let's just stop for a minute. How would you have her company run?

Bob Avakian: I'd have the people — who do the actual work and who are the ones on whose backs it is built — actually take over and manage as well as doing the work, so you don't have a bureaucracy.

Dave Patterson: I mean how much difference would there be in a small business like that? They all come to work, they all work as a team. You don't think the guy who owns her place is making a lot of money.

Bob Avakian: I don't know anything about her particular place of work. What I know about, in general, is what the situation is for millions of people who have to work for large corporations and large companies. Who does the hirings and firings where you work? Do you do it or does some owner do it?

Dave Patterson: Well, the owner does it, right?

First Woman: Not necessarily, if we don't like a girl and she's not doing her job and not doing her part, then we tell the boss and he...

Bob Avakian: He fires her.

First Woman: Not necessarily, he gives her a chance.

Dave Patterson: Under his system they wouldn't fire her.

First Woman: You would just let her go on sponging off us? (Applause)

Bob Avakian: No, quite the opposite. What we would do if somebody wasn't, for some reason, doing their job the way the other workers felt it should be done and was not making their contribution, we'd hold a discussion among the workers and go to that person and say, "What's the problem?" Maybe it's a family problem, maybe they're sick but they still have to come to work because the boss will fire them if they don't...

Dave Patterson: Maybe they just won't work.

Bob Avakian: Then we'd criticize them. We'd say, "Listen, this is a new society and now we own these things. Now the collective wealth belongs to the working class, we all have to make..." (Jeers and boos) Wait a minute, what is wrong with the masses owning the wealth they produce? What is wrong with that?

Dave Patterson: Okay, let's go in a different direction. We've got somebody else here. You came with the RCP?

Second Woman: Yes.

Dave Patterson: You've heard what we're talking about, now where do you want to jump in?

Second Woman: Well, I'm one of those millions of Black people who the capitalists keep down every day, who can't get a job, who is promised a job, who has to go stand in the unemployment line and beg for a job and still won't get one. I live in the ghettos where there are many rats and roaches and I'm quite sure that these people who live in Palmer Heights (a Cleveland suburb) don't know anything about that. Anyway, I agree with everything Mr. Avakian has said, even though quite a few of you here don't. (Jeers)

Bob Avakian: Take your time and say what you want to say.

Second Woman: Anyway, I believe that most of these people here are living in a fairyland because I don't see how they can say none of this is happening when it is happening every day in their faces. I think that they are looking through rose-colored glasses.

Dave Patterson: I don't think they're saying that it is not happening. I think what they are saying is that the society we have is better than the society he's talking about.

Second Woman: I don't think so.

Dave Patterson: Well, that's what they're saying.

Second Woman: But I don't think it is.

Dave Patterson: I know you're saying you don't think it is, but don't think that necessarily it is a fairyland just because they like it the way it is. I don't think that people don't understand that there's unemployment. I don't think that they don't understand that there are ghettos.

Second Woman: They don't understand that there are.

Dave Patterson: They do understand that there are.

Bob Avakian: Let me ask a question. How many people here, when you see a cop, want to get away from him? (Laughter) You see, that's because...

Second Woman: Not that we've done anything wrong either.

Bob Avakian: See, I think we ought to get more people in the audience to speak up. Let people here raise their hands and explain why they feel that way. All these cops in Cleveland are killing people in cold blood and getting away with it day after day...

Dave Patterson: That's a bunch of garbage!

Bob Avakian: Oh, it is? Well, ask the people here if they... (Shouts and boos)

Dave Patterson: We'll be back in a minute.

(Station Break)

Bob Avakian: Dave, before you go on, I just want to say two things very quickly. I think what's going on here is very good. See, during the station breaks the people watching the television don't get to see what is going on here. There's a lot of struggle and discussion.

Dave Patterson: There's a lot of interchange going on.

Bob Avakian: I think a lot of people are hearing things they haven't heard before and a lot of people's experiences are getting exchanged. And that's exactly what we want to have go on. I think that's very good. There's one thing I want to do. We have here in the audience Daryl Capers who, along with myself, is one of the seventeen Mao Tsetung Defendants who were arrested and brutalized for exercising our so-called right to demonstrate in Washington, D.C....

Dave Patterson: All right. Would you stand up please?

Bob Avakian: Against Deng Xiaoping. We are facing 241 years for supposedly exercising that right...

Dave Patterson: I want to meet the guy that brutalized him! (Laughter)

Bob Avakian: Well, ask him about it.

Mao Defendant: It was more like about six cops brutalized me when I was down, you know. Behind that I'm still undergoing medical treatment and a lot of our other comrades are, too. And behind being attacked by the police, they've got the nerve to charge me, Bob Avakian, and fifteen other revolutionaries with 241 years worth of crime. The only crime we committed was to stand up and expose the system for what it is and expose Deng Xiaoping as the little capitalist agent running China, who is undoing all that Mao Tsetung stood for. I worked at J & L Steel Company for six years and I'm working there

right now, and I can see how I'm exploited. I can see how the workers are exploited, you know. I think I have a different perspective, a lot of working people have a different perspective — we cut through a lot of illusions.

Dave Patterson: Let's let these ladies ask some more questions.

Mao Defendant: But before we do that, I think people should think about the fact that we are facing 241 years and ask the question why...

Dave Patterson: The whole question is that it is against the law, as I understand it, to overthrow or to advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

Mao Defendant: That's not what we are being charged with.

Dave Patterson: I understand that. We called the FBI to see why you hadn't been arrested, okay?

Bob Avakian: Yeah.

Dave Patterson: Because here you are walking around saying we need to overthrow the government, an armed overthrow...

Bob Avakian: Well, what do you mean I haven't been arrested? I have been arrested.

Dave Patterson: You didn't get arrested for that! I think the implication is that the FBI doesn't take you seriously enough to even do it.

Bob Avakian: What did you say?

Dave Patterson: Apparently the FBI doesn't take you seriously enough to arrest you for violating the Smith Act to start with.

Bob Avakian: They don't take me seriously enough but yet they have arrested me on charges totaling 241 years...

Dave Patterson: One time.

Bob Avakian: How many lifetimes do I have to spend in jail?

Dave Patterson: I mean the whole point is, had you not gone and had your demonstration...

Bob Avakian: Oh yeah, had I sat back quietly and gone along with everything and been a zombie, like they want me to be, then they would have left me alone. That's true.

Dave Patterson: You're not being a zombie.

Bob Avakian: That's right, I'm not.

Dave Patterson: I mean, you're sitting right here talking to a hundred-thousand people about overthrowing the government and they are probably sitting there in the federal building watching it right now.

Bob Avakian: Wait. Look, I've had threats on my life from one end of this country to the other...

Dave Patterson: Do you think that John D. Rockefeller had them do that?

Bob Avakian: From the police to the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis. Every day they try to — I went to North Carolina day before yesterday and the police came in and tried to bust up the meeting. They arrested fourteen people in North Carolina for passing out leaflets and talking about coming to a meeting. That's the reality of this society. If we weren't serious, why would they be doing that? Why does the FBI admit that they are actively investigating and trying to infiltrate our organization?

Third Woman: You are so against people who are bosses in plants. You know, those people work awful hard. Maybe the lazy ones aren't the bosses because they didn't work hard enough. And maybe when you get there, then you want to be a big boss.

Bob Avakian: Well, see the big boss isn't there at all. He's on the Riviera. He's up somewhere in New York City... (Jeers and boos)

Third Woman: Not all the time. Where are you going to be if you're the big boss? When you take over, you're going to be the big boss.

Bob Avakian: I'll be right where I am now. I have no desire to be the big boss. Our desire is to get rid of any bosses...

Third Woman: When you get there, you will be.

Bob Avakian: No, I'll be right here like I am right now, talking to people, talking about how we are going to move society forward. And you know what will happen?

Third Woman: You're just like a boss. A big boss started by telling other people what to do and that's how he got ahead, because he had the ambition and was aggressive and so he got on top of the company. So you're starting now and when you get there, you're going to be the big shot the same way.

Bob Avakian: You said so many things that don't really have to do with reality out here. For example, Rockefeller owns gold mines in South Africa; he never goes to those gold mines, he never has anything to do with them. He owns sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic; he never goes there, he has nothing to do with them. Henry Ford lives in Detroit; he never has anything to do with what goes on in the auto plants.

Third Woman: Under your system people are either going to be all rich — and that's a fairyland — or they're going to be all miserable and poor.

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Shultz Meets the White Warriors

Words of Advice From One Death Squad to Another

What a fitting picture of U.S. democracy in action: yet another top-ranking government official, George Shultz, Secretary of State, toasting the "considerable, very considerable" progress in "human rights" made by the Salvadoran government, while close by his side stands the smiling Roberto D'Aubuisson — killer par excellence, trained by the U.S. International Police Academy and the Green Berets, founder of the White Warriors Death Squad, a man said by one author to have "personally carved dozens of people with a knife." This is not a man to be accused of a lack of electoral flair: he campaigns for political office with two eggs in his hands, to symbolize his opponent's testicles. Shultz declared that the Salvadoran government has "a pretty good record... a very good record" and advised his Salvadoran flunkies that "the tactics of terror... have no place in a democracy" — advice given shortly before the good secretary boarded his plane to go on to, among other places, *Grenada!*

Shultz's trip to El Salvador comes shortly before the Reagan administration is to send to Congress a bill calling for the implementation of a Kissinger Commission recommendation for an immediate escalation of military aid to the Salvadoran government. The figure being discussed is a supplement of \$170 million, which would come on top of the \$65 million already appropriated for fiscal year 1984. The timing is being labeled critical: the Salvadoran army has suffered a number of serious setbacks recently, and morale is conceded to be low. As the Kissinger Commission assessed the situation: "Given the increasing damage — both physical and political — being inflicted on the Economy and Government of El Salvador by the guerrillas... a collapse is not inconceivable."

It is in this context that Shultz has joined George Bush and Reagan himself in suddenly discovering how really awful the death squads are, how they must be cleaned up and now how wonderfully



rapidly this clean-up is already being undertaken... and so, before you know it, voilà, the conclusion: let us all quickly join together and give our reformed embattled friends another few hundred-million in helicopters, armored personnel carriers, mortars and the like so they can carry on with their democratizing.

Even as this ridiculous charade was being played out in San Salvador, other events indicated once again the true dimensions of U.S. "human rights and democracy." A few weeks ago, evidence was presented to the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) by two fact-finding groups documenting the murders of at least 50 Salvadorans who had been denied political refugee status in the U.S. and returned to El Salvador. Many hun-

dreds are routinely denied such status, the INS holding that "no evidence" exists indicating any threat to refugees sent back to El Salvador. But now, when confronted with documentation, the INS response was quick and blunt: they were not about to alter policy simply on the grounds that a few refugees might become the victims of "random violence."

Aaahhhh... "random violence," which even by the U.S.'s notoriously low statistics means 30 to 40 corpses per week left in the streets of El Salvador by the death squads — but that's *random*, you see, that's violence against the masses, a different issue than that addressed by Reagan, Bush, Shultz and Carter before them. Their concern is quite different; it's with fighting and killing *within* the ranks of the ruling forces of El Salvador, violence which is *threatening* — not supporting — the U.S. stranglehold on the country (for more on this see *RW* No. 237, "The Great Death Squad Discovery").

However cynical and threadbare this "human rights" mask is, particularly as it has been worn in regards to Central America, "human rights" is still the terms that have been set to frame public discussions and debate of the situation in El Salvador, and most recently of the Kissinger Commission Report itself. Even before the report was released on January 11, White House spokesman Larry Speakes had informed the press that Reagan "was inclined to ignore" the Commission's recommendation that called for making military aid to El Salvador conditional upon Congressional certification that the Salvadoran government was making "progress" on human rights. The liberals howled: Reagan had already cut off the certification process, which had been in existence for the past several years, with a pocket veto in late November. Cranston, Glenn, Hart, Mondale and others all called for reinstating certification; 33 House Democrats filed a lawsuit, soon joined by Democrats in the Senate, to compel Reagan to rescind his veto. And as for the response to the Kissinger Report itself, numerous media commentators have observed that here too the certification process is "the central issue."

What a highly creative *modus operandi*: "Oh, the *rest* of the report, why let's not let disagreement over those secondary issues get in the way of the *real* debate." And so the white knights of human rights retain the shine on the mail covering their

bloody hands, as they quietly unite on the core of the recommendations.

And already Reagan has made gestures of conciliation on the process of certification, stating that he was sure that some kind of compromise might be worked out, that "there can be waivers, there can be degrees of allowing certification to be judgmental, there can be changes in the reporting frequency." Democratic spokesmen have responded that they would of course be willing to sit down and try and hammer out some workable solution. And on these kinds of matters, like certifying U.S.-style human rights progress, there are certainly no finer experts on Earth for smoothly managed stage shows.

Not only have Reagan and the U.S. Congress already certified "acceptable progress" four times in the past few years, but just two weeks ago Reagan "voluntarily" submitted an unrequired certification, just for the record. Progress in agrarian reform was hailed, the elections coming up in late March were given advance praise, and not least was reported a "dramatic drop" in the activity of the death squads. The State Department revealed the "lowest figure" of deaths and disappearances ever, a mere 1,677 for 1983. As if this stomach-churning figure were not bad enough, some of the ways in which the figures have been gathered have come to light which indicate how the U.S. government manipulates them.

The State Department figures are generally derived from two sources: The U.S. embassy itself and the Salvadoran government Human Rights Commission. The embassy staff gather their figures from scanning the Salvadoran press, which is, naturally, progovernment and hardly inclined to search for every — or practically any — case of death squad murder. Beyond that, the embassy also takes into account ads placed by family and friends trying to get information on anyone who's disappeared in the only newspaper that will accept them, *El Mundo*. It turns out that *El Mundo* itself frequently refuses to print ads they receive because of death threats made on its editorial staff. As for the Salvadoran government Human Rights Commission, it reported even fewer "human rights abuses" than did the U.S. embassy. Paradoxical isn't it, when the Human Rights Commission should have the best sources in El Salvador, since it has leading members of the death squads sitting right on it. This includes the director of the national police, López Nuila, whose right-hand man was one of the three death-squaders being sent abroad to a diplomatic post last month. And so the bereaved family of a death squad victim is entitled to report a disappearance or murder to one of the very men most likely to be responsible for it — now there is an all-American human right.

The U.S. government has said that the death-squaders are "a handful of bad apples"; George Bush's list of death-squaders known to the U.S. contained a mere 25 names; Salvadoran national police director Nuila was widely quoted in the U.S. media saying that they are "15 to 20 people who operate secretly from the government." He went on to reveal that he has set up a special unit to track the death-squaders down, but that he was being "very careful" that in the process of doing this he did not violate their human rights. This coordinated and quite bipartisan effort to portray the death-squaders as a mere handful flies in the face of even the most common sense reasoning that it takes far more than "25 names" to carry out the kind of carnage wrought in El Salvador. But as one U.S. official observed, if anyone really wanted to halt the death squads they would have to dismantle the entire Salvadoran army, "and no one wants to do that." □

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Elections in Peru: Revolutionary Advances Amidst Inter-Bloc Rivalry

The November 15 elections held across Peru have been portrayed as a big setback for the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), called "Sendero Luminoso" by its enemies. An analysis of the situation, based on information that has reached us, shows that in fact the setback was for imperialism. (See also *RW* No. 239, "Report on the Armed Struggle and the Municipal Elections in Peru.")

According to the Peruvian ruling classes and various imperialist commentators abroad, the question was not who would win but whether the government could hold elections at all. This was claptrap. If the revolutionary forces were strong enough to stop the elections throughout the country they'd have seized power by now. It was also said that a vote for anybody was a vote for the present set-up and against "terrorism." This is demagogic claptrap, since the ruling classes never had any intention of resigning even if nobody voted for them or voted at all. Just in case anybody didn't understand the purpose of this election, it was made clear that you were either a voter or a *Senderista* and anybody who didn't have their finger dyed and their electoral record book marked for future reference faced official penalties and unofficial death. Really, what these elections represented was not so much a sounding of public opinion as an attempted show of strength.

The most succinct example of the real terms of these elections is the village of Socos, southeast of the city of Ayacucho, where on the evening of election day Civil Guard troops rounded up 34 peasants, marched them to a ravine and shot them, then dynamited the ravine's walls to cover their bodies in the dirt. (This was confirmed by *Diario de Marka* and the local correspondent for *Oiga*.) Apparently this village had boycotted the elections.

Altogether the army reported 41 people killed in the "emergency zone" on election day in what it described as clashes with guerrillas, yet there were no reported wounded, no official military casualties at all and no prisoners. This means that either the government is lying about its losses and/or — and probably both — the armed forces are carrying out massacres.

Even so, large numbers of people boycotted the elections, and the PCP showed a significant advance in political and military strength, stopping the elections completely in some areas and launching a series of successful attacks on government forces just before and during the elections. It must also be said that while the victory of the revisionist assortment known as the Izquierda Unida (United Left) in these elections is an advantage to imperialism and its collaborators in terms of providing some "left" cover to confuse or neutralize some middle forces, it is also both a sign of the increasingly sharper demarcation between the two camps — the camps of both the right and "left" authorities versus the revolutionary masses and their party — and also a big potential problem in its own right for U.S. imperialism.

The PCP launched the revolutionary armed struggle in May 1980, when guerrilla fighters seized the Ayacucho village of Cuschi and burned the ballot boxes as a manifesto of rejection of the army-sponsored "return to democracy" and an announcement that the revolutionary war for Peru's liberation had begun. Yet even in Cuschi massive reactionary armed forces moved in the next day and the presidential elections took place. In the following year's congressional elections the PCP was portrayed as marginal and the elections took place nearly everywhere. This year was different. Although the authorities deliberately overestimated the PCP's strength — so that they could later proclaim the PCP's "failure" to do what it never said it was able to do at this point — still the fact that things were put in these terms shows just how much the revolutionary armed struggle has stormed the center of the political stage.

The PCP's plan was not to stop the elections overall, rather it was to launch a political campaign to denounce and expose the "electoral farce" and in this context to stop them in those places where the revolutionary strength was sufficient.

Above all, this meant in the countryside and in the towns of less than 20-30 thousand. Reports indicate that this happened in villages throughout the three departments where the revolutionary armed struggle is centered (Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac which have been occupied by the Army since December 1982) and as far south as Puno and Cuzo, near Bolivia, in miners' towns in Cerro de Pasco in the center of the country (although not in the city of Cerro de Pasco itself) and as far north as Cajamarca and Trujillo. In these places government forces were either driven out or simply didn't dare enter.

There were waves of guerrilla attacks on army positions and other targets throughout the month before the elections, which both went along with and further served the PCP's call for an electoral boycott. The most notable was the seizure of an army command post in Ocos, in the region occupied by the army, where 60 soldiers surrendered and gave over large quantities of automatic weapons, anti-tank grenades and ammunition to the revolutionary armed forces. In Lima itself, a unit of reportedly 30 guerrilla fighters drove into an army barracks in two small army trucks and an ambulance; they ended up shooting their way back out with 500 automatic weapons. Meanwhile, perhaps under cover of this distraction, a small arms factory in the capital was seized and completely emptied.

Sympathizers' reports abroad indicate that during this period the PCP was able to significantly expand its zones of guerrilla operations and to open up new ones — and that the PCP has now succeeded, in some places in the three central provinces, in establishing revolutionary base areas where the reactionary authorities have been driven out (or in a few cases executed) and replaced by a people's committee based especially on the poor peasants as well as others. The PCP conceives of these committees, made up of one representative of the party, one of the red army, and people responsible for production, administration and culture, as the embryo of the New Democratic state which will wipe out feudalism and imperialist domination and open the road to socialism. The establishment of revolutionary base areas, of areas ruled by red power where the reactionary armed forces can make incursions or bomb but cannot rule, has been a specific goal of the PCP in this period and would represent a major achievement of the armed struggle.

As for the success of the electoral boycott itself, there are widely varying figures. During the day of the elections the government claimed an 80 percent turnout rate, and this was the figure quoted in the U.S. press. The Spanish newspaper *El Pais*, whose detailed coverage of Peru reflects Spanish imperialism's renewed interest in making inroads in the region, reported a 68 percent turnout rate. (By comparison, in the 1980 presidential elections when voting was also legally mandatory but not voting was not nearly so dangerous, government figures claimed that 70 percent voted.) Yet according to PCP supporters abroad who added up the vote totals for the various candidates given on BBC news, out of 7.6 million potential voters, only 4.5 million have been accounted for — which would mean an abstention rate of over 40 percent.

In the city of Ayacucho, which is quite literally a stronghold of the enemy, the elections could not be stopped. Still the abstention rate was 50 percent according to all reports. In the days before the elections, revolutionary fighters had seized two radio stations in the area to broadcast a message entitled "No to the election, It's right to rebel." Buses carrying people to and from work were leafleted by armed units right under the noses of the authorities. On election day, according to *El Pais*, soldiers, tanks and helicopters occupied the streets and the air and it seemed as though there was a sniper on every roof and in every window. The PCP, whose strategy is to fight in the countryside and city, principally the countryside, in order to build up revolutionary strength, was not able to dispute

the ruling classes for their main strongholds. But it did call a three-day general strike in Ayacucho which according to all accounts was very successful. In Lima, also literally occupied by the reactionary armed forces on election day, there were attacks in several places across the city. A number of revolutionary comrades were captured as they prepared a gigantic bonfire in the shape of a hammer and sickle on a hill overlooking the city. According to the sympathizers' reports, the elections were stopped in several of the slums that ring the capital where the PCP has been particularly able to mobilize support.

Then there is the other aspect of the elections — who won? Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde Terry's Acción Popular party came in third in vote totals nationally and in the crucial Lima mayoral election. Lima's new mayor is Alfonso Barrantes, candidate of the IU, which is composed of six parties. The largest, Patria Roja, supported Deng Xiaoping but lately has difficulty in distinguishing one brand of revisionism from another. The Izquierda Unida also includes the pro-Soviet Peruvian Communist Party, and the Partido Socialista Revolucionario, political heir to the "leftist" military junta of 1968-75. This junta puffed up the sections of the bourgeoisie centered in the state sector of the economy (for instance, through the nationalization of the U.S. companies which controlled Peru's oil), and while not breaking with U.S. domination (the oil companies were compensated somewhat and Peru's economic relations with the U.S. bloc remained unchanged), established important political, military and economic ties with the Soviet Union. Coming in not too far behind the IU in the total number of votes was the APRA, a self-styled "anti-imperialist" party tied to the Social Democratic International and to European imperialism in general.

Barrantes is a former APRA member and the APRA leadership is split between those who made a public show of welcoming Barrantes' victory and those who made a public show of not doing so. Barrantes was also a CP member in the early 1960s, after leaving APRA, although it is his former APRA membership that he chooses to emphasize every chance he gets. He reportedly left the CP during the Chinese polemics against Soviet revisionism, saying "I decided to choose neither." That meant he chose to reject Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary Marxism-Leninism Mao symbolized, although Barrantes has couched it in terms meant to allow him to represent differing streams of reformism. In an interview with the reactionary Lima magazine *Oiga*, appropriately entitled "Goodbye to Lenin," he praises religion and rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat and Mao, while in that particularly Latin American style of demagoguery aimed at the oppressed he proclaims himself a proponent of armed revolution — but later. Right now, he says, the important thing is that he "travel throughout Europe" to raise money to buy one million breakfasts a day for Lima's starving, and that the present mayor of Lima not spend all of a recent IMF bloodsucking loan before Barrantes himself takes office. (This last item seems to replace the IU's once loud denunciations of the IMF's domination of the country.) As for the pro-Soviet CP, in this interview Barrantes just refuses to answer the question about his attitude towards a party which played a very important role in his election.

The point here is that the stage is set for yet another attempt at an "historic compromise" government, perhaps in the 1985 presidential elections or maybe even earlier in the form of pressuring Belaúnde to bring the IU and APRA into his cabinet. In a magazine article written after Barrantes' election, Belaúnde warned that Barrantes might become another Allende, with the left wing of the APRA playing the role of the Chilean Christian Democrats. (The Chilean CP tried to use the Allende regime to forge an alliance with the Christian Democrats to climb into the ruling class themselves in connection with Soviet efforts to gain a pro-Soviet foothold within U.S. imperialism's "backyard" as part of pre-

parations to dispute the U.S. bloc for world hegemony.)

At the end of his article Belaúnde warned rather bluntly that where an Allende is elected a Pinochet can follow — an almost explicit reference to the fact that despite all the electoral farce even the contradictions between the reactionaries in the end must be settled by the force of arms.

The Izquierda Unida leadership knows damn well that this is so — after all, they saw (and participated in) the army's removal of Belaúnde in 1968 and its political resurrection of him in 1980, democratically elected of course. But they face a particular task in relation to covering up contradictions and especially class dictatorship and the arms it rests on, so they cannot afford to be so explicit.

Barrantes represents, in a deliberately mushy way that corresponds to the mushiness of his coalition, would-be bourgeois forces spawned especially during the economic reforms of the last two decades and sections of the bourgeoisie itself — including forces within the military — who have varying degrees of contradictions with other powerful reactionaries but no fundamental contradiction with the overall political, economic and social set-up against which increasingly broad sections of the masses have launched an armed struggle for liberation. The IU has tried to concentrate its criticism on the government's economic policies, saying as little as possible about the war raging between revolution and counterrevolution, in order to preserve its image as an opposition and win over the many who are still vacillating between the two roads. But politically and practically the IU has left no doubt as to which side this "centrist" position serves. (Barrantes has parlayed his centrism in the Sino-Soviet polemics into quite a career, starting out by denying the truth of Mao's analysis that "the rise to power of revisionism is the rise to power of the bourgeoisie" and ending up...he hopes...as proof of it.) Today this can be an advantage to U.S. imperialist domination and those tied most closely to it, which is why the U.S. and its bloc have not opposed this development so far. But it is hardly a sign of the strength of the grip of U.S. imperialism and its allies; and in conjunction with the development of things on a world level it could lead to a very dangerous situation for the U.S. bloc, not only in terms of Peru but also in terms of its effect on "historic compromise" efforts throughout Latin America and elsewhere. This danger intertwines with the increasingly fierce danger to all imperialism and reaction in the revolutionary war being led by the PCP, which is a threat to the imperialists of both blocs not only in terms of Peru but also in terms of the effect it is having and can have throughout a world marked by the clash between the trend toward inter-imperialist war and the trend of revolution. So it is no wonder that the forces linked to both imperialist blocs fundamentally oppose the proletarian internationalist revolutionary war in Peru, despite their tactical differences, above all exactly because of the present and potential international importance of this revolutionary struggle.

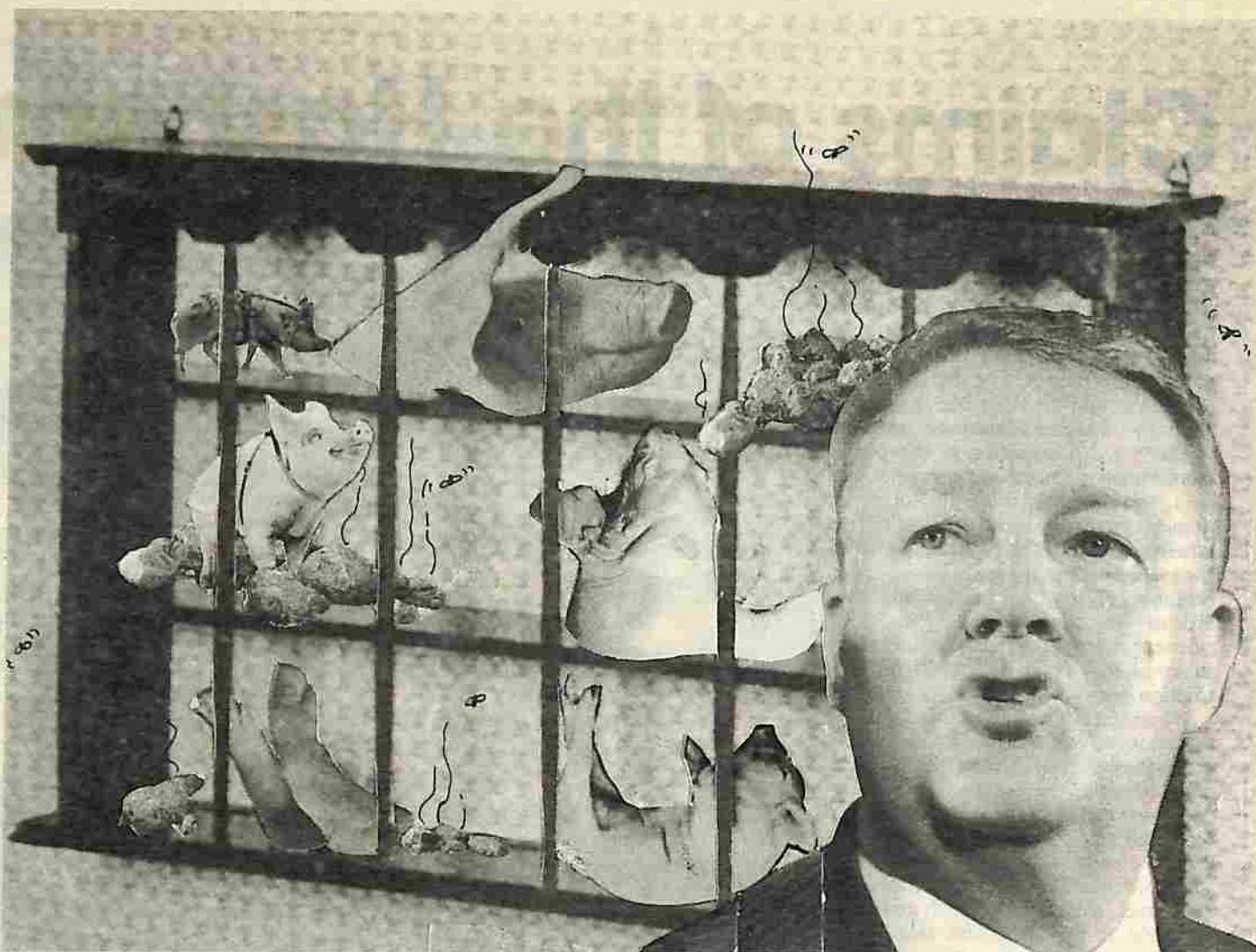
The reactionary Peruvian newspaper *Caretas* — which opposes Belaúnde for its own reasons — revealed that in a recent Defense Council meeting the Interior Minister reported that there had been 1200 counterinsurgency operations mounted against the revolutionary forces in Ayacucho alone last year. The morale of the police forces who'd carried out about 1000 of these operations, he said, had sunk because of fatigue and failure. (The police forces include the U.S.-trained and "advised" *Sinchi* counterinsurgency troops.) Perhaps *Caretas* published this account as a call for the army to play an even more active role. As much as Belaúnde resists this, he is reported to have called for a change of strategy in the counterinsurgency campaign — which in itself is an admission of failure to wipe out the revolutionary forces in the three provinces since martial law was declared a year ago. Instead, they have grown and spread. □

Ed Meese: An American Prize Pig

A recent interviewer of Ed Meese, the top Reagan aide last week nominated for U.S. Attorney General, admitted that Meese still carries with him a shelf of "pig bric-a-brac" — a collection of pig momentos that he gathered in the '60s, apparently his personal version of the "pride, integrity, guts" insignia worn by the frontline grunts. Meese's proud and open identification with pigs — then and now — well serves to tie together the various phases of Meese's own career; more than that, it serves to illustrate just what the U.S. requires of an attorney general, for now and for the future.

In December, at a holiday press conference, this fat pig stirred up a storm of controversy when he commented that, as far as he knew, there were "no authoritative figures that there are hungry children" in America. On the face of it, a statement calculated to provoke, as the bourgeois press and outraged liberals were quick to point out that one block from the White House there is a soup kitchen where the lines have grown increasingly longer. Meese stuck to his statement, and was later backed by Reagan (it seems that the long-awaited report of the Reagan special commission on hunger is coming to a similar result). And it seems that as far as *statistics* go, there was a carefully worded "truth" in Meese's outrageous and deliberate lie. According to the *Washington Post*, "There is heated disagreement among social scientists, nutrition experts and politicians over who is hungry and why, whether malnutrition is isolated or rampant and what the federal government is or should be doing about it. Yet everyone agrees there are no nationwide statistics on hunger in America. . . ." The government has obviously decided that it's politically unwise to keep statistics on hunger (not unlike statistics on infant death rates, which haven't been kept nationally since 1979). Why dignify the fact that there are people actually going hungry in the "best of all possible worlds" with statistics? One has only to look at the growing number of homeless people going through the trash (who *unofficially* number around two million), the rise in infant mortality and the lines at charity food giveaways to know that yes, there is hunger in the belly of the beast. And it is going to get worse.

This ugly fact is of course quite detrimental to the upbeat image of America now being barfed-up from Washington and would certainly put the American way in an unfavorable light around the world where the fact that in America you can eat 24-hours-a-day is well known (especially if, as Richard Pryor says, "you've got money or a gun"). And it is also true, as Pryor points out in the same routine, that compared to Africa or the rest of the world, the situation in the U.S. is but a taste of the real conditions in the world. According to UN estimates 40 million people a year now die of hunger and malnutrition, half of them children, and the vast majority in the oppressed and dominated countries which has everything to do with U.S. imperialism and the lopsidedness which is an integral feature of the imperialist system.



Such outright spitting in the face of the oppressed as Mr. Meese typifies, gets the goat of all liberals who make their political careers out of concern for the downtrodden and impoverished, blah, blah, blah ad infinitum, and the joke is now circulating around Washington, D.C. that Meese has objected to the feeding of starving deer in California because those deer are just a bunch of freeloaders and don't want to forage. This sort of callous disregard for the oppressed, you see, is the special province of Ronald Reagan clones whose methods and style are made a constant issue by liberals who want to make themselves look good. But Mr. Meese has a long career of the most blatant piggery against the oppressed and he has served the overall interests of the U.S. imperialists for more than 30 years, not only in spitting at the oppressed but in organizing and carrying out the violent suppression of the masses, especially aimed to suppress and crush the sort of activity which sets the worst possible international example, according to both Meese and his liberal critics — revolutionary political activity.

* * * * *

Meese both won his spurs as a rising young politician on the California scene, and forged what were to be for him key lessons in allegiances, when he assumed a frontline role in tightening up the "new breed" of police as the Oakland police department was restructured in the fifties along the lines of the LAPD with special attention to general suppression of the Black masses in West Oakland and particular attempts to put down civil rights protests in the early 1960s. In 1964, when the Berkeley Free Speech Movement sent shockwaves across the country, Meese was a young Alameda County D.A., an assistant to D.A. Lowell Jensen, who is now third-in-command at the U.S. Justice Dept. Back then the two were in charge of the arrest and prosecution of 773 students arrested for sitting-in at Sproul Hall. According to an old crony, "That was a whole new world in terms of prosecutions." Meese and Jensen rose to the occasion: "They pioneered prosecution practices (with mass arrests and on-site bookings) that are used to this day."

In 1965 Meese hustled off to Washington, D.C. to relate some of his advanced experience to the House Un-American Activities Committee. He particularly caught the committee's attention with tales of woe of troop train blockades and demonstrations at army bases during the Vietnam War. The committee was sponsoring legislation to make it a serious felony, carrying 20 years in prison, to give assistance to enemies of the U.S. in an undeclared war. Of course, it had long been treason to aid the enemy at times of declared war, and there were

plenty of state laws that prosecutors were throwing at early Vietnam War protestors, but Meese and the committee, concerned that no picayune legal questions muck-up the prosecution of such traitorous protestors, worked together to develop a very specific, and very harsh, federal law to cover things like troop train blockades.

While it's not exactly clear when Meese started up his collection of little pigs, his identification with and growing skill in unleashing the use of them against demonstrations was already well established by this time. During the same period that he was assistant D.A. he was also the lobbyist for all the California district attorneys and for the state Peace Officers Association at the California State Legislature. All of this activity drew the attention of Ronald Reagan, who was elected governor in 1966 and who immediately put Meese on his staff, moving him to chief of staff in 1968. This was a period which saw the rise of the Black Panther Party in Richmond and Oakland and the vicious attacks on them by the FBI and the police, including the murder of Little Bobby Hutton by the Oakland police.

"Operation Garden Plot"

In 1968 Meese, as Reagan's executive secretary, was also his "personal emissary" representing California in the Pentagon's "Operation Garden Plot." According to Ron Ridenhour, an investigative reporter writing in the *L.A. Herald Examiner*, "Garden Plot" was the military's corollary to the FBI's COINTELPRO and the CIA's CHAOS operations. In California, as elsewhere, "Garden Plot" was run through each state's national guard and brought together local police agencies with state law enforcement, the military and various intelligence agencies to develop and coordinate massive intelligence gathering, using informants and infiltrators. "Garden Plot's" main purpose was to develop and coordinate plans and training for the suppression of mass protest and rebellion and included plans for the implementation of martial rule. Aspects of this program continue today in California known as the National Guard California Specialized Training Institute. Ordered into existence by President Lyndon Johnson immediately after the 1967 Detroit rebellion, "Garden Plot" focused on Black rebellions for its first two years.

The battle over People's Park in Berkeley in 1969 became one of the sharpest confrontations of the '60s between the student/antiwar forces of the day and the authorities. Reagan, with Meese as operations manager, ordered the National Guard into Berkeley, along with police agencies from all over the Bay Area. The police came in ready to shoot,

and they did. One man, James Rector, was killed by police gunfire and a number of others were wounded, and for several weeks there was a curfew in Berkeley between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. with no public meetings of more than two people allowed anywhere in the city. The book *Reagan's Ruling Class* recounts the story of a *Washington Post* reporter approaching Meese and Lowell Jensen, Meese's old partner, in 1980 to ask them about People's Park. Meese said, "James Rector deserved to die."

In early 1970, "Operation Garden Plot" began national training programs focusing on suppression of mass reaction to foreign policy issues geared, says Ridenhour, toward's Nixon's April 30, 1970 announcement of the invasion of Cambodia. The national guards as well as local police were used extensively to quell the massive protest following that announcement — this quelling, of course, included the gunning down of students at Kent State and Jackson State. On May 27, 1970, Meese was the keynote speaker at a sum-up conference of 1350 leaders involved in the California operation of "Garden Plot." Lauding their work of the previous weeks, Meese called for a long-range plan that would include better coordinated and more extensive political intelligence gathering. He insisted that "those people who have been convicted of revolutionary activity. . . (be) given punishments, penalties, that are consistent with the degree of public disorder and inconvenience which these people have caused."

In 1974, when Reagan left office and Meese was no longer his formal chief of staff, Meese devoted himself more exclusively to his favorite institution, the police, and to some of the problems that had, it seemed to him, posed themselves so sharply in the '60s — the need for new and harsher laws and for greater coordination between police agencies at local, state and national levels. The fact that the mass struggles of the '60s had ebbed did *not* mean, to him, that the guard dogs of American justice should rest.

Meese founded and headed the Center for Criminal Justice, Policy and Management at the University of San Diego, and served on various law enforcement panels and advisory committees throughout the country, some in California and at least one nationally. In 1978, Meese was appointed vice-chairman of the California Organized Crime Control Commission (OCCC). The commission took a sweeping view of its tasks and made a number of recommendations: (1) Establishing a "RICO"-type law for California; (2) establishing a statewide task force to deal with "organized crime," which included radical and revolutionary organizations; (3) establishing training programs for police officers across the state to handle,

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Claims of the Hashemite King

It has been 18 months since the Reagan Plan was first announced to the world. This plan, the diplomatic follow through to the "shock treatment" of Israel's Lebanon invasion, attempted to permanently shut the door on Palestinian national aspirations. For the 1.3 million Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza Strip the Reagan Plan suggested that "peace" lay in accepting as irrevocable facts Israeli occupation, usurpation of land, and their ever more ghettoized existence as a reserve army of labor for the Israeli economy. The fact that Jordan's King Hussein was to enter negotiations on their "behalf," and that a miserable Palestinian "autonomy" would be granted them under Israeli-Jordanian supervision, was the Reagan Plan's consolation prize.

While directed mainly against the Palestinians, the Reagan Plan has had other uses as well. In the Middle East more broadly, the prospect of negotiations over the West Bank and Gaza Strip were and are a means to restore to the U.S. a slender thread of credibility as "honest broker" between the Arab states and Israel, a credibility which continues to erode as the U.S. and Israel have escalated their military role in Lebanon, as — even since the Reagan Plan was announced — the U.S. has underwritten Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon, an occupation under which the Israelis have worked to transform south Lebanon into a new, permanent, sphere of influence.

At issue here is not so much U.S. relations with its clients among the respective Arab heads of state, but the grievous internal situation accumulating in many of these countries which, coupled with growing regional turmoil and conflict (including such flashpoints as Lebanon and the Iran-Iraq war), has rendered them more vulnerable still.

As the U.S., driven by the imperatives of growing global contention, attempts to forge a more articulated military alliance in this region among its Arab regime clientele and Israel, it must attend to the shaky political framework upon which such an alliance rests. Thus the "peace process" continues as the necessary corollary to U.S. military preparations. One pressing feature of this process is to provide for the continued viability of Jordan's King Hussein — that "pro-West monarch in the vortex of Arab radicalism" (as Henry Kissinger once described him). In particular, the role of Hussein, and the Jordanian state, in "attending" to the Palestinian question, is to be encouraged and strengthened.

In light of the objectives of the Reagan Plan, and the overall role of the "peace process" it serves, one can better view the increasing attempts — from a variety of quarters — to stress the "common destiny" of the Jordanians and Palestinians, the continued efforts to smother the Palestinian struggle and cause, and render it an adjunct of the Jordanian regime and its interests. King Hussein's reconvening of the Jordanian parliament earlier this month was intended to underscore Jordan's past control over, and historical claim to, the West Bank and its Palestinian population. In thus reviving the dead hand of the past to serve future interests, the Jordanian monarch is also reinventing that past — recasting for Jordan an "heroic" role as defender of the Palestinian and the Arab cause.

For example, there was the king's address last fall to a Jordanian military officers' staff college, in which he proclaimed Jordan to be "the defense line of the Palestine land and people," "a bastion that protects the Arab nations' existence and destiny. By defending Palestine — and this is our duty — we are defending our nation and ourselves."

In fact there is a long-standing relationship between Jordan and the Palestinians, a relationship borne of imperialist design and one of a character very different from what King Hussein claims today. A brief look at Jordan's history makes this abundantly clear and sheds some light on what the Jordanian regime's present and future options and



The Bedouin army of Trans-Jordan, under Hussein's grandfather Abdullah, invade Iraq in 1941 to put down a nationalist revolt there.

designs might be.

A major impact of World War I on the Middle East was to affect the breakup of the decrepit Ottoman Empire and its subsequent redivision by the European powers. In the postwar division of these spoils, Britain was awarded Palestine (including Trans-Jordan, the region east of the Jordan River and forerunner of today's Jordan). Long-term British strategy for its mandate was heavily weighted towards encouraging Zionist settlement — in the words of British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour, Zionism "is rooted in age-long tradition, and present needs, and future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land." In keeping with this the British forecasted a particular role for Trans-Jordan, the "remote and underdeveloped areas which lay to the east of the (Jordan) River and which were intended to serve as a reserve of land for use in the resettlement of Arabs once the Nation Home for the Jews in Palestine, which they were pledged to support, became an accomplished fact" (quote from Sir Alec Kirkbride, a British political officer in Trans-Jordan at the time).

Actual developments, however, called for a more active role for Trans-Jordan in the imperialist scheme of things. The British, having encouraged and insinuated themselves alongside the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire, now faced the task of controlling and suppressing these very same forces. To face-off mounting regional revolt and rebellion they enlisted the support and cooperation of King Hussein's grandfather, Abdullah, whose 2,000 man Bedouin army quickly proved its bloody mettle, in establishing reign over the inhabitants of Trans-Jordan itself, and in serving British interests as a regional gendarme. Under British tutelage, Abdullah's Trans-Jordan became a bulwark for British interests in the region; Trans-Jordan's national identity, as such, was primarily that of a military force, controlling the desert and guarding its border with Palestine so as to prevent Palestinian nationalists, faced with the accumulating "facts" of Zionist settlement, from seeking refuge and help on the East Bank. The more far-flung exploits of this army included its intervention in Iraq during World War 2 to suppress a nationalist revolt there.

For such unstinting connivance and

service, Abdullah's Trans-Jordan was granted a nominal independence after World War 2, his own position being elevated from that of Emir to King. At the same time, west of the Jordan River, the accelerated Zionist settlement of Palestine was culminating in the process that would lead to the foundation of the state of Israel. Through terror, massacres, and military maneuver, the Palestinians were being expelled from their land in increasing numbers. Throughout this period of flux and dislocation, Abdullah positioned himself to reap his share of the spoils. Acting in accord with the British, and basing himself on a secret agreement reached with the Zionists to partition Palestine during 1947-48, Abdullah's Arab Legion army entered and seized eastern Palestine (today's West Bank) in May 1948, even as the state of Israel, in a final paroxysm of expulsory force, was declaring its foundation. Historian Yoram Peri writes of Israeli leader Ben-Gurion's "tacit understanding" with Abdullah, "which allowed the latter to move into the territories west of the River Jordan, which had been allotted by the 1947 U.N. Partition Plan to be Arab-Palestinian state...."

In moving to seize today's West Bank area, Abdullah and the British were acting not only in the interests of territorial aggrandizement, but in order to preempt the Palestinians from asserting an independent role. The preeminent Palestinian leader, and former mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husayni, was considered by both the British and Abdullah's legions to be a bitter foe, and they moved to undermine his position with all due haste. Like the Israelis, Abdullah considered the Palestinians — hundreds of thousands of them having been transformed into refugees either within or upon his borders — to be his greatest potential threat. When Palestinian uprisings began to break out inside Trans-Jordan itself, Arab Legion units were redeployed from the West Bank area back across the river to quash the rebellions.

In 1949 Trans-Jordan's territorial gains were confirmed by the Trans-Jordan-Israeli Armistice Agreement, and in 1950 Trans-Jordan formally annexed the West Bank (becoming Jordan in the process). A Jordanian parliament was summoned forth to provide a nice "representational" ring to the whole affair (the same parliament which King

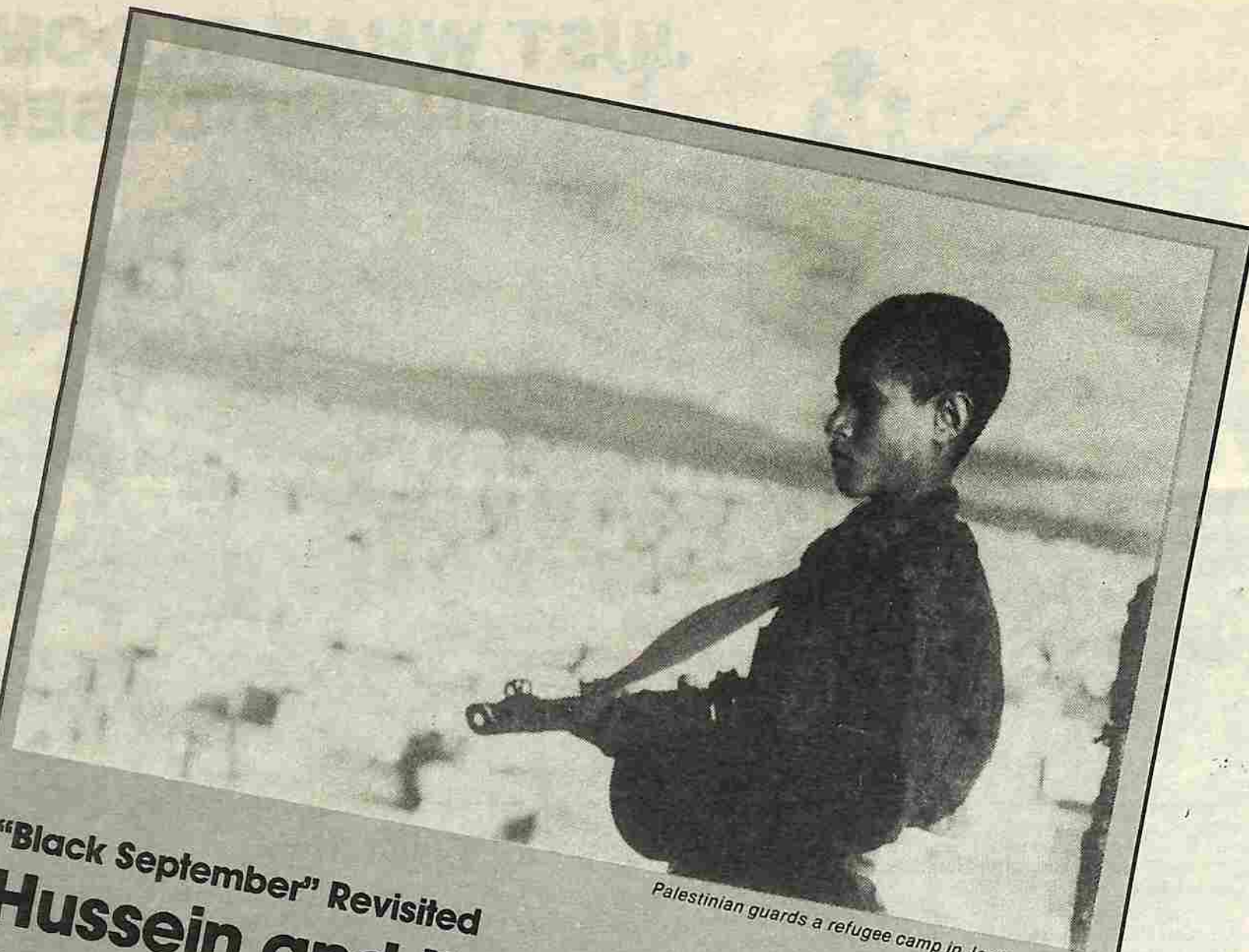
Hussein has recently reconvened). Thus was born the special relationship and "common destiny" between the Palestinian people and the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan.

Having thus benefitted from this newly arrived status quo, the Jordanian regime was now confronted with the vexing task of maintaining it. The massive influx of refugees — most of them living a miserable existence in camps — presented Jordan with a grave internal threat. The long-term answer to this time bomb lay in providing some measure of assimilation for the Palestinians into Jordanian society, an undertaking for which the Jordanian economy was ill prepared. A more readily available means of control lay in widespread, often brutal repression, directed against the population at large and against political organizations and individuals.

Upholding the status quo also meant providing Israel with a cordone sanitaire, a rigorously policed border that would prevent Palestinians from returning to their lands or mounting any struggle to regain it. Where the Palestinian refugees attempted to strengthen their side of the border economically and politically in order to better confront Israel, the Jordanian regime worked to resettle refugees away from Israeli lines. Under popular pressure the government finally relented in setting up a National Guard on the West Bank, but its aim was not to provide self-defense for the Palestinians but to stop them from infiltrating back into Israel.

At the same time, Jordan came to benefit greatly from its control over the West Bank. By the year 1967 the West Bank was providing Jordan with an estimated 38% of its gross national product, agricultural exports and a brisk tourist trade providing the major portion of this.

The 1967 "Six Day War" represented a turning point of sorts in the Middle East — the last gasp of Nasserite Arab nationalism and the emergence of Israel as budding regional superpower. The consequences were a twofold disaster for Jordan. The Israelis seized the Bank, and have held it ever since. At the same, the '67 war witnessed a glorious collapse of the Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian armies, and prompted the dramatic emergence of the Palestinian guerrilla and political movement upon the scene. This Palestinian national movement posed a threat not only to the Israeli state but



Palestinian guards a refugee camp in Jordan, 1970.

"Black September" Revisited Hussein and the Power of God

In light of the anxious clamor in Western capitals over the calamitous spread of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East among class forces at odds with imperialism to one degree or another, it is worth remembering that at the same time, Islamic traditionalism has long been the stock in trade of the most loyal, and reactionary, pro-U.S. regimes and monarchies in the area. This has been especially true over the past decade. Confronted with the "contagion," during the 1960s and early '70s, of revolutionary nationalist movements and of markedly secular trends which included a certain popularization of Marxism among the Arab masses, the traditional ruling circles mounted a "restorationist" offensive. In the regional arena this was signified by the emerging prominence of the Saudi rulers, who staked their appeal through combining petro-dollar clout and opulence with Islamic piety and feudal tradition.

But the assertiveness of such forces these past 10 years rests firmly on the unmarked graves of some 20,000 Palestinians killed by King Hussein's troops during the "Black September" civil war in Jordan in 1970. Insofar as the Palestinian movement stood as a prime source of revolutionary contagion, concentrating the aspirations and explosiveness of broad sections of the Arab masses, the outcome of the 1970 conflict marked an important turning point. And in this context the position of "God" — standing sternly aside the traditional monarch in his hour of need — was reasserted with a vengeance.

In his 1981 book, *The Arab Predicament*, Fouad Ajami provides vivid ex-

amples of the religious demagoguery with which King Hussein rallied his troops to the wholesale slaughters of September 1970. It wasn't enough that Hussein received active, if tacit, support from the Israelis and the U.S. in prosecuting the Black September program. Nor that he received invaluable indirect assistance from Hafez al-Assad, who was then acting as the Syrian Defense Minister and who refused the Syrian government's orders to call in Syrian aircraft in support of the Palestinian fedayeen in Jordan. (Shortly after Black September, Assad seized the reins of power in Syria through a coup d'etat.) As "sovereign" monarch, Hussein needed to draw forth the more reactionary elements from among his own sovereign subjects. The following examples from Ajami demonstrate this.

In an issue of *Al-Aqsa* (circa September 1970), the Jordanian armed forces' magazine, a soldier asks God to grant Hussein victory "over Zionism and the unbelievers." Radio Amman, celebrating the destruction of a Palestinian magazine's headquarters in the fighting, hailed the silencing of this "vindictive, hired voice. One that had tried to poison many thoughts and tried to disconnect you from your past, your traditions and religion." Another statement claimed that the Palestinian movement had "surrendered to Satan," and soldiers were told to kill the Palestinians and pray for them at the same time. The following short story, disseminated to the Jordanian Army, depicted the conversation between a "tough" bedouin soldier and an "effeminate" Palestinian revolutionary, who interrupts the soldier's prayer to pester him about "revolutionary matters." Here is their exchange:

"The soldier praying, 'Praise be to Allah, lord of the world, the merciful and the compassionate.'
The young man interrupts: 'Haven't you heard Marx saying...'
The voice of the soldier (now rising): 'Thee we worship, Thee we ask for help...'
The young man again: 'But Engels said...'
The soldier still reciting: 'Say I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind...'
The young man: 'Forget about such things; religion is the opiate of the people...'
The soldier, continuing his prayer — from the evils of the sneaking whisperer...'
The young man; 'Counter-revolution is the one...'
This time, the soldier turns around and threatens the urban youth, who of course runs away. The soldier returns to his prayer, raises his hands toward heaven and pleads: 'Oh Lord, give victory to Hussein and his soldiers... the soldiers of Muhammad against Zionism, Zionists, and the unbelievers.'"

That the "soldiers of Muhammad" were in this case locked in objective alliance with Israel and the U.S. against the Palestinian people demonstrates that God is indeed possessed of remarkable elasticity as regards the affairs of mortals. But such are the prerogatives of his worldly representatives, including that enlightened and moderate client of the U.S., King Hussein.

to Arab reaction as well, and nowhere was this more acutely posed than in Jordan.

As Palestinian commandos attempted to maintain base areas in Jordan, from which to stage commando raids against Israel following the '67 war, they were met with increasing suppression by the Jordanian regime. As always, the Jordanian monarchy equated Israeli security with that of its own, and the clashes between its forces and the Palestinians grew in intensity going into 1970. Even though none of the Palestinian groups pursued a line of revolutionary civil war in Jordan, the situation had become intolerable to

U.S. imperialism and Israel. Nor could Hussein continue to accept such challenges to his authority as the Palestinians now represented. The King declared that when his Hashemite descendants came to Amman it was only a small village, and if the time came when he had to leave he would leave Amman the way it was when his forefathers arrived. Backed by the U.S. and Israel, the Jordanian regime launched the bloody campaign

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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) \$10.00

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) \$4.95

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

ISRAEL'S GLOBAL ROLE, Weapons for Repression by *Israel Shahak* (Arab-American University Graduates) \$2.95

This Israeli activist has put together a valuable pamphlet detailing Israeli military activities in the Third World, from Central America to South Africa.

ISRAEL: 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* (South End) \$6.50

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

INSIDE THE MIDDLE EAST by *Dilip Hiro* (McGraw-Hill) \$8.95

PALESTINIANS: FROM PEASANTS TO REVOLUTIONARIES by *Rosemary Sayigh* (Zed Press) \$7.95

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.

"The Military Line of the PLO and the Lessons of Beirut: A Letter" by Paul Case Available in the latest issue of REVOLUTION magazine (see back page ad)

Hashemite King

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against the Palestinians known as Black September. The King sought more than immediate military victory over the Palestinian guerrilla forces. He had a larger point to make, and the killing, spreading into the Palestinian refugee camps, continued long after such "victory" had been secured.

In exchange for such services Hussein expected a return — specifically the return of the West Bank to Jordanian control. Throughout the early '70s, the King attempted to secure this through the "good offices" of the United States. But making good on its "land for peace" exchange program ranked relatively low on the American agenda, and the Israelis were soon to demonstrate that the West Bank, their Biblical "Judea-Samaria," ranked very high on theirs. The Israeli government (then ruled by the Labor Party) consistently blocked any formula spelling even a limited return of West Bank lands to Hussein, and Israel was placed firmly on the road to settle the

West Bank during these years. The ascension of Menachem Begin's Likud bloc to power in 1977 signaled the growing centrality of "Judea-Samaria" to the Israeli *raison d'etat*, and settlement activity — dislocation of land, water sources, and the construction of housing and a road system designed to transform the West Bank into an extensive Israeli suburb — has intensified by leaps and bounds. Hussein has grown to despair over regaining the West Bank, at least so long as the Likud bloc remains in power.

Even more, the King fears the ultimate consequences of this intensified settlement activity, the brutal restrictiveness of Israeli's tightening military occupation, and the growth of settler vigilantism. Such depredations have forged a more determined Palestinian national consciousness and identity on the West Bank — and heighten the prospects of future explosions and dislocations (including, perhaps, future mass expulsions of Palestinians into Jordan by the Israeli military).

Throughout his reign, Hussein has carried through the Jordanian tradition of tacit collaboration with Israel, sharing with it a fundamental interest in contain-

ing the Palestinians and suppressing their national movement. Though their roles have been loosely interchangeable, the rough division of labor has been for Israel to be the attack force and Jordan the jailer. Today, the ongoing Israeli expansionist drive on the West Bank threatens to destabilize this arrangement, specifically the abilities of the Jordanian jailer to continue keeping the inmates under lock and key. (This converges with other regional contradictions, including the growing enmity between Syria and Jordan.)

These factors, alongside the broader regional framework, set the stage for Hussein's current moves. As a Jordanian governmental policy advisor, in speaking of Hussein's reconvening of the parliament, told the *Times* of London, "It looks very much to me as if the Middle East may be in for a period of redrawing political, and perhaps physical, maps. The worst thing we can do is remain silent. We have to be seen to be positive, and to be courageous, or we will run the risk of being swept away by a tide of radicalism."

Beyond being a pressure point upon the PLO, and a rallying point for the

West Bank pro-Jordanian elements, the King's recent parliamentary moves and cabinet shufflings have also been conducted with a wary eye towards the Jordanian population itself, about 60% of which is, after all, of Palestinian origin. The King is attempting to strengthen his internal position, and in general is promoting an idealized image of Jordan as a place where the Palestinians have fared well — at least in comparison to their West Bank brethren. While Palestinians have come to occupy a major role in Jordan's business and academic community, there are other sectors which suggest a different story. While no official figures are revealed it is well-known that there are few Palestinians to be found in the Jordanian security service, which continues to step heavily upon any expressions of Palestinian radicalism it deems "subversive." And the same holds true for the army, especially at the upper levels of the military establishment, where the estimated number of Palestinians is about 5-8%. Such an arrangement, after some 35 years of Palestinian "assimilation" into Jordanian life, speaks plainly of the foundations upon which future Jordanian-Palestinian relations ride. □

The Berkeley Flag Flap

A Crazy Patriot in the Court of the Respectable Left

Last October, Alameda County Supervisor Charles Santana "took the wife" on vacation to Puerto Rico. While the couple was lounging in leisure suits and lapping up daquiris in the U.S. colony, the car bomb exploded in Marine headquarters in Beirut, and the U.S. invaded Grenada. Santana picked up a copy of the *New York Daily News*, he later recounted, and, "There was this centerfold of pictures showing families mourning the loss of loved ones in Beirut and Grenada... and right in the middle was a picture of this character burning a flag in Berkeley.... I went crazy." The crazed patriot ("I love that flag and everything it stands for") returned home to Alameda County, the county Berkeley is in — a man with a mission.

"It kind of hurts when everywhere else in the world they're mourning, and here's Berkeley. I've seen this happen so many times and I'm saying what are we going to do with it?" Santana fumed, (grossly exaggerating the worldwide mourning for the marines). He started by getting a resolution passed by the Alameda County Board of Supervisors that demanded the city of Berkeley crack down on "flag-burners," and to arrest the person who had burned the flag at the Grenada demonstration. The Berkeley government more or less ignored the resolution and made no move to arrest anyone. Berkeley police explained their reasons for, they felt correctly, not arresting the flag-burner at the scene: "Any action in that type of atmosphere can instigate the crowd into a riot. The person can get away and run into the crowd, and then you have to go in after them and you end up with bigger problems on your hands."

The response of the Berkeley government was perhaps what Santana had expected; it was certainly quite in line with the character of the Berkeley city establishment as it had developed since the '60s. The liberal reformists/revisionists/social-democratic coalitions that have run the local government seemed quite respectable to the people in Berkeley — and the "oddball" city government has been, from the side of the system as a whole, part of the necessary and acceptable method of containing the broad groupings of progressive intellectuals, activists, and volatile youth, Black and white, who live in the city. There are a lot of people in Berkeley who don't like the flag, and there have been a number of significant protests there in the past year. But not surprisingly (given that Berkeley is not immune from the overall contradictions in the world) the situation is a far cry from the Berkeley of the 1960s revolutionary upsurge — a fact the bourgeois press is as fond of reiterating as it is of pointing out how "oddball" Berkeley is on the American political scene. It's been part of the job of the Berkeley city government to keep things respectably oddball. But largely because of its past reputation, a flag burning in Berkeley makes international news, setting a bad example indeed.

In his own dim way, Santana no doubt has some understanding of all this; but he has also been fired up by the intense prewar political atmosphere to do what he can to tighten up on the political scene in Berkeley, in the government and among the masses, and to remind some people of some bottom lines. Santana was also bolstered by a letter of support from the Commander-in-Chief himself; it seems that presidential advisor Ed Meese had once been an Alameda County D.A., and a network of old political buddies got word to the White House of San-

tana's initial efforts. Reagan sent Santana a letter on Veterans Day: "When I hear of the patriotism of citizens such as you, I'm reminded of what an honor it is to be called to serve as President of the United States, God bless you."

Santana was soon joined by Berkeley City Councilman Leo Bach (himself once an anti-Vietnam war activist, who now, in his own words, has "grown up"). Bach introduced a resolution in the Berkeley City Council to have the city council say the Pledge of Allegiance before every meeting. It seems that the city council had voted to stop saying the pledge in 1971, right after a picture ran on the front page of the *New York Times* of three Black city council members refusing to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance. The Berkeley City Council, by a vote of 4-3, with two abstentions, voted against reinstating the pledge. This only further aroused Santana and Bach. Santana moved to apply further pressure by threatening some of the political capital of the Berkeley city government: the Alameda County Supervisors voted to remove Berkeley from a board that controls the allocation of federal job training funds in Alameda County. After this squeeze, Bach pressed for another vote on the pledge in the city council — and lost again.

The city council's vote, in large part, was an application of its role as a kind of a political buffer. For example, the vice-mayor of Berkeley, a New Deal Democrat and normally a political ally of Leo Bach, voted against the pledge. She had come to the council meeting for the vote armed with the picture from the 1971 *New York Times* and expressed her fear that if the pledge were reinstated, the flag and the image of Berkeley would only be subject to further mockery and insult. She announced that she was just as patriotic as Santana but that this was Berkeley, and told the *L.A. Times*: "My oath of office says I will defend the Constitution and the laws against all enemies foreign and domestic... my oath is to protect the solemnity of the flag, not to

subject it to further public degradation."

As it's hard to find anyone on the Berkeley City Council who wanted to subject the flag to "degradation," perhaps more to the heart of her concern was her worry about the political repercussions and jarring effect of cramming the flag down Berkeley's throat in the present political climate. She told one Bay Area newspaper that forcing the pledge "seems to me not a demonstration of patriotism but a demonstration of kowtowing to the regimentation — and there's nothing patriotic about that. The whole thing has become a spectacle. This should have been a nonevent... I'm so tired of it."

Whatever the wishes of the Berkeley liberals, the flag and the question of publicly expressing allegiance is not likely to become a "nonevent" very soon. (Already the whole affair has been treated to coverage in the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles* press and elsewhere.) This is a prewar situation, and the system overall in a thousand ways will be increasingly forcing the issue. But there are more specific aims in the Berkeley flag dispute than abstract patriotic demonstrations. Leo Bach told the *Daily Californian*, the student newspaper at UC Berkeley: "People view us as an oddball kind of city — we're called the People's Republic of Berkeley. We are becoming a deteriorated, tired old city... because people are trying to remove us from the mainstream of American life. What has happened in this city is a premeditated effort at what I would call mind-control to disengage us from patriotism. We should not feel ashamed to be patriotic if there are children in the Berkeley public school system who don't know the words to the Pledge of Allegiance." (There are forces in Berkeley who would like to "disengage" a lot more than Berkeley from patriotism and the American mainstream — but it's hard for us, at least, to see any of them on the city council.) Bach goes on to name the forces he is trying to put the heat on with the flag issue: "We have people on the city council who represent Stalinist ideas. Communist influence is becoming more apparent and I am seeing more and more members of the Communist Party working with or for city council members."

The CPUSA has long been a rather respectable part of the electoral political scene in Berkeley. Far from being anti-patriotic, as Bach charges, the CP has long tried to wrap itself in patriotism and the flag. They do have contradictions with the virulently anti-Soviet forms of flag-waving, however, and in general, they do operate with the potentially explosive political contradiction of seeking to advance their political interests inside the U.S. by utilizing the framework of the U.S. political system and the framework of the U.S. national interests and the flag to advance the international interests of

the "socialist motherland."

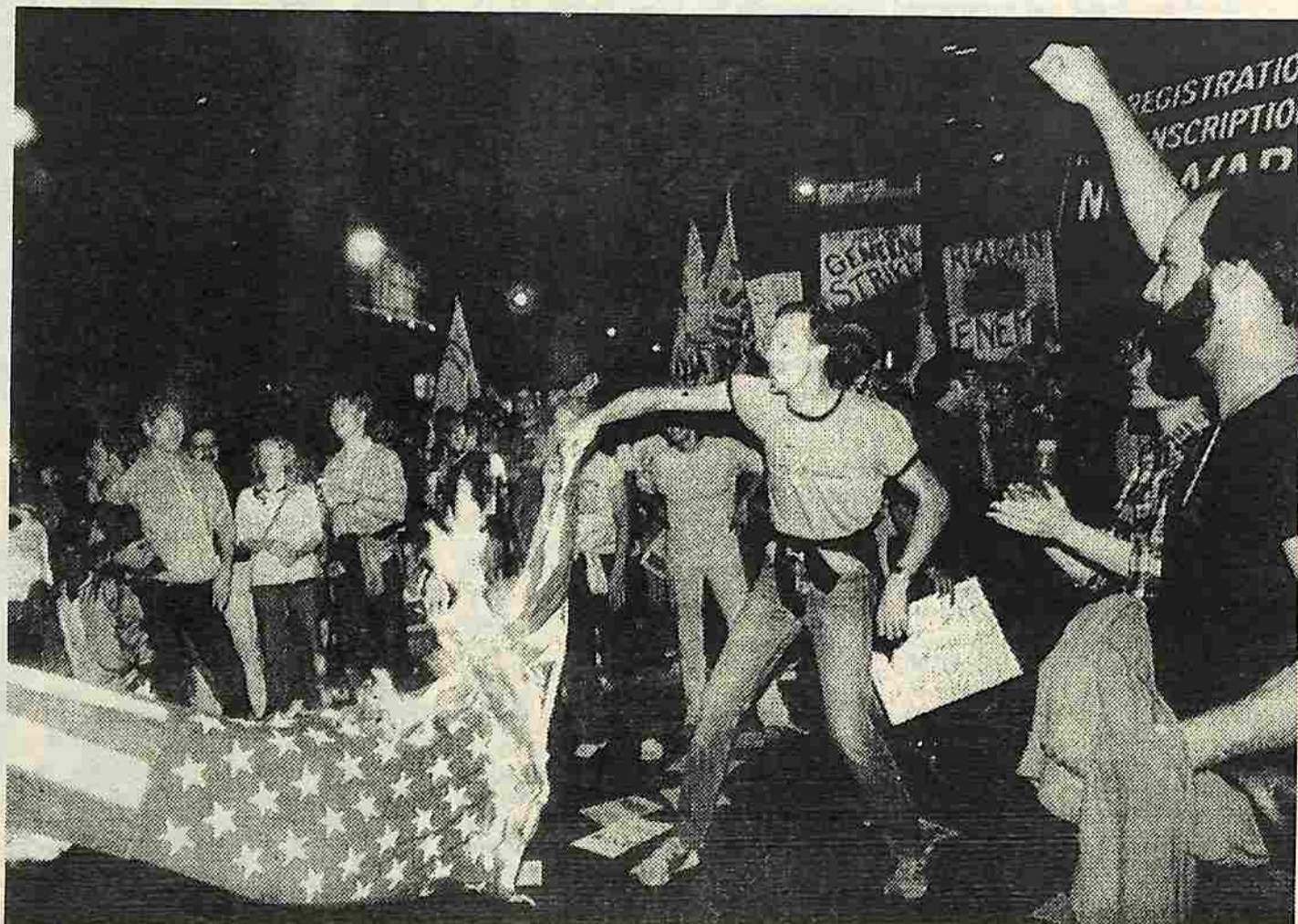
In Berkeley, the CP operates in a kind of electoral bloc with other leftist forces; overall, since the '60s, the Berkeley electoral scene, with the CP and everybody else, has been quite tolerable to the U.S., even useful in providing a relatively harmless outlet for Berkeley political energy. With his recent moves, Bach is definitely trying to shake the scene up. On the one hand, he is carrying the message that the Grenada demonstrations went too far politically, and it is time for Berkeley to tighten up on patriotism; on the other hand, he is trying split off and isolate the CP from the left, or at least make those he thinks are tied to the CP show a little more allegiance than they're in the mood for these days. He told the *Daily Californian*, "It makes you think, and even feel a little bit uncomfortable to have to come up and say where you stand in relation to your country."

In response to all this, the Berkeley electoral leftists have stood relatively united. Mayor Gus Newport, one of the leading lights of the left, said after the flag-burning: "I don't think anybody on this council upholds violating the law (by burning flags). But there are various reasons for burning the flag, such as mental illness, which this society brings on by a variety of oppressions." Beyond that, little has been said by these forces about the rest of the controversy — except to vote no to the pledge. One of Gus Newport's aides told the *L.A. Times*, referring to the pledge, "It's a nonissue, from start to finish."

In some ways, the whole controversy has not been unfavorable for the electoral leftists. They have been able to tweak the flag-wavers, who have looked pretty disgusting in the eyes of much of the population of Berkeley. In response to Bach's charges about the CP, one of the city council members in the leftist bloc, no doubt feeling confident of the results of the political furor that would ensue in Berkeley if a major anti-CP witch-hunting campaign were launched, said: "These are major accusations. Let him prove them. Let him come forward with evidence. Why doesn't he take his information to the FBI or the local or state authorities to investigate? Let them come."

The battle over the flag in Berkeley has not been limited to the pledge and the city council. In fact, now shaping up as the sharpest front is the question of the terrible lack of flags in the Berkeley schools. At one Alameda County Board of Supervisors' meeting Charles Santana showed up waving pictures of Berkeley schools which, contrary to state law, did not have flags on display. The Berkeley School Board then announced that Berkeley schools had been guilty of a sad history of neglect of the flag — some newer schools didn't even have flagpoles, some that did had been unused for so long that the

Continued on page 12



Berkeley, October 1983.

Glimpse of the Future

Continued from page 4

Bob Avakian: Why do we have to be miserable? Why at this stage of history when we have all the means of...

Third Woman: Because you can't be perfect. You're not going to be perfect...

Bob Avakian: It's not a question of being perfect.

Third Woman: You have to be in between, you have to be in the middle. You want everybody to have equal rights so we either have to be all rich or all be poor.

Bob Avakian: Why does it have to be all rich or all poor when we have so much science and technology and ability that we could put to use so that people could advance for the first time and have a decent life and could actually contribute to advancing society? Why does everybody have to be rich or everybody have to be poor when the means are at hand for people not to have to be poor any longer in the world? Why should people be starving in Africa and starving right here in the United States? Why would they have to starve once we've taken the wealth and utilized it in the interests of the people? Is that the way it has to be? Why?

Dave Patterson: Okay, hold it. Time out. I want to ask you one quick question. You went to China, right?

Bob Avakian: Twice.

Dave Patterson: Why don't you go to China and live there? (*Applause and shouts of "Yes!"*)

Bob Avakian: If I was in China — at the present time, now that it has been taken over by Deng Xiaoping and people like that who are no more communist than some of the people in this audience or Jimmy Carter or the pope — I would be working in China to do the same thing that I'm doing right here, that is, to unite with the Chinese people to rise up and make revolution and establish genuine socialism.

Dave Patterson: And they would blow you away.

Bob Avakian: That's what they're trying to do right here, right now. It's the same thing. The other reason that I don't go to China, however, is that I am most familiar with the conditions here. This is where I can make the best contribution to the revolution. (*Laughter, jeers*) Wait a minute. This is where I can make the best contribution to the whole world revolution. If I could make a better contribution to the world revolution in Russia or in China, I would gladly go there. But here's where I can make the best contribution and here's where I'm going to stay. They're going to have to kill me — which they are trying to do — to stop me from doing this. And we're going to fight to see that I am not killed because we're going to make revolution. Many of the people who have been hissing and booing are going to be part of it, when the time comes.

Dave Patterson: We're going to have to take a break and come back in just a minute.

(Station Break)

Dave Patterson: We have a lot of action going on out here.

Bob Avakian: It's very good. As I said, this is a glimpse of what will be going on when we have the new socialist society where for the first time people will really become politically aware and will be doing on a mass scale exactly what they are doing here — arguing and debating about how to run this society and how to move it forward in the interests of the people. That's precisely what we want to see happen.

Dave Patterson: But you know what's going on out there right now is not what would happen after you...

Bob Avakian: Oh yes it is. Do you know what the big problem is...

Dave Patterson: If you had a socialist society today, you would be in control because you have to have a leadership of that just like you have of anything else.

Bob Avakian: You know what the problem will be then? People will blindly go along with us because then we would be in power and be the authority. But we'd be encouraging them to come out and criticize us. We'd be leading them to come out and criticize us because that's the only way that the thing can go forward. We have nothing to hide. We're not capitalists brutalizing and exploiting and murdering people. We come out openly and talk about what we're doing and argue and struggle and unleash people to change society. That's what we're all about. We want people to argue and struggle because that's the only way they can grasp the truth and move forward. I'll go back to Galileo. (*Laughter*) He was put before the Inquisition by the Catholic Church. Everybody that has come forward with a new idea that represented the truth, at first it was only a minority who grasped it. And then, because it was the truth, it stood up and the majority of people recognized it and took it up.

Dave Patterson: Is that what keeps you going?

Bob Avakian: Yes, because this is the truth of what's going on and because revolution and communism is the future which has to be created. Nothing the rulers of this country can do can hold back the fact that their system is doomed and that the people will rise up and bury it. That's why we're working for

Crazed Patriot

Continued from page 10

ropes and pulleys were rotten and corroded, and that, again contrary to state law, Berkeley was short 400 small flags which have to be displayed in every classroom. Obviously, the daily Pledge of Allegiance, or "other appropriate patriotic exercise," also required by state law, had been sadly neglected in Berkeley, at least in some schools.

Here was a cause dear to the heart of any red-blooded patriot — and even some on the Berkeley City Council who voted against the pledge felt that this was going too far. After all, "We are dealing with the youth of America here." One such council member commented, "...I

think the school board, dealing with the education of students, has the obligation to show the positive values of the American Constitution and Bill of Rights." At a public meeting, the Berkeley School Board decided what to do about this sad state of affairs. Buying flags, poles, and ropes would cost about \$5,000, money the strapped school district does not have. Still, the law is the law. So, amidst comments from the audience like, "The flag should be bought, torn into strips and sent to Central America to be used as bandages by the rebels," the school board decided that the flags should indeed be bought — but that they should be dead last on the priorities list — "after toilet paper," commented one observer at the meeting. The school board member who initiated the resolution commented, "I will be very deeply and profoundly troubled if we inflict the Pledge of Allegiance to that flag on every

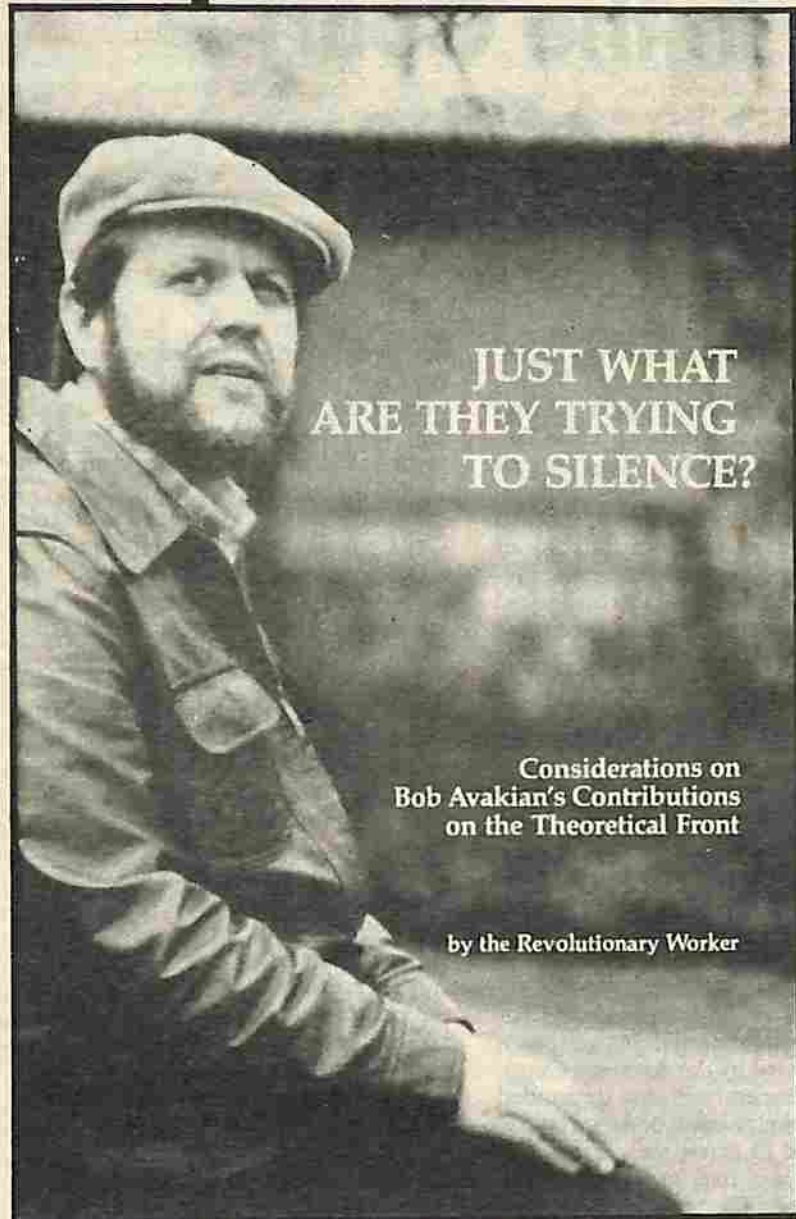
youngster in this school district."

In the wake of the school board's decision, Bach, Santana and the County Board of Supervisors scurried around looking for \$5,000 to buy flags for Berkeley — and last week they triumphantly announced that private donations of flags and money had come in that were more than ample to keep the schools within the law. As far as the pledge for the city council goes, it would seem the matter is not yet resolved. Some influential forces in the Bay Area think that it's time to put a temporary halt to the pressure on the Berkeley establishment — the *San Francisco Examiner* editorialized to this effect. After all, forcing the flag down the throat of the city of Berkeley could lead to riling up some broader forces and polarizing the situation in a way which might set another bad example. Still, other forces want to push ahead. At last Tuesday's council meeting,

a group of residents marched in behind the flag, led by a member of the Berkeley Women's Chamber of Commerce. They led the whole room in the pledge, including the council members — though three council members were absent, including the mayor. (This event was duly noted in the *New York Times* which has apparently taken on the job of reporting "flag-saluting" in Berkeley as an internationally noteworthy event.) The council is still on record opposing the pledge.

It would seem that some people in Berkeley are determined to get the last laugh. At the most recent meeting of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, 30 people marched in at the beginning and started singing patriotic songs, wildly off key. Apparently it took Santana five minutes before he realized that they were *not* his fans, and they went on for half an hour, driving the supervisors out of the council chamber with the raucous noise. □

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Considerations on
Bob Avakian's Contributions
on the Theoretical Front

by the Revolutionary Worker

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revolution and why we're never going to back off from that. We're never going to compromise on it because it is the only way forward for humanity, it's what we are on the threshold of and it's what we are going to achieve.

Dave Patterson: Well Bob, it's clear that you're a committed young man with a lot of strong feelings about the kind of things that you stand for. Just to kind of wrap this up real quickly, you're going to Washington where you are facing court charges over there.

Bob Avakian: I face a hearing tomorrow.

Dave Patterson: If they put you in jail, we are going to see signs that say "Free Bob Avakian," right?

Bob Avakian: I'm sure you will because one of the things they want to do in jail — which they have done many times and plotted to do other times, which they did to George Jackson...

Dave Patterson: You're going to say they're going to try to kill you, right?

Bob Avakian: That's right. And I'm going to put it out right here and now, because that's what they do when they stick you away and get you where they can say some outraged prisoner killed you or you hanged yourself in your cell. I'm going to put it out right now. We're going to fight so that it doesn't happen.

Dave Patterson: We all hope that doesn't happen.

Bob Avakian: It is a fight to make sure it doesn't happen. □

Cosmos In Colombia

The following letter appeared in issue No. 10 (January 1984) of *Alborada Comunista*, newspaper of *Grupo Comunista Revolucionario* of Colombia, which has issued a call to debate *Cosmos* as well as questions of natural sciences and scientific knowledge in general. The articles referred to in the letter on matter and the universe, "Matter is Infinitely Divisible" and "The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness" (also reprinted in RW No. 122 and 135 respectively), were written in revolutionary *China* by *Bian Sizu* for the magazine *Dialectics of Nature*. Letters on the *Bian Sizu* articles appeared in issues No. 141, No. 214 and No. 224 of the RW; and correspondence on *Cosmos* appeared in issues No. 114, No. 117, No. 119 and No. 127 of the RW. The RW will translate and publish correspondence on this debate that appears in *Alborada Comunista*.

In the midst of all this garbage we see on Colombian TV we were surprised at the year-end showing of the series *Cosmos*, by Carl Sagan. The first four chapters I've seen so far are of a markedly different outlook than the usual programs of a cultural nature they customarily show us. We who in one form or another are linked to the teaching profession joyfully greet this "slip" on the part of the TV controllers who have let this series "slide" in. As Sagan himself says, the reactionary forces have always tried to hide real science from the masses, and what little they do show is a "science" that defends metaphysics, with obvious political interests and to prolong their rule.

Since the beginning of *Cosmos* I have been carefully watching out for any comments that might be made on the program or on Sagan, thinking that the

materialist outlook which is felt almost from beginning to end of each chapter would provoke interest among all kinds of people, but the silence has been overwhelming. I have only found a short note in the science column of the magazine *Semana*, which merely announces the premier of the series; and an unfortunate comment by *Aziel Bibliowicz* in the TV-guide of *El Espectador*, where *Cosmos* is put on the same level as Bronowski's *The Ascent of Man*, putting Sagan's evident materialism on the same level as Bronowski's — also evident — mysticism. *Bibliowicz* mentions an issue of *Time* magazine from October 1980 (when *Cosmos* was shown in the U.S.) — where reference was made to *Cosmos*, Sagan, or both — as a sign that the series "moved American public opinion," without clarifying anything about that "commotion."

It's surprising that with the viewing of *Cosmos* the all-knowing "professor" *Panesso*, who so highly praised Bronowski and his series, and praised the fact that finally these programs are being shown on TV, has not yet been heard from his usual "pulpit" which he brings to us in his column in *El Espectador*. However, what should come as no surprise is that the "professor," unlike *Bibliowicz*, is in agreement with those of us who believe there is a noticeable qualitative difference between Bronowski's and Sagan's series, but for completely opposite reasons. Sagan's materialism must have really wounded the "professor" since he has not even had the power to unleash the "wrath of his pen" against him.

The downplaying of Sagan's effort to popularize scientific understanding is not the exclusive merit of the "specialized" commentators of the bourgeois press. Several months before the series

appeared on TV, it was easy to find some of Sagan's books on the shelves of book stores. But with what ease! Before they were put on display you had to look for them in the section for... esoteric literature!

For all these reasons the role of the revolutionary press and literature is all that more important, so that in the process of "creating public opinion" we can draw clear lines of demarcation between materialism and idealism, so that we can send to the devil the widely-believed idea — widely even among the "left" — that the revolutionaries should only be concerned with "earthly" matters (what a gross vulgarization of materialism!) and they are blind to scientific knowledge, especially the natural sciences.

Being familiar with the position of the GCR on this matter, and having read the articles on "Matter Is Infinitely Divisible" and "The Universe Is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness" in their publication *El Trabajador*, I'm anxious to know your ideas on *Cosmos* and on Sagan. For my part, I believe that both *Cosmos* and Sagan, as I already mentioned, contribute to sending to the devil all this garbage that says that scientists, and science, are neutral, that they don't have a world outlook and must remain within the pristine confines of their "marble towers," away from "mere mortals." Science is something that should concern not only the scientists but the masses as well. Obviously the masses are not going to achieve the level of scientific knowledge in this shit-hole system, we shouldn't have any illusions about that, but I do believe that revolutionaries should discuss all these "questions of science and philosophy."

A University Professor

Photo of the surface of Mars.

Crime and Punishment in Revisionist China

"Effective Warnings," reads the title to a half-page photo story in the January 30 issue of *Time*. The photos depict the scene of one of thousands of executions that have taken place in China in recent months in a nationwide wave of bourgeois terror that the Chinese revisionists have unleashed in the name of a "crackdown on crime." One photo shows a soldier pointing a rifle at the back of a kneeling prisoner held down by a guard. Another shows several prisoners spread on the ground after being shot, hands still tied behind their backs. The numbers alone reveal the sweeping scope of the crackdown: there have been some 100,000 arrests and 5,000 executions since last August. Many of the executions have involved large groups of prisoners — the biggest so far reported being an execution of 81 people last September.

"Grisly," *Time* solemnly pronounces the executions. But when is *Time* going to get serious? Here is a prime mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism, skilled in excusing and celebrating "effective warnings"

from police murders in the inner cities of America to the international terror of Hiroshima and the death squads of El Salvador... suddenly the imperialists are worried about "grisly!" These criminals have no right to speak on the matter! (Indeed, midway through the article the magazine nods appreciatively: "The warning seems to be having a chilling effect: criminal cases during September and October dropped by 42% compared with the same period in 1982.")

For the international proletariat there is a bloody irony in the revisionist campaign. After all, the architects of this bloody rampage are those that whine and howl about the horrible "persecution" they suffered during the Cultural Revolution. Indeed, proletarian dictatorship was living hell for the revisionists. What torment to be brought before the masses for public scrutiny and criticism of their line and practice! What an agony to see the educated youth "interrupt their educations" and go to the countryside! What torture to be toppled from their

traditional thrones of power by the revolutionary upsurge! Torture, that is, to be on the receiving end of the proletarian dictatorship. Today, they swing the club of bourgeois dictatorship, banging down the mailed fist, aimed widely at the Chinese people.

Most of those executed have been accused of apparently nonpolitical crimes such as murder, armed robbery, rape, and "economic crimes" such as smuggling. The crime rate, in fact, has been soaring in the past few years, a fact pointed to by outside observers as well as by the revisionists themselves. According to *Beijing Review*, "Economic crimes, including smuggling, graft, bribery, speculation and fraud have grown to a record high since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949." "A few years ago," noted the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "it was possible to claim the crime rate had not soared — only that crimes which were previously kept secret were now receiving publicity. Now there can be no doubt that crime and

delinquency are on the rise." There is even a report that Deng himself met up with a pack of "gangsters" while traveling to a vacation spot in a motorcade.

Of course, the bourgeoisie often hounds revolutionaries by branding them as common criminals. It is possible that at least some of the recent executions have involved revolutionaries charged with political "crimes." This might be the reason that, as the *New York Times* pointed out last September, while the Chinese government has publicized many of the executions, there have been some that were not mentioned in the official press at all. Whatever the nature of the individual cases, however, it is clear that the revisionists' overall aim in this crackdown is to deliver a blunt political message to the masses in general, and along with that to any conscious political forces opposed to the regime that the fangs of state power can come snapping down viciously and quickly.

Cold-blooded planning went into the

Continued on page 15

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 'social-imperialism' of the Soviet Union. It is therefore worth reading as an unusual point of view, rigorously presented."

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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."

—Edward Nell
Professor of Economics,
Graduate Faculty at the New School for Social Research
author of *Growth, Profits and Property*

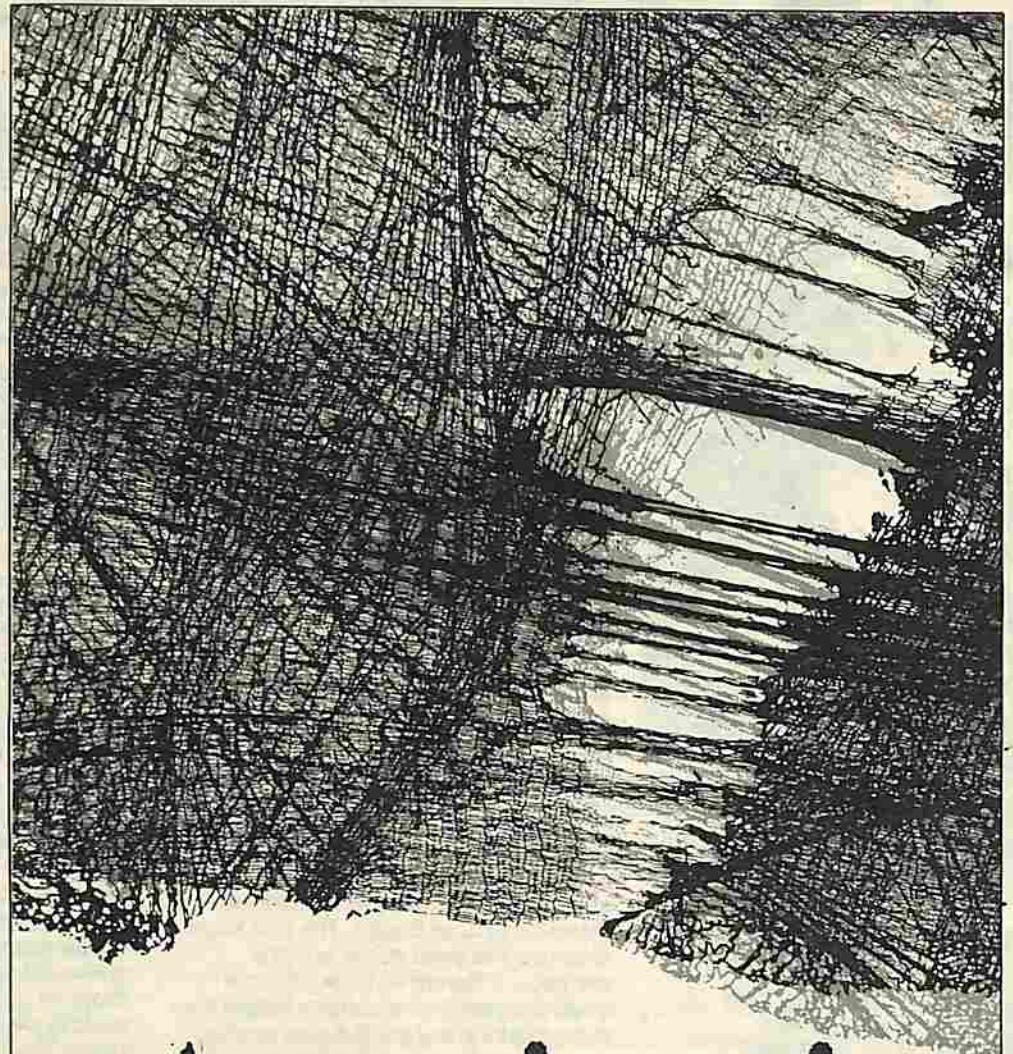
America in Decline is a multivolume study of the origins and implications of the contemporary crisis of world capitalism.

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.



America in Decline

An Analysis
of the Developments
Toward War and Revolution,
in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s.

Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon **Vol. 1**

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China

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campaign. According to some foreign diplomats in Peking, internal documents of the Chinese party set up definite time frames and quotas for arrests and executions. The revisionists are trying to squeeze the maximum mileage out of the terror value of the executions. Death sentences are often handed down at mass rallies of thousands of people, and the condemned are sometimes paraded through the streets on the way to the execution grounds. "Grisly" pictures of the executions are posted out in the streets for public display.

In September, even as the executions were reaching a high tide, the revisionists made changes in the penal code that would enable them to dish out the death penalty more freely — that is, even more freely than 5,000 executions in the space of a few months. One change broadens the scope of capital offenses. Included in the new categories are those who are convicted of carrying weapons "with intent to commit serious crime" and those who "illegally manufacture, trade in, transport, steal or seize firearms, munitions or explosives in particularly serious circumstances." Death sentences for such crimes which "seriously endanger social order and public security" no longer need to be reviewed by the highest court but can be carried out immediately after a decision in a lower court.

Although the executions have been aimed broadly at the masses, the timing of the white terror, which started in August of last year, seems intended to link it also with the two-year program of "party rectification" which began in October. One of the main tasks of the "rectification" is said to be "purifying the party organization" of members who were active in the Cultural Revolution. This certainly cannot be taken at face value; which forces the purge is actually aimed at is not yet clear. But what is clearly indicated by this is the scope of the purge. Of 40 million current members it is estimated that several million could be axed, figuratively at least, if not literally. (The *Far Eastern Economic Review* states that "it has been darkly hinted that up to 16 million out of the present bloated total does not deserve to retain their memberships." The *NY Times* is more conservative, guessing at one to three million.) A purge on that scale will no doubt create tremendous dissension within party ranks. Through their Draconian measures, the Deng clique obviously hopes to prevent such discontent from developing into active opposition.

More generally, the revisionists are very concerned about the disregard, even contempt, for authority and law and the general discontent that seems to exist broadly in society, especially among the youth. A story about the Wang brothers recounted by Orville Schell in the January 23 issue of the *New Yorker* gives a glimpse of the kind of mood among sections of people in China. The Wang brothers were two men in their twenties who criss-crossed China by train, committing robberies and evading the authorities. The police became so frustrated at not being able to nab the brothers that they offered cash rewards and put up "wanted" posters. According to Schell, "Whenever I raised the subject of the Wang brothers with the Chinese... I found that, far from being outraged by their lawlessness, people were fascinated, and even sympathetic. The unusual ability of these two young men to evade the power of the state had imbued them in the popular mind with heroic dimensions; many Chinese, apparently, longed to see their system, including the dreaded Public Security Bureau, bested." The brothers were finally killed by authorities in a fierce gun battle last September.

Numerous articles decrying the rise in "juvenile delinquency" often appear in the revisionist press, an indication of the attention being paid to the question of dealing with the volatile nature of youth. Last year, urban youth were targets of a widespread dragnet conducted by the authorities. In Peking and other major cities tens of thousands of "delinquents" and "antisocial elements" were rounded up and shipped off to remote regions of western China to work on reclamation projects. Given the fast-rising unemployment among the urban youth, many of those rounded up were probably

"illegal" residents without papers or jobs, or small-time thieves and peddlers of smuggled goods. During the Cultural Revolution educated youth in urban areas were politically mobilized to go to the countryside and live among peasants as part of narrowing the difference between the city and the countryside. Now, this is attacked by the revisionists as "disguised unemployment." As for the revisionists' operation to round up youth and send them off to forced labor like herds of cattle, this is merely the keeping of "social order."

Going hand in hand with such hardline measures are attempts to instill youth with respect for law and loyalty to authority. "Middle schools and elementary schools," intoned an article in a revisionist magazine, "need to strengthen education in law and discipline and cultivate good habits from childhood of loving study, collectivism, labor, courtesy, and respecting discipline and protecting the law." March has been designated as the annual Socialist Ethics and Courtesy Month, designed to correct "undesirable social practices" and promote such "correct" and "decent" behavior as "the use and popularization of polite language," "working hard," and "decency of environment" (like refraining from spitting in the streets).

In the eyes of the revisionists, much of what they consider as problems among the youth stems from the inference of "anarchy" and "lawlessness" of the Cultural Revolution. Certainly the spirit of "going against the tide" and "it's right to rebel against reactionaries" promoted during the Cultural Revolution still has its effects today and has something to do with the difficulty the revisionists are facing in drumming blind subservience into the youth.

But more importantly it is the revisionists themselves who, with their restoration of capitalism, have let loose forces of anarchy and an ideology that they cannot control. While they call for sheep-like obedience to the state on the one hand, they must also promote naked self-interest and narrow individualism on the other. In the countryside, "getting rich first" is promoted as being the loftiest of goals. Anyone using their wits and shedding more sweat than the guy next door can become that first family in the district with a TV set or even a truck. In reality, the breakup of collective agriculture means that those with better land, more working bodies in the family, connections in the bureaucracy and such advantages are arising as the new class of rich peasants, while most fall behind. It's the dog-eat-dog world of capitalism where everything and everyone is ground through the cash nexus.

Schell quotes one observer's opinion of the situation, which seems fairly accurate: "I think what's happening is that the countryside is beginning to divide up, particularly among young people. There are those who have already started to succeed and get a stake in the new system. And then there are those who haven't succeeded in getting anything, and are beginning to realize that they probably never will. They are the kind of people who join gangs." A similar sharpening up of social contradictions is taking place in the cities as well. It's no mystery that disaffected youth, bombarded by exhortations to "get rich" but facing the bleak reality, would be more inspired by the Wang brothers than the saccharin homilies of the Socialist Ethics and Courtesy Month.

But perhaps the most telling indictment of revisionism that emerges from the rampage of state killings is the fact that of all crimes, rape has been cited as most common. For example, in discussing the "chilling effect" of public executions, the *Christian Science Monitor* notes that "especially women feel safer riding buses or walking down ill-lit alleys." This of course has the disgusting ring of life in the USA and stands as a clear signal that the "every man for himself" ideology of capitalism has been thoroughly let loose in China's cities. From our experience here we can say with certainty that even a few thousand executions will not make women feel safer for long.

In light of all this it can be said that the revisionists have made one thing crystal clear concerning their screams about being suppressed during the Cultural Revolution — their class thoroughly deserved it. □

Meese

Continued from page 7

among other things, "terrorism" and "extremist groups"; (4) developing more coordination between federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies; (5) setting up a legal task force on "terrorism"; and (6) setting up a "criminal terrorist" index. In one form or another all of these recommendations have been at least partially implemented. One of the results of the OCC's recommendations was the passage by the California Legislature in 1982 of the so-called "anti-Klan" bill, which is principally aimed at progressive and revolutionary groups and which has been exposed in the past by the *RW*.

In the beginning of the '80s, when much of what he had been fighting for in California was being implemented in accordance with the pace of international events and particularly the intensifying moves toward world war, Meese himself had gone onto bigger things. Meese by that time was one of the most trusted of the group that had been around Reagan for 15 or 20 years, and who went with him to the White House. Meese was made White House chief of staff, and William French Smith, another member of the group, was made attorney general.

Smith and Meese

It's not clear at this point why Smith is leaving as attorney general, or precisely what are the differences between him and Meese. According to the *New York Times*, Smith has "presided over policy changes as dramatic as any that have occurred at the Justice Dept. in 20 years.... Under Mr. Smith, the Justice Dept. reversed its position on major civil rights questions, reinterpreted antitrust law, called on the Supreme Court to reassess landmark rulings on abortion and sought to enforce a system of secrecy oaths and censorship for government officials with access to intelligence data."

In all these moves, Smith had the backing of Reagan and Meese, and also the direct assistance of Meese, who from the beginning of the Reagan administration has had particular responsibility for the Justice Dept. These measures, though somewhat controversial with sections of the liberals, were very much in the spirit of clampdown for the coming war. At least as important have been some moves that did not make the standard bourgeois lists of "accomplishments" on Smith's resignation. In particular, Smith opened

up FBI regulations to give agents wider legal latitude in all kinds of undercover and black-bag work, including especially a much wider definition of organizations that can be "legally" targeted by the FBI. Under the old guidelines only organizations that aimed immediately and directly at violent illegal acts could be targeted, but under the new guidelines advocacy of violence as a strategic necessity is enough to openly unleash the political police.

There is perhaps a shade of difference between Meese and Smith in this crucial area. The *New York Times* commented, "In 1981, Mr. Meese said the American Civil Liberties Union and similar groups were 'an ongoing lobby opposed to law enforcement.'... Mr. Smith did not endorse that view, and in general, has been adept at avoiding controversy."

However much that's a difference of style or substance it may well serve Mr. French Smith, who will undoubtedly be quite busy since his law firm, Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher, now numbers among its clients (which also include Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and the *Times-Mirror*, owner of the *L.A. Times*) Chief Gates and the Los Angeles Police Department, who are up to their ears in a suit filed by the ACLU and a general scandal over the activity of the political police. It is also clear that when Mr. Meese appears before the little Congressional committee and presents his credentials for Attorney General, he will be bringing with him a compelling history for taking charge of the American justice system. One bourgeois liberal in California described Meese this way: "I think he does have strong convictions... I suppose they are those of the people who believe you can change the world at the end of a gun" — which only goes to show two things: that people who would prefer to have their butchers do the killing in the back room also know where political power comes from. □

CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (No. 240) the article on page 7, "High Court Denies Appeal in Darnell Summers Case," contains an error. In column 3, in the first paragraph following the subheading "Support Broadens," the third sentence should read: Statements of support have been submitted to the coalition in the form of formal resolutions from a 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.

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