



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Beirut: Peacekeepers Inflict Damage Control



Last October, during a period when talk of Lebanese "national reconciliation" under U.S. sponsorship still had some currency, an unnamed U.S. official gave the press a candid assessment of what, under cover of the "peace process," the U.S. was more specifically aiming for. Speaking of the massive U.S. rearmament program then under way for the Lebanese army, a program which included the emergency shipment of some 68 additional tanks to Beirut, the official noted, "A tank is a real power symbol. You put one of them at each intersection in Beirut and the man in the street will think twice about which side to join" (*New York Times*, October 21, 1983).

Today, many additional arms shipments and training certificates for Lebanese arms conscripts later, "the man in the street" in Beirut presents a very different picture indeed. Whatever the ultimate outcome of the current round of fighting, it is clear that U.S. strategy, aims, and "credibility" in Lebanon have suffered a severe blow. The Gemayel government has lost what razor thin margin of credibility it had; this erstwhile symbol of a "sovereign" Lebanon today stands as the "legitimate" representative only of the despised right-wing Christian Phalange Party and militia, its "sovereign borders" consisting of the Phalangist strongholds of East Beirut and Junieh (the "capital" of the coastal Maronite enclave north of Beirut).

The Lebanese army, upon whose shoulders such grandiose U.S. hopes rested, has gone over in great numbers to the "enemy," a reported 40% of its soldiers having defected or deserted as of February 7. And in the perverse terminology of U.S. imperialism, West Beirut has "fallen." Having endured 18 months of suppression under the Gemayel government — including nightly curfews and the routine arrests of "suspects" (a very broad category indeed under Gemayel's reign) — many of West Beirut's inhabitants have once again "surfaced," joining the Druse and Shi'ite militias and consolidating control over the area. They are being actively joined by the defecting units of the army and at least for the present, the only tanks or armored personnel carriers to be found in these streets are under these forces control. A similar situation exists throughout Beirut's southern suburbs; as for the Lebanese army posts adjacent to the marine position near the Beirut airport, these are reportedly also in the hands of the militias and defecting Lebanese army units.

There are elements of popular upheaval in all this; the *New York Times* on February 8, reported with discernible queasiness the sight of "Leftist youth" in West Beirut, "collecting on street corners, slapping hands like basketball players after a successful dunk shot." Picking one's way judiciously through

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**New York's  
South Bronx: The  
Fire Storm And The  
Tin-Panel Tulips**

see centerfold

# What's Behind the Detroit "School Girl" Rapes?

On Tuesday, January 24, Michele Jackson did not return from Detroit's Murray Wright High School. By nightfall her family called the police and began searching for her. The next morning her aunt found her partly-nude body in a debris-strewn garage one block from home. She had been raped and strangled in the pre-dawn hours as she walked two blocks to catch the bus to school. In an outpouring of grief and rage hundreds lined the street outside the chapel at her wake. The brutal murder of this 16-year-old Black youth was the first killing in what is now being called "the schoolgirl rapes."

Rape overall in Detroit is up 32% and the current rape wave has been directed at young women and girls, mainly Black, traveling to and from school in the city. There have been to date 52 such sexual assaults since the beginning of the school year, 37 of them occurring between the hours of 6:45 and 9 a.m. Most have taken place in abandoned houses and garages that dot almost every block in the city, many in subfreezing temperatures.

Reports of such incidents began surfacing in the press in December. At that time authorities were attempting to downplay "the problem" stating, "We have no count of the number of such incidents that have occurred since school opened in September; nor do we know whether the number of incidents is up compared to recent years." Possibly as the result of infighting or pressure from

angry parents, the *Detroit Free Press* conducted its own examination of police files in December. They found, at that time, 37 sexual assaults or attempted assaults on school age females during the before and after school hours in September. In one week in October there were six, one of them involving a 10-year-old girl raped in an abandoned house after being grabbed from behind by a man who put a knife to her throat.

To date almost every city high school has been affected and many middle schools as well. Three rapes have been reported by students at all-Black Northern High and two at Central, another all-Black inner city school. Two weeks after the murder of Michele Jackson, a 14-year-old Northern student was raped inside the school building during school hours. The principal, who only days before had been lauded in a *Free Press* article, "a man of principle leads Northern High," claimed that the girl had made up the story. This could not happen in his school, and besides "she had no visible bruises on her body." The next day a 17-year-old in nearby Highland Park was dragged into a garage and raped by a man with a gun as she walked to school at 7:30 a.m. in freezing temperatures. No one dared to claim she made up the incident since a pistol whipping resulted in seven stitches to her head.

Even as they have been forced to act, authorities are still trying to get over with the line of "nothing unusual here." As he

convened his February 8 "community summit on rape" the mayor stated, "the problem is serious everywhere and whether it is more serious here is something we are still trying to determine."

Now, let's really get serious. Rape in this country has already reached world-class levels where every 8 minutes a woman is raped. In the nearby college town of Ann Arbor there is a map posted with red pins marking rape sites, and throughout the country women have demonstrated to "take back the night." Perhaps we can now add "take back the morning" as well. The rapes in Detroit may be "simply" the normal carnage of this system's violence against women reaching a new record low or something more conscious, since the systematic character of the offense does have the edge of something like a "campaign." This needs to be brought to light.

Typically, the response of the authorities, the administrators and enforcers of all this oppression has been "rely on us," "work with us." There have been constant calls to rehire the laid off police and for more "police-community cooperation" including beefing up the mayor's "neighborhood watch" committees. More pigs! What a solution to the problem of rape (or any other outrage of this system). The tens of thousands of women who have been raped can certainly testify to the "sensitivity" of the police on this question —

not to mention those women who have been raped by the police. And more pigs we get, as the mayor's summit meeting came up with the following "peace plan": redeploying the police in foot patrols around the city's schools (which are already run like prisons) in hours of peak traffic before and after school; utilizing three thousand city vehicles equipped with two-way radios as the "eyes and ears of the police" (they should have added "snouts"); and using four police helicopters to "light up the skies as they hover over areas around the city schools in the early morning hours." At the same time, one police sergeant publicly demonstrated real skill in police-community relations pointing the finger of blame at the parents, saying that parents should be "held accountable for whatever happens to their children." We've heard this before — as in the response of the authorities to the Black youth murders in Atlanta. As we pointed out around the Atlanta murders, only the people can solve this case — ultimately by overthrowing the system that spawns such atrocities. The depraved social relations which enforce women's oppression in a thousand ways, and whatever else is going on in this case, must be exposed and opposed by the young women who are the particular targets in this instance and by all those youth, proletarians, and others who hate this shit. □

## An American Axe Murder

In quiet Mt. Clemens, a mostly-white suburb of Detroit, it is only a few blocks from Judge Daner's office past the red brick colonial-style buildings to the town's only movie theater — this week featuring *Her Wicked Ways*, rated XXX. And in late January Circuit Judge James Daner clarified some basic issues of marriage in bourgeois society. In a case where the man killed his wife with an axe the day after she told him she was in love with another man — a Black man — the judge rejected first- and second-degree murder charges and convicted the man on a voluntary manslaughter charge.

Citing what he considered a man's understandable rage over his wife's infidelity, he said, "Here's the defendant, then, for the first time, faced with the horrible mess, with an infidelity. Not only an infidelity — and I do not wish to be called a racist, but we are in a court of law and a spade has to be called a spade — but an infidelity with a Black man.

"...Taking this defendant's background and history, it had to be so upsetting, so disturbing, he was driven to anger, he was driven to frustration, he was driven to hatred."

Part of the defendant's "background"

included the fact that he was a Jehovah's Witness whose fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible includes the belief that adulterers are stoned to death. He also had great anxiety about another piece of his "property," the kids, "that he would lose them." He therefore, after learning of his wife's desire to be with this other man, selected the axe, placed it in a bedroom, woke the kids up the next morning and sent them off to school, and then hacked at his wife 12 times. After searching unsuccessfully for the woman's lover, he picked up the kids from school, drove to Indiana, and then called the police.

Judge Daner has a reputation as a "just and fair" man, stemming partly from the days a decade ago when he was one of the few white lawyers in Mt. Clemens that would defend a Black man. His more recent rulings in the interests of "justice" have included a courtroom policy of not granting injunctions against husbands to battered wives unless they have two previous instances on record with the police of being battered.

Apparently the judge felt called to defend himself after his ruling engendered a storm of protest from organizations such

as the NAACP, the Wolverine Bar Association (a Black attorneys' group) and the Midwest section of NOW. "I inadvertently used a phrase that in my youth had no racial connotations. I simply meant, 'Let's look at reality.'"

Now that's a challenge! Well, one reality, which the judge himself let slip out, is that in many such cases the outraged husband is convicted of insanity, sent to the forensic institute and examined by two psychiatrists for three weeks, given a drug prescription and sent home. In fact, the defense in this case pleaded insanity. But Judge Daner is a real law and order man, and besides, he likes to look at reality so he understands that chopping up your wife is not insane.

While the judge cries, "not me — I don't think like this," he can certainly understand where this man is coming from, and no doubt knows many more like him. Indeed, in reality, the judge went the defense and the prosecution one better by himself introducing racist ideology as a motive, and himself pointing out that it was even more understandable why the axe-man chopped up his wife since a Black man was involved. On

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# To All Those Who Refuse To Live and Die On Their Knees

## Part I

# OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian

### Capitalism: Will There Ever Be Anything Better Or Higher?

The capitalists that rule this country want us to think — much as they know it's not true — that what I'm talking about is impossible. They want to tell us that it is impossible to move beyond capitalism. "It's human nature to have some people rule over and exploit others." "This is the highest system there ever has been and there ever will be." "I don't care where you go or how far into the future you look, there is nothing that will ever be better or higher than this. If it is painful to you (as they have to admit it is for millions of people), then try to find, in one way or another, a little pleasure amidst all this pain. If you can't deal with it and you have to cry about it, go off in the corner because we don't want to hear it. If you can't stand that, then blow your brains out or pop pills and kill yourself because we don't have time to worry about you." This is what they want us to do. This is what they want us to think: This is the highest form of society there ever will be; it is a society that is going to be based on pain, so try to get whatever pleasure you can.

They don't need and it is actually not most effective for them to have big flashing neon signs to say: CAPITALISM IS THE ONLY WAY! CAPITALISM IS THE HIGHEST AND BEST SOCIETY! GIVE UP ON EVER CHANGING THIS SOCIETY! They know people don't believe their advertising. How many people out here believe a single advertisement you have ever heard in your life? If you do, you haven't woken up yet. Very few people, I don't care how backward politically, do not know that every one of these ads they put out is a lie. You know these guys don't use this stuff they say they use. It doesn't do what it is supposed to do. Everybody knows that. These are lies they spread out here all the time.

They are more sneaky about how they promote their system. They know that everything in a society divided into classes is going to serve one class or another. Don't tell me these ideas presented in the culture out here are just up in the sky; they serve and represent one kind of system or another, one class or another; they serve and represent society being organized one way or the other. The capitalists know this, they understand this. They are fighting for their lives to save themselves from historical extinction. They use culture against us because they know people like music and need entertainment, just to be able to keep it together to go to work some more. They know that we want movies and drama and plays and songs. But this stuff is working on our minds, because they are the ones who control it. Now some people put up a fight and some decent stuff sneaks through, but overwhelmingly and when it comes down to a crunch, they control it — from the newspapers to the churches to the schools to the TV and the radio.

*This article is the fourteenth 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 a speech given in Cleveland, Ohio. It is the first of two parts — ed.*

Think about what they are putting over on us. "Life is hell so try to find whatever little pleasure you can, and forget about the rest of it." It comes out in their songs. I know a lot of people go out here and say, "No, not me. I just listen to the music and I just get down with the beat. I don't pay any attention to the words." You know it ain't so. You'll find yourself walking down the street singing those words. You'll find yourself climbing in the shower and repeating those songs. Think about it. What effect does it have on your mind when seventy times in one song with a powerful beat, it comes banging out at you: "There's nothing more that I want to do, than take the floor and dance with you"?

Now our party says people need to have a good time, people need to dance. We like music and we believe that all these different forms and kinds of music can be used when the working class takes control of society, if they are infused with a revolutionary content. But think about what they are doing to numb our minds out here. You mean to tell me that the highest aspirations or hopes or dreams we have are to get down, shake our booties, boogie on down, and shake our bodies down to the ground? We can't think about anything higher than that? There is nothing more that we want to do than that? I don't believe it! — and neither do you. But they are working on our minds.

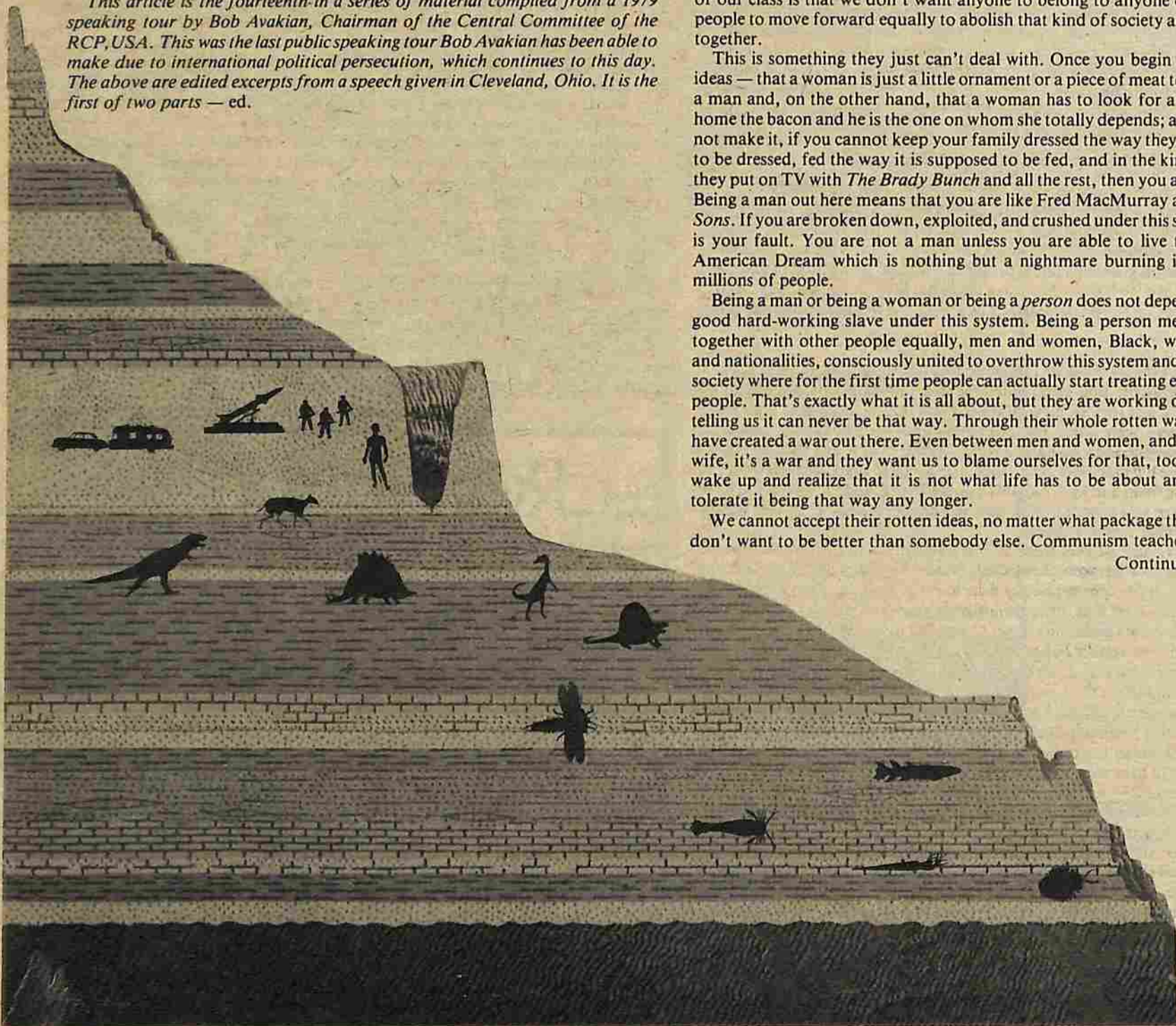
Take another song that is out here by a rock group called Doctor Hook, a song called "When You're in Love with a Beautiful Woman." What is the message of this song? When you are in love with a beautiful woman, what does it mean? Is life wonderful? No! — it is miserable. If you are in love with a beautiful woman, you have to look over your shoulder all the time. You have to hold onto her tight. You can't even trust your own friends, they'll try to take her away from you. When I was a kid they had another version of this. It went like this: "If you want to be happy for the rest of your life, never make a pretty woman your wife. From my personal point of view, get an ugly girl to marry you." The idea was that if you marry an ugly girl, she will be so grateful that she will never say a bad word to you. She will be so happy that you picked her that she will do everything you say. She will cook, she will clean, she will do anything and everything for you. This is a bullshit line. It is a fairy tale in the first place and reactionary rotten poison besides. Think about a song that says: when you're in love with a beautiful woman, life is miserable because you can't trust your friends. Here is a line, here is a message that says women are a piece of meat or a little toy to be possessed by a man and paraded around, but you can't even do that happily because you have to fight your friends off since they will try to steal your possession from you. What kind of rotten outlook is that? What kind of a system promotes that kind of view? What kind of a system promotes the view that one person belongs to another as a possession? The stand of our class is that we don't want anyone to belong to anyone else. We want people to move forward equally to abolish that kind of society and outlook all together.

This is something they just can't deal with. Once you begin to reject their ideas — that a woman is just a little ornament or a piece of meat to be owned by a man and, on the other hand, that a woman has to look for a man to bring home the bacon and he is the one on whom she totally depends; and if you cannot make it, if you cannot keep your family dressed the way they tell you it has to be dressed, fed the way it is supposed to be fed, and in the kind of housing they put on TV with *The Brady Bunch* and all the rest, then you are not a man! Being a man out here means that you are like Fred MacMurray and *My Three Sons*. If you are broken down, exploited, and crushed under this system, then it is your fault. You are not a man unless you are able to live this lie of the American Dream which is nothing but a nightmare burning in the guts of millions of people.

Being a man or being a woman or being a *person* does not depend on being a good hard-working slave under this system. Being a person means rising up together with other people equally, men and women, Black, white, all races and nationalities, consciously united to overthrow this system and move on to a society where for the first time people can actually start treating each other like people. That's exactly what it is all about, but they are working on our minds, telling us it can never be that way. Through their whole rotten way of life they have created a war out there. Even between men and women, and husband and wife, it's a war and they want us to blame ourselves for that, too. We have to wake up and realize that it is not what life has to be about and we cannot tolerate it being that way any longer.

We cannot accept their rotten ideas, no matter what package they come in. I don't want to be better than somebody else. Communism teaches us that it is

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# Those Who Refuse

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not a fact that some people have to be better than others. That is the reactionary outlook of the very people we have to overthrow, and we have to cast off that way of thinking. As soon as they have you thinking that you have to be, or you are, better than somebody else — because you are a man and they are a woman, you are white and they are Black, you live in this country and they live in that one, you speak this language and they speak that one, you live in this neighborhood and they live in that one — as soon as they have you thinking that . . . they have got you! Your life is over until you wake up and cast off that burden; you might as well be dead. I'll tell you the truth, we can't afford this. Why do we have to be better than somebody else? Why do we have to lord it over somebody else? Why do we have to get one little thing more than somebody else so we can wave it in their face, really trying to console ourselves for the fact that we ain't got nothing in the first place but misery? We can't afford this. We have to cast it off and get rid of it. But they are working all the time on our minds to tell us, "You might as well just go along with all that stuff, because nothing better than this is ever going to come along."

## Superman and Star Trek

Let's go over to the movies. Recently they put out this movie *Superman*. They had to make a new movie because the old *Superman* went and jumped out the window and committed suicide — apparently he wasn't so super. Now they have come out with this new movie which has millions of dollars in special effects technology and in fancy advertising: "You will actually believe that he is flying" — so they said. Now think about it. What is the message of this film? Again, it isn't flashing out in neon lights but it is there, working subtly all the time, and if we don't wake up to it, it is going to be twisting and corrupting our thinking. What are they saying with *Superman*? Here's this dude, *Superman*, who comes from a planet, Krypton, light years away and light years ahead of anything that we have ever seen or imagined. He is forced to leave that planet and he comes over here to the Earth after living in this advanced civilization, light years away and light years ahead of us. He comes down here, and you mean to tell me that he can't do anything higher or better than defend capitalism — "Truth, Justice, and the American Way" — I don't believe it! You mean to tell me that thousands of years from now, if people came back from that time or from societies which had advanced that far, the highest thing they could put forward to us is to defend and uphold this madness we are living under now? I don't believe it and neither do you, but that's the message they are putting out, and not just in *Superman*.

Remember *Star Trek*? It has been going on for how many years now in reruns? And why? Because it is doing such a good job for them. What is the message of that show? The same thing. Here you have the S.S. *Enterprise* and its crew. You mean to tell me that thousands of years from now women are still going to be wearing miniskirts? I don't believe it. Here they are, the crew of this ship, going out to what they call the "final frontier" — space — traveling intergalactically through all the different constellations and into the farthest regions of space. They are going all the way out there and what have they found? They have found feudal societies with landlords and peasants, emperors and monarchs, kings and queens. They have gone to other solar systems and found other planets where the people are re-enacting the drama of the Earth, 1930, Chicago, USA, Al Capone and Bugs Moran. They have gone to other planets and found a combination of the very old and the more recent as we know it — namely they have found gladiators fighting on television. On still other planets they have found people who have no bodies, just minds that can take various shapes and can move different material things all around, just with their minds. They have found all this — and they have never found anything higher than capitalism — and I don't believe it! In the whole universe, no matter how far you go or how far into the future — they are trying to tell us there will never be anything higher or better than this, this is it.

## From the Real Future Looking Back

Now I would like to step back for a moment and look at the real picture of what the future is going to be like and, in particular, of how people in the future — say, a thousand years from now — will look back on us today, and on what we are going through and the kind of society we have. Let's picture, for example, a young person growing up and people in the older generation at that time explaining to him or to her, to this young kid, what life was like at the end of the twentieth century on the planet Earth. The young kid will be saying something like this:

"Now let me get this straight. I really don't know anything about this and I want to get it straight. You mean to tell me that thousands and thousands of people, the masses of people, all went down every day to these large-scale slave holes where there were these big machines, and everybody was tied to a machine for one-third to one-half of their waking hours, and they all slaved together on these big machines giving their lives away to that? And a few people stood up among them and said, 'All this belongs to me, and the rest of you have to work for me or you cannot live' — and people accepted that? What a waste! That's outrageous, that's criminal."

"You mean to tell me that these people all went to and fro on these same tracks every day — what were they called, 'roads'? — back and forth like ants to an anthill, each of them encased and enclosed in a rotting flimsy metal contraption of cheap steel and other metals with glass and plastic? And they all stood in line for hours and hours to get some kind of liquid fuel to put in these things to make four rubber balloons go around and around so they could go down these tracks, back and forth, back and forth, every day to work in these modern slave factories for the — what were they called, the 'capitalists'? — who said they owned it all? And people spent hours going back and forth down these 'roads' never talking to each other, each afraid of everyone else, pushing little buttons down so the doors of these contraptions could not be opened? And then at night they went home to things that were called — what was it, the 'American Dream'? — and everyone wanted to have their own little home with alarms all over it, bars on all the windows and eight kinds of locks on the doors, and some people actually made money selling locks to other people to lock their homes to protect them from still other people — and then people said this society was the highest society that could ever be . . . and people really believed that? That's not true, that's a lie! That's monstrous! That can't be true, tell me the truth. I'm trying to learn about history. Why are you telling me all these lies and these fairy tales?"

And as the older generation keeps explaining more about society at that time, the young kid will go on and say:

"You mean to tell me that some people actually said one race of people was

smart and hard-working and industrious and deserved to be on top of and over another race which was lazy and dumb and ignorant and foolish? By the way, what is a 'race'? You mean to tell me that some people said if one person looked different than another and the two wanted to get married and have children and raise a family, that was against nature or a crime against humanity — and people believed that and accepted that? That's barbarous, how could that be true?"

"You mean to tell me that people went around all day, especially when they got into trouble, addressing and pleading to something or someone that did not exist but other people said, 'It's all right, they aren't insane because they are talking to God or Allah,' and people accepted that? You mean to tell me, even more than that, some people dressed themselves up in different fancy clown suits, paraded themselves around in big circus tents, and in fire-breathing and thunderous tones invoked the name of this nonexistent being, trying to intimidate everybody else with the fear of being burned alive for eternity? And then at the end, thousands of people ran forward in the name of this nonexistent being, fell on their knees, and threw money at this fool — and people accepted that? I can't believe that! That's criminal, that's ridiculous! How could that possibly have happened? How could people possibly have put up with that? Tell me the truth. I can't stand these lies; I want to know what really went on."

Then it will be explained that these capitalists had made the workers, the slaves, manufacture long steel implements into which missiles were put, which could be exploded so that fire came out the end and launched a missile to rip flesh and kill other people. And when the capitalists saw people getting out of line, rising up against them, they sent their police forces out with these exploding steel implements to shoot down the people. When a big crisis came in the society and the capitalists of various countries — yes, it will be explained, the world was divided up into many different "countries" and "nations," as they were called at that time — then the most powerful of the capitalists, who not only dominated the slaves in their own country but dominated other countries and nations as well, dividing up the whole world between them, then they called on the people they had been enslaving and forced them at the point of one of these "guns" — as they were called — to put on different colored uniforms with different insignia to go out from different lands and kill each other off while all the capitalists sat in the background, manipulating things and making money off this, waiting for the "war" — as it was called — to be over so they could seize a larger chunk of the world to dominate and pile up still more wealth from the territory they had looted.

And this young kid will ask: "You mean to say that people went along with that? People didn't rise up against that?"

And it will be explained that, yes, people did more and more see through this and did begin to rise up against it, did begin to take some of these exploding steel implements that shot missiles and said: "Let's not use these to rip each other's flesh any longer. Let's aim them at the capitalists and their enforcers."

"And at that point someone actually stood up, tried to get in the middle of this, and said to the people, 'Now, now, we can't have any violence. Violence won't accomplish anything,' and people accepted, or believed or were fooled by that?", the young kid will protest. "That can't be. It's criminal! It's monstrous! It's barbarous!"

Then it will be explained that, yes, that actually did happen, but finally people saw through that as well and recognized it for what it was. They saw through it and finally did rise up, took these "guns" in hand, made revolution, and then finally buried the guns along with all the other horrors that were part of society in the past, and that is why today, a thousand years later, we can look back and both laugh and cry at what people had to go through at the end of the twentieth century on the planet Earth.

Once we begin to see what the future is really going to look like, then we can see that this capitalist system is far from eternal. It has only come into being as a slightly higher form of society than feudalism which preceded it, and it has already brought into being its own gravedigger and created the conditions for its overthrow. It has concentrated the working class of people, and although it keeps them confused, divided, often demoralized, and under its heel, yet and still it is inevitable that time and again people will try to find a way to rise up against this enslavement and finally will develop the understanding and the organization not just to rise up and be beaten back, but to rise up the final time, carry the struggle through, bury this system once and for all, and move on to a whole bright future.

Once we understand this, we can laugh here because it sounds absurd when you project ahead and then reflect back to see what we are going through today — it sounds absurd. We can recognize how ridiculous it is that not only are we still going through this stage of history, but that some people have the nerve or are so ignorant that they actually step forward and say, "This is the highest society can ever be and things will never change." Today we not only have to

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## The All-Around Nuclearization of U.S. Armed Forces

# A Hidden and Deadly Passion

It is widely known that both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have entered in the last few years into an intense and deadly round of nuclear weapons buildup as one of the central aspects of their mutual preparations for World War 3. Some of this buildup has been under some degree of publicity and controversy, either because of mass opposition, debate in ruling circles, or exposure by the other bloc. But while weapons like the MX or the Pershing II or the Soviet SS-20 have represented, each in their own way, important additions and escalations in the nuclear arsenals of the respective sides, each are actually only a small part of the current expansion of nuclear force. This expansion is not only largely hidden from public view, it is grafted onto a much more massive apparatus of weapons production, storage, transportation, training of military forces in use, security, and

handling, and a decades old accumulation of nukes that have also mainly been hidden from view.

A recently published book, *Nuclear Weapons Data Book, Volume 1: U.S. Nuclear Forces and Capabilities*, gathers together into a single volume the bulk of what is currently publicly known about the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Seven more volumes are planned to cover various related questions, including the Soviet arsenal. The picture of the U.S. nuclear forces that emerges from Volume 1 is a stark one of the U.S. imperialists dead seriously preparing militarily for a nuclear World War 3. But the picture presented in dry and almost numbing detail in the data book shows more than that general truth; it shows a U.S. military apparatus that increasingly has nuclear weapons woven into every branch and almost every unit; it shows a

military incapable of waging a world war without going nuclear almost immediately. It is not surprising that, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*, both the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy say it is "not in the national interest" to publish such material.

Strictly quantitatively, the arsenal is massive. Right now, there are over 26,000 nuclear warheads ready to use. Over 200,000 people and an annual budget of over \$35 billion are bound up in development, production, care of those in the stockpile, and the planning for their use. They are stored in 200 storage sites and military bases, not counting the ships and planes roaming the world already packed with nukes. Over 100 of the storage sites are outside the borders of the U.S., most of them in West Germany, the rest running from England to Italy, across to Greece and Turkey, with significant piles in South Korea, the Philippines and some Pacific islands.

Not only is the stockpile massive, it is massively expanding. President Carter in 1980 ordered a "dramatic increase in warhead production" in the years 1981-1983. The first Reagan stockpile order only slightly increased the Carter expansion — but it is now estimated that 16,000 new nukes will be produced by 1990. (During this time, perhaps 10,000 will be "retired" — so the total number of nukes in stockpile will "only" increase by about 6,000 by 1990; assuming, that is, that nothing happens to drastically deplete this stock in the intervening years.)

The Reagan administration, when it is in its "peacemaking" (as opposed to "Peacekeeping") mode, likes to make much of its reductions of thousands of tactical nuclear warheads in Europe. True enough, a lot of nuclear artillery shells that had been gathering dust and corroding for decades have been "retired." But little is heard from any U.S. spokesman, in or out of office, pro- or anti-Freeze, about the smashing new additions to the nuclear navy. Just one of its many planned new weapons are the over 4,000 sea-launched cruise missiles, all of them capable of being armed with either conventional or nuclear warheads. This year deployment starts — current plans call for 1,000 to be nuclear tipped; they will have a range of over 1,500 miles and greatly expand the ability of the navy to nuke targets from far out at sea. They will be deployed on attack submarines and on surface ships and, according to the Department of Defense, will "be part of the strategic reserve force and will be

## Chinese Revisionists Embrace Nuclear Waste

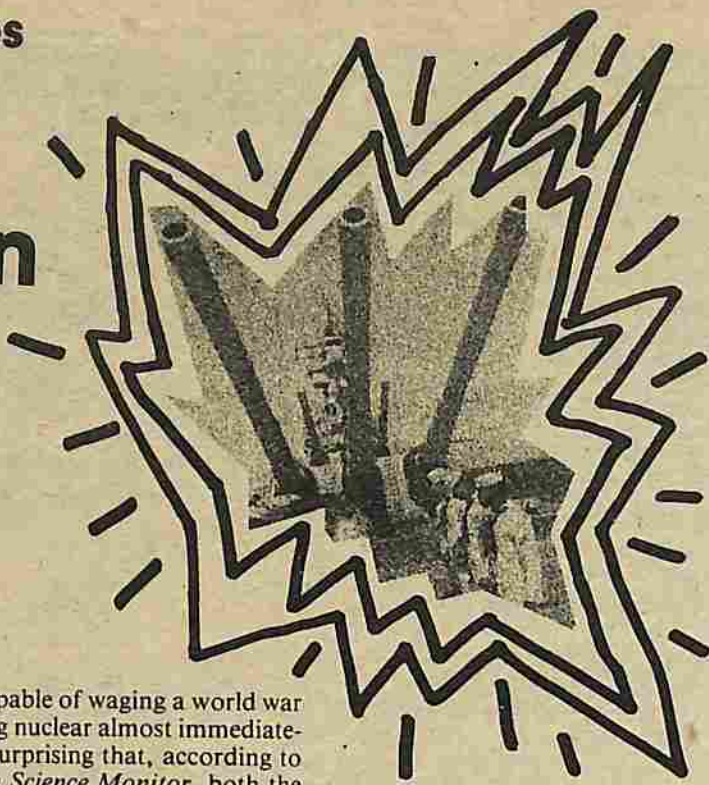
For a moment it seemed that the description of the events carried by the *New York Times* "Business Day" section on Wednesday, February 8, might have been a plant, a piece of lunatic disinformation carefully and brilliantly put in place for the unsuspecting editors of the *Times* to ploddingly reproduce. How else could you explain the name of one of the two protagonists involved, a West German nuclear supply corporation called "Nukem"? Presumably pronounced "nuke 'em." Who thinks of these names?

But there was nothing contrived about the events described by the *Times*. Nukem, it seems, has a bigger problem than its name: like the other giant nuclear power companies, it has thousands of tons of spent nuclear fuel on hand and nowhere to put it. These wastes are highly radioactive and have been blessed with virtual eternal life. Besides that, they are caustic and often continue to give off heat, even boiling by themselves. Where does anyone (much less a company named Nukem) put thousands of tons of a concoction like that? Even the most complacent burgermeister is hardly likely to quiescently tolerate the prospect of bedding down each night adjacent to some thousand-ton kettle of nuclear stew.

The idea has been floated previously, for several years now, of finding some

appropriate place in the Third World to put this nuclear stew. But even with all the Pinochets and Mobutus and all the other minions of imperialism in power there, still nowhere has been willing to take the waste. Until now — until finally there has stepped forward to do what no other flunkey would do, to turn their own country into a deposit for the world's nuclear excrement... who else but the revisionist rulers of China? They did promise us they would reach "new world standards" didn't they? What truer and more graphic image is there of these revisionists than Mao Tsetung's old description: "running dogs," salivating, their tongues hanging out, drooling in anticipation of the "hard currency" they will get for swallowing this latest tossing from their masters. Oh yes, they will use the "hard currency" to carry on with the campaign to "modernize China" — while more foreign enclaves will no doubt be erected, complete with the newly allowed majority foreign corporate ownership. Don't count on this including modernizing cancer research.

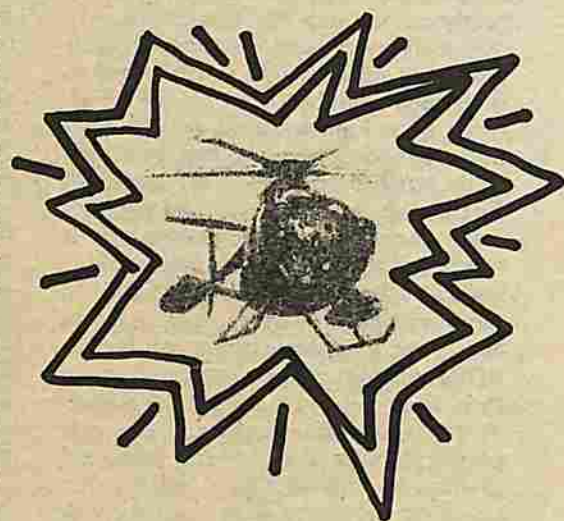
Not to get nationalist, but this latest bit of groveling and shit-eating by the revisionists recalls the point made by the "Gang of Four" in connection with Deng and his program of capitulation, that anyone in China with even a modicum of national pride would have to puke. □



available for reconstitution and targeting" after a nuclear war. One has to recognize a certain demented consistency in this: with 26,000 warheads, and thousands rolling off the production lines, the U.S. is taking care to keep a small portion on strategic reserve for after the war, just in case all the others are used up. Maybe a squadron of attack submarines nestled under the Polar Ice Cap would hardly notice the nuclear winter — until they ran out of C-rations.

The same mad consistency runs throughout every branch of the U.S. military and into the U.S. allies and client states. One of the authors of the data book told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "The nuclearization of the U.S. armed forces extends far beyond what is known by the public, particularly in the case of weapons for tactical purposes. The nuclear-certified units (more than 700 units totaling some 100,000 troops) extend into the Marine Corps., the National Guard and Reserve, and numerous allied countries."

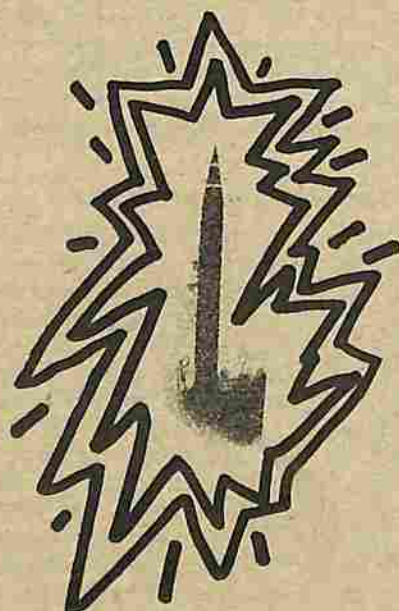
The marines illustrate well the extent of the nuclear war the U.S. is preparing to fight. At this point, the marines don't have any nukes in their possession. But at the right time, the army, navy, and air force stockpiles will open up to the marines, and right now two of the three marine divisions are prepared to become fully nuclearized. That means that units to transport, secure, and use nuclear weapons are already fully trained and in place. Virtually every naval vessel that transports and supports marines in their



combat operations are nuclear certified and approved to transport and store nuclear weapons for marines' use once a beachhead has been established. For example, the *Okinawa*, the amphibious assault ship used in the Vietnam War, the invasion of Grenada, and now in Lebanon, is nuclear certified. Other kinds of ships which carry logistical support apparatuses, including offensive artillery weapons, are certified. Air cover for an invasion can be provided by marine pilots flying planes with tactical nuclear bombs.

Once ashore, the marine artillery comes into play. Marine artillery was reorganized in 1975 so that all marine artillery not capable of firing both conventional and nuclear shells was eliminated. The Marine-110, self-propelled artillery unit, for example, is now capable of firing two kinds of nuclear shells: one "or-

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## Los Angeles Political Police

# Tales From The Trailer Park Substation

When we last left the courtroom events of Judge Ernest Aubry in the preliminary hearing of three RCP supporters arrested April 28, 1980, in a demonstration in Los Angeles against the government's "Operation Jobs" attack on immigrants, the court was filled with media anticipating the testimony of LAPD Sergeant Jay Paul. Paul is a central figure in the ongoing political police controversy and this was to be his first public appearance and testimony — the judge however called in sick and everything was put off. After weeks of delay the hearing finally restarted on January 26 with Paul taking the stand.

Jay Paul came to national attention one year ago when it was revealed he had been storing massive quantities — at least 180 boxes full — of intelligence material at his home and other locations. Much of this was official LAPD material and included files on judges and politicians considered opponents of the LAPD and Chief Daryl Gates as well as material on liberals, leftists and revolutionaries generally. Subsequently it was revealed that Paul was using this material to help put together a data base on a computer owned by the John Birch Society-tied Western Goals Foundation. Jay Paul has been termed by his former Public Disorder Intelligence Division colleagues as a "special projects man" and the higher ups' "fair haired boy," and as became still clearer with his testimony — brief as it turned out to be — he was indeed very much in the thick of very sensitive political police operations, including the extensive attacks on the RCP, and in particular, the attacks in the period of May Day 1980 which included the police agent murder of comrade Damián García.

It is because of his knowledge of and involvement in such sensitive matters that Jay Paul's testimony in this case became something of a wrenching of political forces, threatening some very damning exposure of the political police. Only days before the hearing on the 27th, Paul's administrative hearings began at LAPD headquarters where he is facing formal disciplinary charges — signed by Chief Gates himself — centering on his relationship with Western Goals and in particular his work on their computer data base. Paul has decided to make those hearings open to the public — again threatening serious further exposure of LAPD political police operations.

As Paul took the stand in the preliminary hearing, again in the courtroom were representatives of some of the major L.A. media. But also present were several small, grim-faced clutches of "L.A.'s finest" — and they weren't there because they just happened to be in the neighborhood. Jay Paul himself was very obviously intimidated. At one point in his testimony, three typical LAPD types in three-piece suits walked into the courtroom while Paul was answering a question. He noticed them taking seats, suddenly stopped answering the question, forgot what he was saying and couldn't even remember what the question was. It turned out those three were high-ranking internal affairs investigators assigned to his disciplinary hearings case. Also in court was a separate group of former PDID colleagues who are continuing their work now with the LAPD's Anti-Terrorist Division. Paul claimed at one point that they were making faces and gestures to intimidate him. Still another group of cops were there working with the city attorney's office while still another group (including another ex-PDIDer) was there working with Paul on his defense. LAPD's top echelons were also represented by a Commander Windham (though at this time we don't know which group if any he was sitting with). Finally, the law firm of Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher also had a representative present. That law firm has been representing the LAPD in the ACLU police spying law suit since the city attorney criticized the police department's spying and was removed from the case. Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher is also representing the police and city in the Damián García wrongful death suit filed by Carole García.

When Paul took the stand, with all of these forces in the audience, the District Attorney, who is the prosecutor in the case, immediately began threatening Paul, saying that anything he says in court may be used against him later in criminal charges. Paul and his attorney

were backed, however, by the city attorney (who is there nominally to make sure no confidential police information is released through Paul's testimony) in saying that if Paul refused to testify in this or any criminal proceeding he could be fired from the police department and that therefore his testimony was "coerced" and could not be used against him later.

Regardless of which side is legally correct in this argument, at one point Paul himself broke down a bit and got right to the point telling the judge, "If I testify I could be *terminated!*" (his emphasis) and, "I feel like I have a gun to my head. Literally, I have a gun to my head. What can I do?" The judge agreed saying, "I can see the gun" and told Paul, "You're going to have to make a choice." And the point is that while some political forces — including some represented by the pork in the courtroom — did not want Jay Paul to testify, some other political forces wanted him to testify about some matters and to some extent: specifically to admit to his ties to Western Goals and the transference of LAPD file material to them, and further to touch on certain LAPD activities against the RCP, and most importantly, to implicate in this as many of his superiors as possible. His whole defense in the disciplinary charges is based on saying yes, he did many of the things he's charged with but it was only under orders from superiors and was essentially routine LAPD policy, and to make clear that he is in a position to reveal a great deal more about the LAPD's sensitive operations if need be.

The choice Paul made was to testify. But the threat of the potentially damning exposure in his testimony can best be seen in the point where his testimony was abruptly ended. After two days in which short spurts of testimony vied for time with lengthy legal arguments over the District Attorney's and the city attorney's constant charges that the defense attorney's questions were irrelevant, things began moving into an area that was clearly relevant to the heart of the proceedings in this hearing. The defense was attempting to show that their arrests and others at the 1982 demonstration, the police beatings, the exorbitant bail, and the ongoing prosecutorial misconduct in the case are all one part of the political police operations against the RCP and its supporters, operations including the murder of Damián García and the attempted murder of Hayden Fisher in April 1980. And in particular in this case they are trying to prove that they are being singled out for prosecution solely because they are supporters of the RCP and that constitutes illegal discriminatory prosecution and therefore the charges should be dismissed.

### The "RCP Overview Project"

A defense attorney asked Paul what work he did in relation to the RCP during 1980. Paul responded that he had worked on an "RCP Overview Project" dealing with the LAPD's "tactical deployment" around May Day 1980! A period which included the attacks on Damián García and Hayden Fisher. Both the city attorney and District Attorney vehemently objected that this was irrelevant and the District Attorney demanded that now was the time for the judge to rule the whole of Jay Paul's testimony irrelevant, to end the questioning, the hearing itself and move on to the trial. The judge agreed

to halt the testimony "temporarily" to give everyone a chance to get their legal arguments together. Two days later the judge permanently ended Paul's testimony, ended the hearing and bound the defendants over for trial on multiple felony and misdemeanor charges. (Arraignment is now set for February 15 at which time a trial date will be set.) Once again as soon as information which might lead to more startling revelations on Damián García's murder began to surface the government moved to bring things to a quick halt. The District Attorney argued: so what if the defense argument is that the LAPD is involved in a campaign to "stamp out" the RCP, that is no reason *not* to get on with this prosecution — a blatant admission if ever there was one.

And in Jay Paul's disciplinary hearing only a few days before, more that indicates Jay Paul has significant information on the Damián García murder was revealed. Immediately after the December 1982 *L.A. Times* exposure of agent Fabian Lizarraga (the LAPD "pig on the spot" at the murder of Damián García) and some of the evidence of LAPD involvement in that operation, the Police Commission ordered Chief Gates to "investigate" charges brought by a wide range of forces against the political police operations aimed at the RCP, including the murder of Damián García. It came out in Paul's hearing that Gates put him in charge of all or part of that "investigation" — the results of which have never been made public. Paul is clearly a man with much knowledge of very sensitive projects. His ability to reveal this and to implicate others is his main defense. It is why some bourgeois political forces want desperately for him to shut up and why others — in particular Gates's enemies — want him to talk. But, when things began to move too close to the murder of Damián García a quick, if temporary, bourgeois unanimity was achieved and the inquiry at the preliminary hearing was called to a halt.

In his testimony in the preliminary hearing Paul had other things to say as well about his involvement in the LAPD's operations against the RCP. In 1981 Paul was put in charge of a computer project (using the Western Goals computer) in which he was to compile and evaluate information on "violence and terrorists" and a whole section of this project was devoted to the RCP. Paul called the information used in the project "voluminous," coming from a variety of sources and taking six months to complete. He said the project was to include nationally "all aspects of violence and terrorism against and by the RCP in 1981."

We're sure that this ongoing "criminal" case itself is a perfect example of the kind of material this kind of computer project would be based on. The demonstration against "Operation Jobs" itself is considered by the LAPD to be a significant "disruption of the public order," the police breaking up of the demonstrations and charging 18 people with serious, allegedly violent, crimes, etc., fit well into an alleged pattern of supposed "violent activity." Then in the course of the prosecution police and prosecutors have planted lies at every opportunity to paint the RCP and its supporters as "terrorists" or "violent" (see *RW's* No. 213 and 237 for details, including the government's failed attempts to fabricate

alleged "plots" and "threats" by defendants in this case against the life of the president, etc.). It is certainly just such "criminal charges" and fabricated "plots" and "threats" that make up the contents of this 1981 computer project. And what an effective compilation of lies it could make for justifying any and all attacks on the RCP and its supporters.

### Paul's Trailer Park Pig Substation

Paul, of course, had much to say about Western Goals itself. He said, for example, that he was assigned by his superiors to work on acquiring for the LAPD improved computer access for its intelligence work. It was in that capacity that he worked with John Rees — a notorious right-wing figure in the national political police scene and an aide at various times to various outspoken anticommunist Congressional representatives, most recently including the late Larry MacDonald who headed the John Birch Society. Paul, Rees and others worked together to buy a computer for Western Goals, costing a total of \$106,000, which the LAPD would then have access to and which Paul would be in charge of programming along with other Western Goals people in the Washington, D.C. area. Paul listed about a dozen superiors and co-workers who knew of and authorized his work on the Western Goals computer. PDID even had a computer terminal in its offices through which they were able to connect up directly to the Western Goals computer located in one of Jay Paul's offices outside the LAPD (Paul at one point stated that the internal affairs investigator on his case told him that the LAPD considered his "home" in a trailer park an LAPD "substation"). Of course they could also tap into any compatible computer through phone lines as long as they had the entry code for the system — a very convenient way to keep files without actually keeping them within the LAPD.

Paul also made a point of saying that certain expenses incurred by the LAPD/Western Goals computer projects were paid for by funds provided to the LAPD by the U.S. Secret Service — which conforms with many previous indications that the LAPD and Secret Service work closely together on political police operations, such as the political persecution of Bob Avakian.

And as if to imply just how far he could go in implicating others in the dirty business of these operations, Paul dropped into his testimony one other matter about funding. He stated that when investigating possible LAPD computer "acquisitions," the funding for at least one possible project (it's not known if it was the Western Goals' project or some other) was set to come from the "special allotment fund" from Mayor Tom Bradley's office. Bradley, of course, is one of Gates's key adversaries in this entire controversy.

Paul also listed a number of organizations with which the LAPD traded political intelligence information, including the Rand Corporation (an important bourgeois think tank and center of "terrorist" intelligence information), RISKS International, Western Goals (obviously), and a variety of unnamed government and government-sponsored organizations, including at the local, state, and national levels.

Unfortunately, defense attorneys were unable (due to District Attorney objections and the abrupt termination of Paul's testimony) to get any significant answers to questions about the index to the Western Goals computer files that was turned over to the defense earlier in this case and which will be further reported on in future issues of the *RW*.

Events continue to develop and shift rapidly in the overall political police controversy and the bloodthirsty nature of it all continues to surface. On the day Judge Aubry terminated Paul's testimony — but before the LAPD could have heard his public decision — the LAPD called the media to announce they were going to release the intelligence files they had on Aubry. The possible existence of such files came up when Aubry reviewed the Western Goals computer index in this "criminal" case and found his own name listed twice. The LAPD announcement on the day of his important decision in this case was taken generally as an attempt at intimidation. When Aubry told

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The language may have been English but the dialect was pure Olympics double-speak. As the airborne cameras flew over the mountains surrounding Sarajevo, ABC's Mr. Olympics, Jim McKay, gave us a weighty thought: "The cold, windswept loneliness of mountains in winter strips mankind of much of his pomp and pretense." Of course, as *RW* readers know, mankind is divided into classes — and the above statement itself, let alone the mountains (of another type — as in the well-known fertilizer commercial) that followed it, was proof positive that winter had no such stripping effect on the class for which McKay does his philosophizing. However, American video propagandists should score some points for consistency. McKay's maxim was every bit as sincere as his periodic reminders (backed up by some not-so-original musical numbers from John Denver) that these Olympics were staged in the spirit of international friendship and peace.

Discerning viewers were quick to detect the friendly spirit exuded by McKay himself when, while reviewing the opening ceremonies, he remarked, "Here's the team from Iceland. They've never won a gold medal before, and they certainly won't this year. . . ." Friendlier still was Bill Johnson, America's hope in the men's downhill. He said, "I don't know why everybody else is here. They should just hand it (the gold medal) to me." And then there was the traditional refusal of the U.S. (first, and on this count, *alone* among nations) to dip the flag to the host country.

But we digress. While there are certainly some athletes who genuinely seek to compete in an atmosphere of friendship, for McKay and company, the rhetoric is a necessary adjunct. This is, after all, an international sporting event. But winners are always big-hearted. So better make sure it is crystal clear that the hope for this lofty stuff is riding on the performance of America's best. Then it provides a nice complementary touch to the main message — as evidenced in ABC's Olympic preview show, "The Gold and Beyond."

One would have had to sleep through the *entire* program to have any doubts left about what was "beyond." Just dozing off now and then (undoubtedly a common occurrence among some viewers, given the artistic level of the telecast) offered no respite from the imperial purpose to which these winter games are truly dedicated — heavy ideological preparations for world war.

For example, if perchance you missed one reference to Sarajevo as the site of the "terrorist act that sparked World War 1," there was surely another one coming up in the next half hour. As the *RW* noted last week, through pure coincidence this theme has been echoed by virtually the

## Olympic Quest

# In Search Of That Certain Look

entire U.S. free press. But ABC raised it to a new and higher level. At one point in the telecast, they showed still photos of Archduke Ferdinand, his assassin and all the other principals, following it up with real footage of World War I; at another point, they offered a "dramatic re-enactment" of the event — and although the audience overkill probably lessened the dramatic impact (there being not much suspense by this point), the artistic merit was undoubtedly deemed very secondary to the merit of the learn-by-rote method of instruction. And if World War I was too long ago — or the "enemy" was too vague — the program also featured shots of Hitler and World War 2 and references to the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia, followed immediately with shots of Stalin and narration reminding viewers of the Yugoslav break with the Soviet Union. History-twisting aside, in this scenario it was not too difficult to figure out who the "new Nazis" are supposed to be.

But there is more than one way to promote the proper consciousness, and ABC will undoubtedly run the entire gamut by the time the Games are over. One of the most entertaining is the little game of *war trivia*, wherein well-known sports announcers drop little known facts about you-know-what wherever they can. Example: in a brief flashback look at the 1932 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, veteran signifier Jack Whitaker remarked, "And Billy Fiske, the first American to die in World War 2, steered the Americans to victory in the bobsled." Way to go, Jack. Surely, we will hear much more from their voluminous fact-on-file.

Further proving that the same swill can indeed be regurgitated an infinite number of times, ABC provided many more opportunities to relive the "miracle" of the 1980 U.S. hockey victory over the Russians. Goalie Jim Craig wrapped in the flag, saying that his greatest thrill was "seeing our flag go up just a little bit higher than all of them," the winning

shot by Mike Eruzione, announcer Al Michaels screaming "Do you believe in miracles? YES!" — all of this four-year-old "news" was repeated several times through the course of this "preview." The *New York Times* and other media considered this the No. 1 story of the moment and contrasted the "We beat the Russians" theme with stories of U.S. hostages in Iran, the Soviets invading Afghanistan, etc.

But if anyone thought this was merely an opportunity to "feel good about your country," ABC provided an expert to remind us of the true importance of miracles in the Olympics. John Powers, who apparently has written a book about the 1980 hockey team, said, "I remember going out into the night seeing the kind of looks on their faces that you get when you're about to go to war. And people thrusting fists up into the air — take that!" Apparently, while there will be 63-1/2 hours of TV coverage of the Winter Games, there just won't be much time for subtleties.

Speaking of subtleties, remember the "whiz kids" — or was it "miracle kids" — of the 1984 U.S. hockey team? It seems that some knowledgeable commentators are now grumbling that the team may have undergone a radical transformation, literally overnight. Murmurs are being heard that the boys "lack emotion" or perhaps are "just out to have a good time" (implying that they don't appreciate the seriousness of all that rides on their sticks). Isn't it funny how a 4-2 loss to Canada can change the whole character of a team? (God, or somebody, help them should they lose to Czechoslovakia.)

Actually, there isn't all that much being said about the U.S. hockey team — 1984 version, that is — in the wake of the "upset," as one U.S. announcer put it. In fact, Canada was seeded higher than the U.S. in the Olympics, but the "expectations" for the U.S. team were so much greater — at least in the U.S.; apparently, it was the loyal American sports propa-

gandists and their followers who were "upset" by the results. At any rate, after all the controversy generated by the U.S. launching a challenge of the pros on the Canadian team, resulting in two of Canada's players being disqualified (for having played in, and received money from, a different professional hockey league than the one's that the U.S. and Western European players had played in and received money from), one certainly might have expected the opening game to have been the main focus of the TV coverage that night, as had been scheduled. But then, that night's coverage seemed to be focused on other things — the four-year-old hockey game, Sarajevo's relationship to past and future wars, and, of course, what *other* possibilities America has to show its determination, will to win, etc. Could it have been a coincidence that the hockey game's results were already known, all events being tape-delayed for prime-time viewing (and greater flexibility)? And while Jim McKay wouldn't tell us the results ahead of time, all it took was one look at his sagging jowls and the absence of his usual ebullience to realize that he was suffering from the unmentionable "agony of defeat."

But while it looks like there will be no miracle in ice hockey this year, there are lots of other events where the athletes can be used to "lift a nation with their courage and poise" like McKay said of the '80 hockey team. "The thrill of covering the Olympics is that you never know when such moments will occur," he said. Will it be a skater who *slashes down the slopes*, in that *aggressive American style*? Stay tuned. For as Al Michaels says, "It's extremely challenging to try to sell 63 hours. What we need is one really terrific story." And we all know what that means, Al; the kind of story that gives the Americans the look on their faces that they get when they're about to go to war. □

## Deadly Passion

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dinary" nuclear artillery shell with an explosive force of about 12,000 tons of TNT, and one "enhanced radiation" shell, which means a neutron radiation weapon — the one that kills people, yet leaves buildings and machines relatively intact. The enhanced radiation shell was approved for sending to stockpiles by President Ford in 1975. It has still not been approved for use in NATO because of the political explosiveness of enhanced radiation; however, up to 300 of these shells have been deployed elsewhere, and plans for up to 800 are now underway. It may be just little stuff compared to the MX, the Trident, etc., but the marines are set to do their bit to leave irradiated corpses strewn over every corner of the globe.

Despite the advances of the marines, the army has achieved a much more complete integration of nuclear and conventional weapons, particularly for use in a land war in Europe. U.S. Army Field Manual 100-5, 1982, states that nuclear weapons should be regarded as mere additions to normal combat power whether used to directly "destroy enemy forces, to deny an area to enemy movement, or to demonstrate national resolve." The army has over 200 units that are currently nuclear certified, and it is responsible for guarding and maintaining 110 nuclear

storage sites worldwide. Almost all army artillery is now capable of firing both conventional and nuclear shells. The army also controls various long- and short-range nuclear-tipped missiles.

The smallest nuke in current arsenals is the Special Atomic Demolition Munition. It weighs 160 lbs., and can fit 10 tons of TNT-equivalent explosive force into a backpack, to be carried by the army, marines, or nuclear-certified special forces like the Green Berets behind Warsaw Pact lines to harass supply and logistics, or it can be used inside West Germany to blow up bridges or roads in front of Soviet bloc advances.

Through all of this a picture emerges of the U.S. military that is madly and furiously nuclearizing, that is preparing to fight a war with the Soviet bloc, which



has also been doing exactly the same thing. What we have written so far is only the sketchiest picture of a few of the branches of the U.S. military. To very briefly round out the picture we'll glance at the navy and air force, and a few other details.

While the navy has been massively expanding its strategic missile submarine fleet for a long time, until recently it had not added any new tactical or theater nukes in 16 years. This is being feverishly changed; the Department of Defense seeks "increased and more diversified offensive striking power . . . increased attention to air defense . . . and improvements in antisubmarine warfare." In 1980, naval ships totaled 479. By 1990, the goal is over 600, every one of them with nuclear capability. To take the example of the attack submarines again, they will all be fitted with 21-inch torpedo tubes which can not only fire nuclear rockets, but will also be able to fire two different kinds of cruise missiles. One of them is the Tomahawk cruise. It can be fired from land, air and sea. A sea-launch can take place from battleships, submarines and surface vessels such as destroyers fitted with special iron-box launchers.

Turning to the air force, and setting aside the huge air force arsenal of strategic ICBMs and strategic bombers, the air force has 18 different tactical nuclear bombers and interceptors for theater use. Just one example here which graphically illustrates how integrated nuclear forces are into every aspect of the

U.S. military. The air force maintains six nuclear-capable fighter interceptor squadrons inside the U.S. to defend against "enemy" intrusion. The air force interceptors are backed up by ten Air National Guard units — all also nuclear capable. Some of these National Guard units scramble out of commercial airports like Portland International Airport in Portland, Oregon, and Atlantic City Airport in Pleasantville, New Jersey.

We have left out any description of the system of U.S. agreements with Belgium, Canada, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, South Korea, the United Kingdom, Turkey, and West Germany, where the U.S. is set to transfer various nukes to its allies when the time comes. And of course, everything we have described here is only what is public and unclassified knowledge — nuclear agreements with the likes of Israel and South Africa are not public, as are who knows what other weapons systems and plans.

The data gathered in the nuclear weapons data book makes crystal clear that the imperialists love their nukes — with a passion that, by any standards except the mad logic of imperialism, is the sickest thing the world has ever seen. In the military and political storms gathering in today's world under their demented rule, what is becoming increasingly unthinkable is that given the slightest chance, they will *not* use them. □

# New York's South Bronx: The Fire

One brisk fall day in the Bronx last year, a woman hunting for apartments to rent spied a fine-looking building. Compared to most of the decrepit and abandoned buildings on the block, this one sported windows with curtains, or shutters, even tulips in flower pots. She hurried over to the front entrance to look for the super, but one look and she didn't have to — the building was boarded up solid.

The woman had been made the butt of a cruel joke perpetrated by the New York Planning Commission: abandoned and rotting buildings in the burnt-out South Bronx have been boarded up with tin panels, painted with phony images of curtains, venetian blinds, shutters and tulips. The decorated panels give the appearance that the buildings are occupied, but not really, because everyone knows that they are not and that the South Bronx has been reduced to a pile of gutted rubble.

Robert Jacobson, director of the Bronx office of the City Planning Commission, had a ready explanation for the *New York Times*: "The image that the Bronx projects — and projects to potential investors — is the image you see from that expressway, and our goal is to soften that image so people will be willing to invest." The federal government invested \$300,000 — for ten panels. Anthony Gliedman, the commissioner for Housing Development and Preservation added, "I recognize that this is superficial (this man has insight!—RW). We don't want anybody to think we're doing this instead of rebuilding. But that will take years and require tens of millions or hundreds of millions of dollars. . . ." Gliedman neglected to report that, in reality, not a nickel can go for housing rehabilitation or development along the Cross-Bronx Expressway. The concerned fellows of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) now prohibit residences so close to the expressway because of the noise pollution, and meanwhile, toxic wastes are being pumped into the basements and sub-basements of bulldozed tenements throughout the South Bronx.

So in a city where thousands are homeless and thousands more are forced to inhabit cold, dilapidated, rat-infested dumps, 80,000 apartments have been abandoned, torched or bulldozed in the South Bronx within the space of a few years. And now, what irks the ruling class is that every day, those of far better means from the affluent suburbs of Westchester County, Long Island and New Jersey must drive by and see all this. Below the expressway live Puerto Rican and Black families in this nation's poorest congressional district. The tin panels will surely improve the view and the city plans to extend their use to other heavily traveled corridors. It all smacks of what Engels observed over 100 years ago in England's Manchester: ". . . members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the laboring districts to their places of business, without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and the left. For the thoroughfares leading from the Exchange in all directions out of the city are lined, on both sides, with an almost unbroken series of shops. . . (which) suffice to conceal from the eyes of the wealthy men and women of strong stomachs and weak nerves the misery and grime which form the complement of their wealth." The tin-panel tulips mean that the bourgeoisie cannot and will not do a damn thing about this well-publicized nightmare of a neighborhood, though politicians from Carter to Reagan have walked the South Bronx streets before TV cameras, promising a reborn community. As one proletarian from the neighborhood put it, "next they'll give us

tin panels to wear — fur coats and designer jeans."

The South Bronx is but a few miles north of Manhattan's financial and corporate institutions and the highly valued real estate on which they reside. Almost half a million people, predominately Puerto Rican and Black, live in the South Bronx where the median income is \$7,890. In 1979 the per capita income of \$2,340 was 60% below the national average. One-third of the population is forced to subsist on welfare. Twenty five thousand people are addicted to heroin. The infant mortality rate is twice that of Manhattan and the following situation prevails: in two health districts on Manhattan's upper east side, between Park and Fifth Avenues, there are 2,063 doctors. In two comparable health districts of Tremont and Morrisania in the South Bronx there are none.

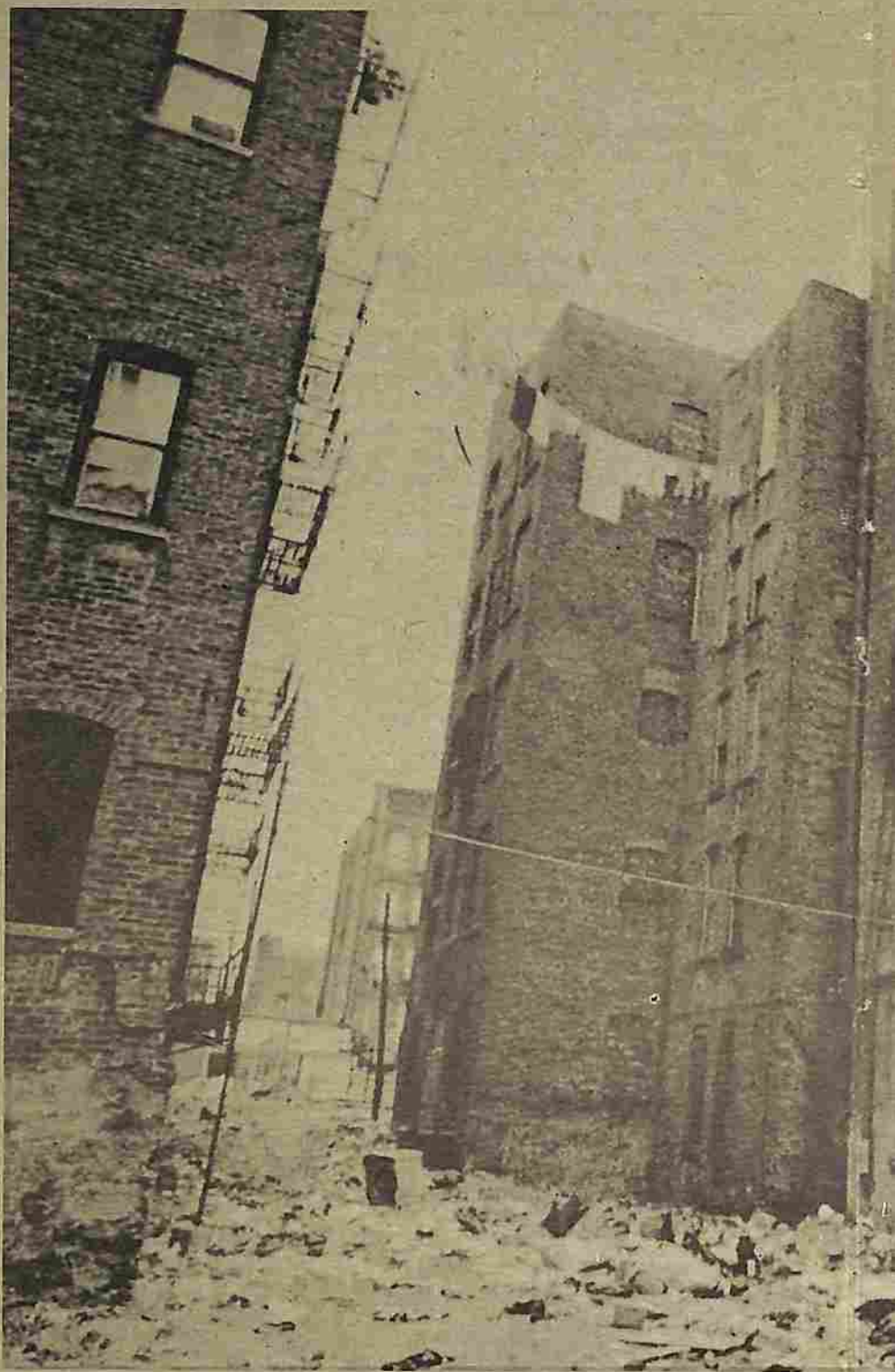
249th Street and Third Avenue, the Hub, is one of the few shopping strips in the South Bronx. On a warm autumn day it is alive with Puerto Rican and Black people and the blare of music. But walk off Third Avenue and the scene drops like a thud. Wooden structures are severely charred and still in the act of collapsing. Great hulks of half torn-down, smoke-stained brick buildings stand empty amidst blocks of bulldozed lots. Occupied buildings are set among this heap of rusted metal, broken bricks and strewn glass. Anything which appears to be new or refurbished stands out immediately like the government post office with its barbed wire fences and coils of razor wire fortifying it. A few rehabilitated apartment buildings are evidenced by the sheen of the glass windows. But one must have a paycheck and not a welfare check to get in (an unofficial policy in New York City which the city fathers will adamantly deny).

At the end of the famous Charlotte Street area, where Carter and Reagan and Kennedy have all shown up at various times, something new now appears. Two brand new prefabricated private homes have been set down on plots with white picket fences. Ninety of these homes are scheduled to be set down here and sold to people with annual incomes of \$23,000. The houses look utterly ridiculous. "Urban homesteading" it is called. And now the houses, which at first appeared to be merely a sick joke, are themselves a potential nightmare for they have been constructed on land containing "unknown substances" (as in toxic wastes?).

Still the ruling class is mighty proud of this accomplishment. The governor and the mayor popped up outside the houses, summoned the media to the South Bronx to extoll in awe, and did so without the slightest acknowledgment on their part of the obscenity of their actions. For in the Charlotte Street area people walk down the middle of the road, preferring the street to the unsteady concrete sidewalks and the rat-infested lots beside them. Someone has nailed old wooden doors to a garage and moved in. Corner newsstands or bodegas are a rarity, as are public phones, a mailbox, a laundromat. There used to be 3,000 people in 51 buildings on Charlotte Street and adjoining blocks. Now it is a barren stretch of dirt and crumbling bricks. Except of course for the urban homesteaders, huddled in the urban wilderness behind their white picket fences and more formidable black iron window gates.

## The Making of A Ghetto

How did the South Bronx get this way? The forces of the system at work here are the same as those which have carved out slums and ghettos in cities, particularly in the older urban areas of the northeast. Not so long ago New York City was a major industrial center clogged with garment shops, factories, slaughterhouses, etc. In 1920 three-fourths of all women's



clothing manufactured in the United States was produced in New York. Large numbers of proletarians, many of them immigrants and garment workers, were housed in segregated districts like the infamous "dens of death" of the Lower East Side, only a stone's throw away from the horrid little garment shops. But also during this time the bourgeoisie more and more required a center from which to administer its growing empire.

In "Planning New York" Robert Fitch expounds on a regional plan drawn up in 1929 for this purpose, "The single emphasis was to be placed on the up-building of New York City as a 'national center'. As the National Center, or America's Front Office, the city not only added to its skyline, but its leading citizens positioned themselves to serve as landlords and bankers to the growing number of national and multinational corporations that began to locate in the city." However, the presence of garment workers and the industry itself in lower Manhattan impeded this development and many of the workers from this area were cleared out — much of it done under the guise of social reform and the decrying of unsanitary conditions in the Lower East Side tenements. Fitch reports that in the 1920s the population south of the 14th Street district dropped by 160,000 people, most of them "slum dwellers," with large numbers of them relocating from the Lower East Side to the southern portion of the Bronx, thus ushering in the birth of the "borough of apartments." The solution to the housing question!

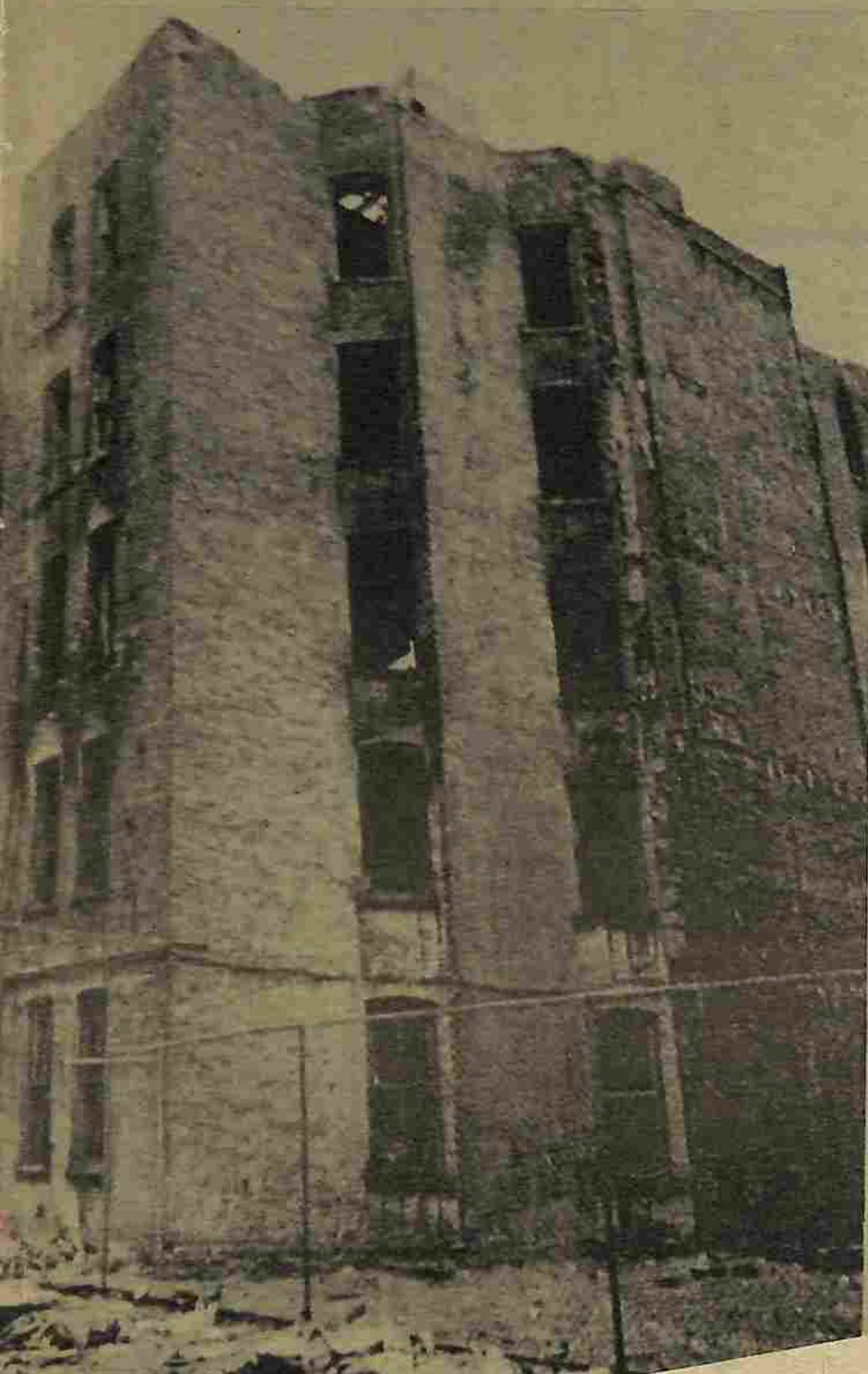
Five, six and seven-story apartment buildings went up on every available inch of land. By 1925, the population of the Bronx itself hit 1 million.

But it is after World War 2, with the rise of the U.S. to the top of the imperialist dung heap, that the makings of today's South Bronx must be found. From New York, the U.S. imperialists were to administer their vastly expanded empire, constructing an enormous complex of offices and world headquarters concentrated in midtown Manhattan. "America's rise to world dominance has meant the rise of New York as the financial capital of the world," as one professor of urban studies observed.

Also on the basis of its world position the U.S. promoted a certain regionalization of both people and industry. Whole sectors of manufacturing moved out of the cities; in New York this became a headlong rush as office and commercial development sent land values out of sight. What remained were sweatshops and slave-pit small factories, and this bottom rung of industry stayed for a reason — the appearance of a new work force. A major migration into New York occurred after the war, of Black people forced off the lands of the South and also of people forced to flee Puerto Rico. This was the time of the \$8 one-way fare from San Juan to New York; eventually, three quarters of a million people would be forced to move from the island, mainly to New York City. The Black community similarly expanded. The sweatshops and small factories which preyed on these



# The Storm And The Tin-Panel Tulips



newly-arrived became a major feature of the postwar economic structure.

As this went on, a parallel out-migration moved into the suburbs. Veterans were awarded "homes for heroes" as a section of the working class and middle class were sold the American Dream on a mortgage. Within a few years the character of New York was transformed, the city became the *inner city* increasingly polarized between the imperialists' "Front Office" and oppressed neighborhoods like the South Bronx, Central Harlem, the Lower East Side, and so on.

Even at this time the vicious workings of capital left their slash marks on the South Bronx; thousands of tenements were knocked down to make way for the Cross-Bronx Expressway, built to take traffic straight out to the suburbs without further congesting Manhattan. But it was in the next decade, the '60s, that the area was set up for what was to be wreaked later on. This was a decade, of course, in which the power of U.S. imperialism boomed, and then gagged on Vietnam, the national liberation movements, and the profound effects of the Cultural Revolution in China, while its inner cities exploded. All of this had major effects on how and where people lived in the cities.

In New York, the madness of the real estate market and the decay of housing conditions for the masses of people are integrally bound up with the city's role as imperialism's "Front Office." As the *New Programme* of the RCP states, "As most cities have decayed, their major financial and big business sections have been lavishly built up and, in fact, with the capitalist tax structure and the policies of the banks, the deterioration of the masses' conditions in the cities is the necessary and inevitable accompaniment of this capitalist parasitism" (p. 75). To give some sense of the magnitude of what is concentrated in New York, note that the six largest banks in the U.S. are

located in the city, as are six of the eight largest accounting firms, 42 out of 50 leading investment banking institutions and a third of the 48 largest law firms. In 1980, 70% of the total U.S. assets of foreign banks were sequestered in Manhattan. Ironically, the currencies of Haiti, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Brazil and Mexico are printed by the U.S. right in the South Bronx. Formidable investment is poured into the office towers which house this financial complex, properties which themselves are often the core holdings of the most powerful circles of the U.S. ruling class. Support for this must be provided by an infrastructure of expressways, mass transit, luxury hotels, and "appropriate" cultural and commercial development and city services to maintain all this, the glittering glass and steel of much of midtown Manhattan.

At all times the discrepancy between the resources sunk into such a downtown and the decrepit housing stock for the masses of the inner city constitutes a disgusting crime of imperialism. But beyond this, New York has become so top-heavy with such uneven development that the financial complex and its infrastructure has easily become the most powerful factor impacting on real estate values citywide, and a decisive influence on municipal finances as well. It is an explosive factor, linked to the global tides of U.S. imperialism, and so in the '60s it was to whip the real estate market first up and then sharply downward.

For a while, there was unparalleled expansion; in the mid-'60s office tower construction in New York experienced a great boom, more office capacity being added than in any previous period. While much manufacturing continued its rapid exodus to outlying areas the skyscrapers multiplied, sending land values soaring. But the boom also laid the seeds of its own destruction. Office construction was highly speculative, counting on further

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# New York's South Bronx

Continued from page 9

construction and development, and a live rental market when construction would be completed, as much as five years into the future. Also, the exuberant real estate market spawned a maze of financing structures and schemes — trusts, syndications, and new forms of mortgage finance — an enormous but delicately balanced bubble of investment.

The office construction worked to strain the city budget, which was hard pressed to meet the wide range of costs to service and maintain the booming downturn. Also, a significant portion of the new office development was arranged on a tax-free basis (to "entice" developers), thus reducing city tax revenue. Later in the decade the city was also forced to finance certain services as concessions and tools to control the upheavals exploding among the masses in the cities. Relaxed welfare rules and health services for city workers were key concessions squeezing the budget. Still, for a time the city was able to meet the strain, mainly by heavy borrowing (although this borrowing was increasingly channeled into short-term bank notes which were less secure and more expensive to service than the traditional long-term bonds). Between 1960 and 1970, the total NYC budget more than doubled. Even more significantly, though New York only represents about 10% of the population of all U.S. cities, its expenses amount to about 40% of all the money spent by U.S. cities. The sheer weight of expenses alone shows how deeply New York was sunk into financing its glittering "downtown."

## Fueling the Firestorm

Meanwhile, as midtown Manhattan grew bloated with sparkling highrises, the character of areas like the South Bronx changed in a different direction. To start with, it was a victim — if an indirect one — of the urban renewal programs which proliferated in New York in the '60s, as in every other U.S. city. Here, as everywhere, these programs went hand in hand with the downtown development schemes — wherever new office towers, cultural facilities, convention centers, hotels, expressways, universities were going up or expanding, certain proletarian areas nearby were being bulldozed, with the vacated land often rebuilt with more profitable construction. A huge percentage of people bulldozed out of their apartments ended up in worse conditions elsewhere. One "elsewhere" was the South Bronx. For this and other reasons, the South Bronx was swept into a period of changes, apartment turnover, and instability as people were crammed into the already heavily populated area. For example, the Puerto Rican population grew 70%, becoming almost 40% of the Puerto Rican population of the whole city.

In these conditions, real estate speculation ran wild. A detailed description of the workings of this speculation cannot be managed in this space, but the basic and criminal fact is that more profit can often be extracted from residential housing in an oppressed community by exploiting and promoting rapid rates of turnover, rather than by financing new housing or even improvements. This was compounded in the South Bronx by redlining in the neighborhoods — a policy by which the banks refuse to loan money in certain areas. Already by the mid-'60s, the involvement of banks in deed transactions in the area was negligible. By 1975 the Dollar Savings Bank in the Bronx, the fifth largest bank in the U.S., issued an annual grand total of 32 mortgages. Money for housing purchase or even repair was simply not to be had. So the landlords made their own "arrangements" — various schemes for privately transacting real estate proliferated, by which owners would buy, neglect, and sell again for quick profit. Dummy corporations would sell buildings back and forth to each other to artificially increase the value of the building.

For the people living in these buildings, the cycle of speculation looked something like this: as people were crowded into the community, buildings were cut up into smaller and smaller apartments, increasing the rent roll. Repairs and investments became luxury items — why should a

Between 1968 and 1980, 80,000 apartments in the South Bronx were rendered uninhabitable. Forty-three thousand were destroyed during 1970-75 as 68,456 fire alarms sounded. On the average, thirty-three fire alarms sounded in the South Bronx every night for five years!

landlord spend on repairs when the money can be used to buy another building? And in fact this becomes mutually reinforcing: buildings are sold, cuts are made in operations and maintenance, they are sold again and further cuts are made. The payments on real estate taxes and sewer charges are stopped, then mortgage payments. Finally there is no profit left in purchasing or maintaining these buildings for any party, they are either outright abandoned or the equity must be extracted in the form of insurance payments... that is, they are torched.

What's more, it seems clear that in the South Bronx this process did not necessarily occur from building to building. At a certain point the momentum of decay, abandonments, and fires became enough to threaten whole blocks and areas which were not necessarily yet disintegrating. Especially as the economic crunch tightened, the very prospect of this promoted abandonments and fires. People in relatively normal buildings would suddenly discover the landlord was no longer collecting rent. A few months later a fire would wipe it out. And while all this happens at all times at some level in every oppressed community, in the South Bronx events would accelerate these normal brutalities to the point of frantic and massive destruction.

The turning point came at the end of the decade when the investment bubble burst. The boom in office building succumbed to a weakened U.S. economy and abruptly halted. By the early 1970s, 30% of Manhattan office space was empty; a walk around town inevitably passed a handful of half-completed or fully-constructed but empty office towers, abandoned by the developers. Real estate values plummeted, the contorted network of real estate financing began to unravel, the banks and real estate interests were losing big. By 1974-75, the real estate bust had merged with the generalized recession which wracked the economy; as a whole, with the office building bust a prime factor, the crisis sent New York municipal finances into a critical period of threatened bankruptcy.

An immediate effect of the crisis, and especially of the tremendous squeeze on real estate capital, was felt in the South Bronx: the cycle of speculation and abandonments was blown into a veritable firestorm. Roughly between 1968 and 1980, 80,000 apartments were rendered uninhabitable. Forty-three thousand of these apartments were destroyed during 1970-75 as 68,456 fire alarms sounded. On the average, thirty-three fire alarms sounded in the South Bronx every night for five years!

If this firestorm was not deliberately encouraged by the state and the capitalist class as a whole, they were certainly missing a good bet — the fires converged with broader interests and needs than those of the relatively small real estate capitalists crunched by the crisis and real estate bust. The economics of New York were, in short, in deep trouble. In 1974 all lending to the city government was halted. The sudden curtailment of loan financing to the city signaled a sweeping and even desperate attempt to restructure the financing and the basic economics of New York so that the imperialist Front Office could continue its vital function. A new regimen was imposed on city finances, involving a package of new financial arrangements and including a strict austerity budget to drastically strip down city services. This was not "the banks out to

make a killing" — it signified the U.S. imperialists as a whole attempting to wrestle with a very serious downturn of the kind endemic to capitalism.

The results of austerity were that New York City, with its concentrated and plundered wealth etched out in its famous skyline, could no longer support whole areas and sections of the population. Expenditures for city hospitals were axed, firehouses closed, cuts instituted in welfare, the public school system, and for the first time tuition was imposed on the city's universities. These cuts were wielded in a conscious strategy of reducing services to certain areas of the city, which in reality meant driving out a certain class of people which the city could not afford. City official Roger Starr even came up with a name for it: "planned shrinkage." Said he, "We should not encourage people to stay where their job possibilities are daily becoming remote.... Our urban system is based on the theory of taking the peasant and turning him into an industrial worker. Now there are no jobs. Why not keep him a peasant?"

The torching of the South Bronx fell in line with "planned shrinkage." As the fires were blazing in the South Bronx, three hospitals were closed by the city and merged into one Lincoln Hospital. (Dr. Silva, who supervised the sterilization of 20,000 women in Puerto Rico, would come to head the obstetrics and gynecology unit at Lincoln.) The city attempted to shut down Hostos Community College in the South Bronx. Charlotte Street was used by city sanitation trucks literally as a garbage dump. Bus service, trash pickup, sewer and road maintenance all were reduced.

That this planned shrinkage would hit hard particularly in the South Bronx was fueled further by the fact that Co-op City, a 15,000-apartment complex complete with its own fire department, shopping centers and five schools, opened up in the early '70s in the northeast Bronx. Its effect was to vacuum out the middle class from areas of the Bronx. Wider and wider circles of the southern part of the borough became hostile territory for the bourgeoisie, an urban reservation of the oppressed. The firestorm which was triggered by the crisis provided one means for the bourgeoisie to deal with that

crisis, to shrink and terrorize the undesired population. *Fortune* magazine, in 1975, wrote of the South Bronx, "The neighborhood has too little stability, too much crime, and too much human rubbish."

As the smoke cleared, a further irony — the assemblage of strips of vacant land and bulldozed lots have been turned to another need. Weighted down by rising rents and costs, Manhattan warehouses are currently being relocated to areas of the South Bronx, thus freeing up more valued land in Manhattan for yet more profitable and distorted real estate development. For another cycle of office building development has indeed taken place in Manhattan since the earlier bust

When Jimmy Carter arrived on Charlotte Street with his presidential campaign promises to fix it all up, the South Bronx was a wasteland. Numerous plans were drawn, with large budget projections. But none of it was implemented. As the *New York Times* would note, to redo all the Charlotte Streets would be "unimaginable."

There have been some attempts at partial programs: to encourage private investment the federal government at one time offered inducements, such as in the case of the Diego-Beekman Project in 1970 which was the largest rehab undertaking in the country and was initially heralded as a great success. It was done under federal housing reforms such as the accelerated tax depreciation program as bait for private capital investment. But the inducements were only used as temporary tax shelters by the private investors. As of 1978 a total of five out of eight sections of housing were in default. One building was completely vacant and burned out. The Diego-Beekman Projects themselves ultimately succumbed to the fires — twenty-nine major blazes with total damages of more than a million dollars.

Other, more dismal government-sponsored programs have in the past been touted as signaling the rebirth of the South Bronx, from "sweat equity" programs for owner-built improvements to the so-called urban homesteading. But the real attitude of the bourgeoisie at the moment is better represented by the tin-panel tulips. No one is getting on TV promising revitalization any more. Even though the area is an internationally infamous, gaping wound of imperialism, powerful factors work against doing anything at all about it: ironically the very fact that it is in the public limelight speaks against any grand internal Marshall Plan for the area as a false promise of goods the bourgeoisie cannot now deliver. Also, the sheer scale and complexity of the job works against any partial schemes, and the fact that this is an extremely oppressed section of proletarians makes the matter, to the bourgeoisie, nonurgent.

More than anything else, the destruction of the South Bronx symbolizes the parasitism of imperialism. Just at the peak of U.S. power in the 1960s the area was being preyed upon and set up for the fires of the '70s. In this way, here, and on a global scale, does imperialism thrive on oppression. □

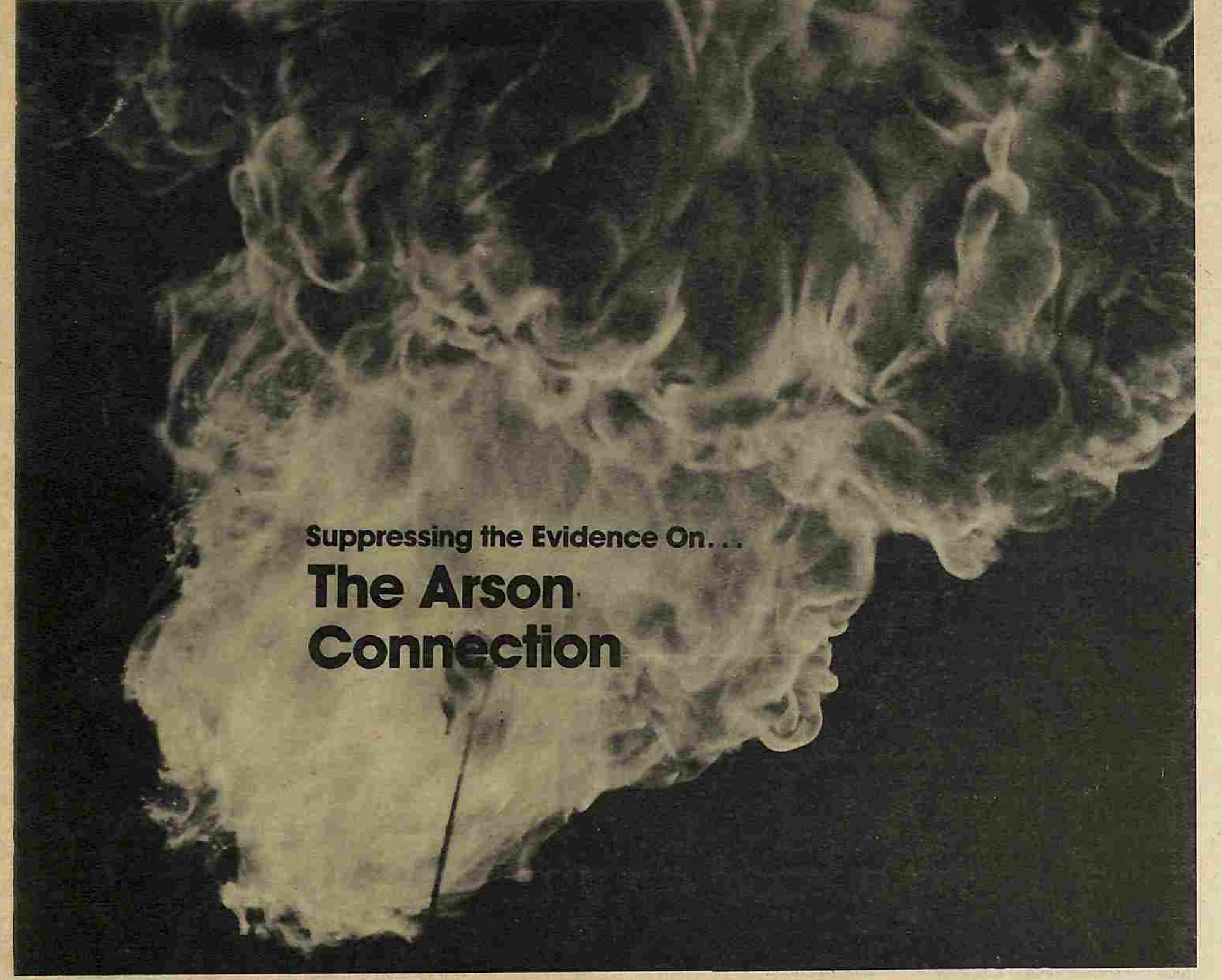
# An American Axe Murder

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the basis of this "understanding" the judge ruled on the lesser charge of manslaughter — as opposed to premeditated murder which this clearly was — using the argument that because the axe-man is a racist, male chauvinist pig and a religious fanatic to boot, he was operating under "diminished capacity." One is left wondering what the judge considers "full capacity"! In other words, if the axe-man wasn't such a good American, he could have been charged with murder! (The manslaughter charge carries a possible sentence of 0-15 years. In another recent Detroit case where two white men beat a Chinese man, Vincent Chin, to death with a club, they each received three years probation on a manslaughter conviction because they were "understandably" upset at being unemployed.) The reality is that the judge knows his social base. How else, in a

town whose tree-lined streets and solid houses represent the "good life" where respectable gentlemen have gone to flee the "rot and decay" of Detroit, did the judge get the reputation for leniency toward wife batterers — unless there are a lot of battered wives?

Far from being an example of a ruling outside the pale of American justice, Judge Daner has given a brilliant demonstration of democracy in action. In America, the views of the axe-man are a reality to be faced and given time off for good behavior. According to some attorneys who have looked into the case, the judge was operating on "solid legal grounds" and the ruling probably wouldn't have been noticed if the judge had not spelled out his racist comments so blatantly. Of course, since he did that, he also got to talk about it on the radio for an hour — and what could be more democratic than the free press? □



## Suppressing the Evidence On... The Arson Connection

Between the placards advertising antacid medications and trade schools on New York subway cars, a four-photo panel with an ominous message stood out: "Arson has a lot of warning signs beside smoke. Strike arson. Before it strikes you." Captions describe the "warning signs" the photos depicted: "Stores with empty shelves or stock." "Occupied buildings with empty upper floors." "People moving out of a building late at night." "Building strippers." The posters should also have said, "If you live in particular neighborhoods and privately owned buildings targeted for rehabilitation with government financing or tax cuts, watch out for arson." An 18-month study completed this summer by researchers in New York City's Arson Strike Force (ASF) demonstrated that the City of New York has actually encouraged arson by its administration of federal funds and of tax abatement programs for housing "rehabilitation." Or, rather, the study was about to demonstrate such a relationship when it was reworked to say as little as possible. Through talking with a number of people familiar with the situation, the *RW* has uncovered that this project was met with opposition, harassment and suppression at every step by housing officials, including firings, resulting in a final diluted report issued over Labor Day weekend 1983 and then downgraded still further by a report by the New York Housing Preservation and Development Department (HPD) on arson in November.

Fire department statistics show that in 1982 New York City had over 39,000 structural fires, 17% of these officially determined to be caused by arson (defined as an intentionally set, or incendiary, fire which damages a commercial or residential structure). In that year 60% of these fires — nearly 4,000 — were in occupied buildings. Eighty-seven persons were killed by arson fires in 1981-82; probably thousands were made homeless. The key role of arson in emptying buildings was emphasized in one of the earlier drafts of the report: "It is difficult

to evict tenants under New York City laws, but arson is an inexpensive, expeditious, and relatively safe (from the owner's point of view) way to empty a building." The final version made arson only one of several ways: "Such displacement can be achieved by several methods including diminishing services, renting to rowdy tenants, and harassment fires." Certainly cutting off heat and water is a favorite ploy, but we doubt many of the homeless on New York's streets or in the welfare hotel would say they had to leave their apartments because of rowdy tenants on the floor above. And in fact, many are homeless because of arson.

Of the arson fires, individual motivation is usually stated as the cause: revenge, spite, jealousy; vandalism; etc., with "arson for profit" officially estimated to cause 25%. While some of these fires undoubtedly are the classic cases of landlords burning their own buildings for insurance money, in some areas, according to several people we spoke to, the insurance money has become "just the icing on the cake." In these areas the windfall is rather in the rehab money which can include rent subsidization paid directly to the landlords for substantially rehabilitated buildings through the Section 8 Rehabilitation Rent Subsidy Program, loans, and tax exemptions and abatements.

Ironically, even though the Arson Strike Force was formed in the wake of the burning of the South Bronx, its findings do not mainly apply to that area which was not generally targeted for large-scale rehabbing. Still, in the neighborhoods in which Section 8 (and other programs) was used, its effects were extensive. More than that, the functioning of the government programs shows the role of the state in achieving certain bourgeois objectives with regard to housing in the cities. Even though (nor surprisingly) no version of the report drew this conclusion, the implication is that by being able to designate neighborhood target areas to receive rehab funds and having the authority to distribute these funds,

the government is in a powerful position not only to shower money on certain developers, landlords, etc., but to set in motion events that will effect and perhaps change substantially the population make-up of particular neighborhoods. These funds then are a powerful political tool whose use can be strategic in controlling population rather than merely lining some "fat cats'" pocket (although a lot of cats' pockets have bulged off this, you can be sure).

The particular connection between arson and rehab money is that in many instances to qualify or get first priority for federal funds, for instance the Section 8 program which existed until 1980, a building has to be empty. This is done supposedly to rehabilitate already vacant buildings and not to displace existing tenants. This is also a policy for federal funds the city administers through Neighborhood Strategy Areas (NSA) grants. What this means in reality, however, is that the city targets specific neighborhoods for rehab funds; these funds are only available for vacant properties. When word goes out that a specific neighborhood has been targeted, there is plenty of incentive for buildings to be torched.

The Report observes certain areas which were selected 15 months in advance of the application deadline for Section 8 grants, and it documents a number of cases wherein a year or so immediately preceding an application, fires succeeded in emptying a building. The arson-rehab connection in the neighborhoods of Sunset Park and Crown Heights in Brooklyn was particularly sharp. Both were NSAs. One Sunset Park project involved 11 buildings and had a total of 30 fires (18 determined officially to be incendiary) between May 1978 when Sunset Park was designated an NSA and August 1979 when the application was submitted. Only three were vacant in 1978; by application time, most were. Citywide, Section 8 buildings were two times as likely as others to have had multiple "suspicious" fires and 3.1 times more

likely to have had five or more. There are many more similar examples in the report which ties not only Section 8 but loan and tax exemption/abatement programs to a high incidence of arson fires.

The J51 Tax Exemption and Abatement Program is specifically linked to the burning and subsequent vacating of the single-room occupancy hotels (SROs), which at one time were home for many poor people, particularly the elderly and those released from various types of institutions with no other place to go. These SROs, many in "desirable" neighborhoods, once emptied by fire were then converted to high-rent apartments or condominiums, with the developers qualifying for huge tax benefits. This gentrification arson is not the same as the arson that gutted the South Bronx, but is used where real estate is valuable and where neighborhoods are slated for showcasing. Buildings set to receive J51 tax abatements were three times as likely to have arson fires as others on the same block, and 12 times more likely to have more than one fire. And most of these fires were in buildings fully occupied at the time.

All this is occurring in a housing situation marked by sharply declining numbers of rental units (as an indication of this, the city benignly seals 200 vacant buildings each month — as if buildings just mysteriously became "vacant"), and an overall vacancy rate in New York City of only 2.1% (in Manhattan, 1.9%). Of these inhabited buildings almost 50% are estimated to be in need of improvements ranging from "moderate to substantial."

In 1978 the Arson Strike Force was established as an arm of the mayor's office, supposedly to coordinate anti-arson efforts by various city departments; its board of directors includes the commissioners of the police and fire departments as well as the HPD head and other city officials. Its real function, according to several who have some familiarity with city politics, is to make the city look like it's really doing something about arson.

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# Beirut: Peacekeepers Inflict Damage Control

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U.S. press reports (all that is available as of this writing), a picture emerges of celebration even as the areas now taken from government control are being girded for further battle.

## The Opposition

At the same time, the militias and their leading political representatives are staked to rather more limited aims. While there are some differences within the opposition, and varying degrees to which a consistent approach to larger strategic questions has been articulated, the thrust of their political program has been to locate the current struggle — against Phalangist domination and exclusivism, against the May 17th Pact, and for a redivision of power within Lebanon's political system — within a strategy of compromise with leading elements of the bourgeoisie (towards whose class position the opposition leaders largely either aspire or already belong), a position which does not challenge imperialist relations per se, but which is sharply opposed to the specific terms which the U.S. and Israel have attempted to impose upon Lebanon over the past 18 months.

These terms, as exemplified in the U.S.-brokered May 17th Agreement between Israel and Lebanon, set much of the framework for the current conflict. Press accounts describe today's situation as the "worst violence in Lebanon since the 1975-76 civil war"; those with independently functional memory banks may recall the Israeli invasion of 1982 which, in battering and fragmenting Lebanon — slaughtering thousands and driving out the PLO — "softened it up" for the subsequent implementation of U.S.-Israeli political aims. These aims were to transform Lebanon into a permanent Israeli sphere of influence, rendering it subservient to Israel and its political, military, and economic relations. This New Order, whose terms went far beyond Lebanon's traditional integration into the Western imperialist bloc, required a drastically altered internal ruling structure, specifically the political ascendancy and domination of the Christian Phalange, the main political and military force in Lebanon which shared any enduring interest in maintaining such a relationship with Israel.

This arrangement was provided an immeasurable boost, to say the least, as the U.S. stepped in to play guarantor and quartermaster for the Gemayel government, a condition which made it far easier for other elements of the Lebanese bourgeoisie to rally behind the Gemayel government. And, through wielding a big stick over potential enemies and waving a minuscule carrot in front of potential friends, Gemayel was able to maintain a certain momentum over a certain period. The agreement of May 17, 1983, however, spelled the beginning of the end of this arrangement, revealing as it did that behind Gemayel's slogan of "national liberation before reconciliation" (i.e., the end of Israeli occupation as a prerequisite to internal reform) lay the reality of the Phalangist-Israeli alliance, which upheld neither an acceptable version of "Lebanese sovereignty" nor had any intention of allowing substantial reform. The agreement also marked the reentry of a resurgent Syria, bolstered by a recently consummated arms arrangement with the Soviet Union, into the Lebanese political situation. A marriage of convenience developed between Syria and the emerging opposition forces, forces whose position since that time has moved from political and territorial marginality straight into the heart of Beirut.

At the same time, the aims of Syria and those of at least the preeminent militia leaders, Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Berri, are not identical; the Syrian state, in keeping with its own national and class interests, maintains a more conservative vision of a reconstituted Lebanese polity, although this vision, such as it is, is subject to revision and modulation, based on the shifting imperatives of Syria's broader regional designs and its relations with the U.S. and Soviet Union. It remains to be seen how much the stresses and contrary pulls in its relationship may yet emerge in the larger factor in the developing situation. The position of the

Soviet Union must be added to this picture — both through its own state role and through the Lebanese Communist Party, the Soviets have an interest in both taking advantage of the situation through expanding their political influence, all the while driving to keep things within certain limits.

## Current Crisis

This complex interplay of internal and external forces interpenetrates closely with the features of the current crisis. Today's situation was most immediately brought to a head through the growing military conflict raging in the greater Beirut area this past month, a conflict prompted largely by the increasingly desperate campaigns of the Lebanese army, beginning December 24, to expand its territorial base and control.

By late January these campaigns had proven largely unsuccessful in their military objectives and had succeeded instead in further political destabilization of the Gemayel regime. And for an important section of Lebanon's ruling circles, those Beirut-based figures and parties who have by and large thrown their support behind Gemayel since September 1982, the situation had become intolerable. The emerging consensus was that to continue with the Gemayel government and its present configuration was to undermine completely what remaining reserves of credibility these forces had — thus the calls from figures such as the traditional Sunni patriarch Saeb Salem in late January for a change in the government. For such figures, the prospects of dissolving the cabinet and weathering the resulting storm was a calculated risk, but nonetheless preferable to continuing on with a government at the end of its last piece of rope. Even as Prime Minister Chafik al-Wazzan and his cabinet resigned February 5, setting the stage for subsequent upheavals, behind the scenes activity to find politically suitable replacements was well under way. What emerges from this process of realignment and maneuver, and what the future holds in store for Gemayel himself, remains to be seen — it is surely not a purely, or even mainly, internal proposition, as the U.S., Syrians, French, Saudis, and (considerably more clandestinely) the Israelis are doubtlessly angling within the current flux for influence and position.

This being the case, the past few days nonetheless stand as a major setback for U.S. imperialism, which only two weeks ago, in Reagan's State of the Union message, was supposed to be once again Standing Tall in the world. Since the Israeli invasion of 1982, Lebanon has been a major focus of U.S. attention, a locus of "vital interests" of local, regional and international dimensions. Imposing their New Order upon Lebanon has been of geopolitical importance to the U.S. and Israel in its own right; even more, this venture has become a major test of U.S.-Israeli capabilities to redraw the political map of the Middle East, and thus strengthen the framework of the envisioned anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the region. The May 17th Agreement between Israel and Lebanon has become a major expression of these objectives, and under the prevailing conditions, the prospects of this agreement appear irretrievable. But while the pronouncement that the U.S. is going to evacuate the marines from their onshore position has prompted talk, within the media and on the part of numerous analysts and pundits, of the U.S. "cutting its losses" in Lebanon, there is little to suggest that this is the case. The U.S. has not accepted defeat, it has acknowledged certain facts so as to effect a tactical modification. The marines are not to leave quickly (at least in the administration's announced scenario of a "phased, orderly" four-month withdrawal; a recurrent concern for Pentagon planners over the past few weeks has been the prospect that, should the situation deteriorate further, the marines might have to fight their way out of their present positions to reach the shoreline, a military maneuver which could prove a humiliating, damaging fiasco). And given the condition upon which marine withdrawal rests — that, according to the administration, the evacuated marine positions

be taken over, step by step, by the Lebanese army — their stay might be extended still longer.

## Damage Control — Peacekeeper-Style

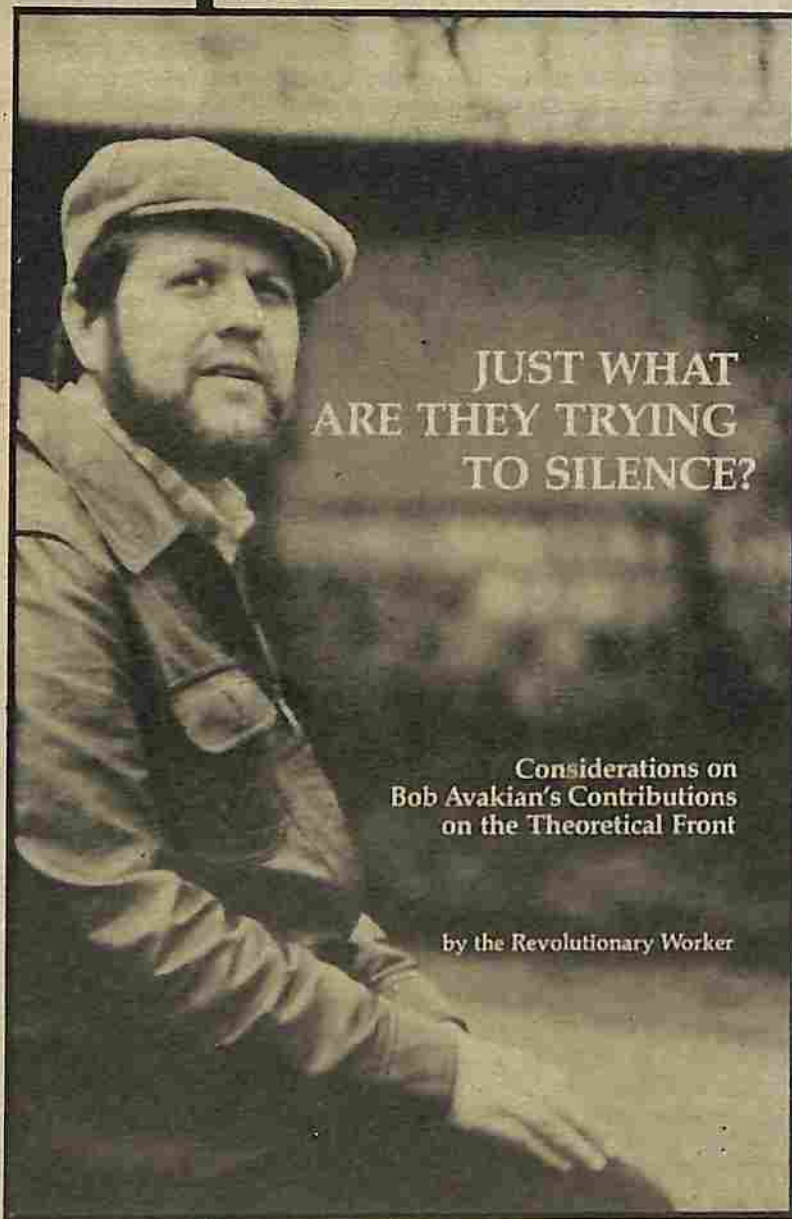
Mainly, the U.S., is moving to unleash its major military asset in the area — its offshore flotilla with its naval and aerial firepower — as a major means of maintaining "leverage" over the situation. The offshore barrage of February 8, in which the *New Jersey* rained 2000-pound shells for a five-hour period into Druse military and civilian areas of the Shuf Mountains, was not only the greatest such bombardment since the Vietnam War, it was a reference point for the hours and days ahead. Through such generalized destruction the U.S. is trying to keep the militias (and the Syrians) in check. In particular, it seeks to prevent them from mounting an offensive against the Phalangist stronghold in East Beirut. So long as this stronghold, and the Phalangist militia, remain intact, the U.S. (and Israel) maintain a major card in any subsequent political maneuvers pursuant to a reconstituted government. Though U.S. influence among Lebanon's traditional establishment forces ranges far beyond Gemayel and the Phalange, the latter's continued political and military viability occupies an important role in U.S.-Israeli plans — at the very least as a counterweight to the militias, a counterweight around which a new "center" can be defined. At the same time, the savagery of the U.S.'s bombardments — killing a reported 50

Druse, mostly civilians, on February 8 alone, is further arousing popular enmity against the U.S.

Alongside this, the U.S. and Israel will undoubtedly move to solidify Israeli's occupation of Lebanon's south, a move which is as necessary to them under the current conditions as it is politically explosive. The mounting resistance among the south's 600,000 inhabitants has been a factor already in fueling initial discord at Israel and in adding to the pressures felt in Beirut by the Gemayel government. Further Israeli moves to strengthen control in the area, and to tighten up the Israeli Awali River "defense line" will add fuel to an already simmering situation.

The ultimate outcome of events focusing on Lebanon remains to be seen. Over the past months, the U.S. has continued to "hang tough" there, not so much by virtue of the dubious merits of its strategies, but due to the fact that to accept a "political solution" — under the prevailing political and military realities of the past six months — would signal a defeat for its overriding strategic designs. Having sought — through naval bombardment, air strikes, "strategic cooperation" with Israel, and expanding the role of the Lebanese army — to field a credible military counteroffensive and thus enhance its political leverage over the situation, the U.S. has largely accelerated the decline of its own political position. This is the situation with which it cannot rest still, a fact which underlines its subsequent moves in the area. □

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# The Cold Facts Of Life In The U.S.A.

Damian Oleru wanted to become an engineer in Nigeria. Two years ago he came to the United States from Britain to continue his studies. Little did he know, he was about to experience the American nightmare.

Attending school in Chicago he had to drop out for a time because his mother in Nigeria became sick and could no longer send him money. For several months he pumped gas to pay for expenses and hopefully save enough to get back in school. But then he was laid off and soon fell behind in his rent.

On December 19, Damian was evicted. The temperature outside was below zero and in a few days would drop to 25 below. Changing the locks, the landlord simply confiscated his clothes, books and other personal belongings. Damian was outraged. The landlord called the police and had him locked up. Four hours later, tired, hungry and in the middle of the night, the police said he could go. Damian said he had no place to go so the police told him, "come on, we're going to take you to find a place." They took him to an alley and dropped him off. The police asked him if he was hungry and said they would bring back something for him to eat. "I was evicted. I had no place to stay, no place to sleep. I didn't know what to do," Damian said.

After a while, when no one came back, he tried sleeping in a park and did fall asleep for awhile, only to awaken with his hands frozen. He eventually walked to Weiss Memorial Hospital and from there was transferred to Cook County Hospital. His hands were described as "mummified," a severe condition of frostbite, and physicians said he may lose full use of them.

With the help of a church Damian eventually found some temporary residence in a South Side boarding house. "A lot of times he would go in his room

and lock the door," Mrs. Lawrence, his landlady, told the *RW*. "He was ashamed because he didn't want people to look at his hands. He felt really bad about it." She described how his fingers were bleeding and nails turning colors. "When he went out (to Cook County Hospital) to the doctor," she continued, "when they took off the bandages one of his little fingers came off." He was on constant pain medication.

After a month Damian moved again and at last word had missed his most recent hospital appointment. One possible explanation: the U.S. government has revoked his student visa and reclassified him as "an illegal alien." He is no longer eligible to apply for student aid or public aid and can be deported at any time.

The landlord who evicted Damian told the *RW* that she thinks he is "emotionally disturbed." Why, just imagine, here this great land of freedom allows someone from an "underdeveloped country" like Nigeria to go to school here and then they are ungrateful — and don't even pay the rent on top of it. Why shouldn't they freeze — serves them right!

While Damian is from an oppressed nation in Africa, when it comes to arctic cold waves, the same imperialist relations apply to America's oppressed nationalities, as well as others. Several months ago, under the "reform" administration of Mayor Harold Washington, the Chicago Housing Authority (which administers family projects that

are 95% Black, and which house 10% of Chicago's Black people) laid off many of their janitors and maintenance personnel. As a result there has been virtually no one to board up broken windows and insulate plumbing in vacant apartments. During the Christmas holidays (when the temperature in Chicago was below zero for over 100 straight hours) winds blew through the apartments freezing and breaking many water pipes. The water then cascaded down floor by floor, through apartments. "Water is leaking into my apartment from a pipe that burst on the third floor," said Betty Jones, a first floor Cabrini Green project resident. "We've been mopping the floors constantly since Thursday. My curtains and rugs are ruined."

Eventually the water flooded the furnace rooms in the basements of many highrise projects, shutting down heat, water, toilets, and in some cases electricity and resulting in even more pipes freezing. "I've never been colder in my life than I have been in the last couple of days," Dolores Watkins, who lives in a CHA highrise at 1239 S. Racine Ave. told the *Chicago Tribune*. "The heat here had been out since Thursday. Finally today (six days later—*RW*) they turned it back on at least a little. When it was off, it was so cold in here that the clothes in my closet got stuck to the walls. On Tuesday, a pipe broke in a vacant apartment on the 16th floor and the water rushed down to the fourth floor. People in the building

are still sweeping the water out of their apartments and out of the hallways." At the Cabrini Green projects rivers of ice formed outside and water and ice built up in the stairways and hallways. With over 2/3 of the elevators out of order it became next to impossible to get outside.

To keep warm hundreds of families were forced out of the projects. Others turned on stoves and burners around the clock as a last resort to keep their apartment temperature above freezing. The gas fumes which filled the apartments then resulted in widespread nausea and headaches with several dozen (mostly children) being hospitalized.

As the cold wave continued, the garbage chutes at the Cabrini Green projects became inoperable. Garbage piled up inside them from the first floor to the 14th floor (of a 15-story building). With no other place for garbage it began to pile up in the hallways and gangplanks outside the apartments. (Then to add insult to injury, some all-American yahoos railed on in the letters to the editor pages of the *Chicago Tribune* about the "slovenliness" of "those welfare recipients"!)

Throughout Chicago during this time, at least several dozen people died from hypothermia, including seven frozen bodies that were brought into the Cook County morgue on Christmas Day itself. Among these: a 50-year-old unidentified woman found frozen to death under a car and a 68-year-old man, address unknown, found dead in a gangway. Just how many other of Chicago's estimated 25,000 homeless died is unknown. After all, if there's no reason to keep exact statistics on how many homeless people are alive, why keep statistics on how many freeze to death? □

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



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Dear Staff of the *Revolutionary Worker*,

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# Those Who Refuse

Continued from page 4

laugh, we also are forced to cry. But we can't afford to cry and although we don't have too much time to laugh, we should laugh a little. We should laugh with a sense of the bright future before us. Mainly, however, we have to convert the tears and the frustration and the outrage and the anger into struggle and determination to rise up and make revolution, because the more ridiculous we can see that this capitalism system is, the more absurd we can see that it is — the more criminal it is that we allow it to go on any longer while we stand around or sit idly by and do not do everything we can to lead people to rise up and abolish it as soon as possible. The more ridiculous we can see it to be, the more criminal it is that it goes on any longer and the more criminal we are if we are conscious of that and yet we still sit on the sidelines and do not go out among the people who do not see it, to wake them up, pull them and lead them into the process of rising up and moving beyond this stage of history.

You see, there is something that we are on the threshold of: we are on the threshold of moving humanity and human society to a whole new stage of history, a whole new plateau, a whole new height which as yet humanity has not reached but is on the verge of reaching. Throughout millions of years of history people in society have always struggled to move beyond the backward conditions in which they were held down, and today this struggle has finally reached the point where we now can make a leap beyond the backwardness and barbarism we are still chained in. In fact, the very means to make this leap surround us and mock us in the face every day as we look out at the buildings, the technology, and the scientific understanding that has been developed and see the way it is twisted and mangled, perverted and suffocated, under the control of these capitalists whose force of arms and vicious repression is used to keep their stranglehold on society and to maintain people in this barbarous state. And despite what the new rulers of China may say, despite what the rulers of this country may say, despite what capitalists and their lackeys have always said — people are not dumb animals who merely want to have a bowl of food put in front of them three times a day, then will lick the bowl and go on to lick the hand of the person who put the food there while he whips them across the back if they get out of line. People are not what they used to say about the slaves back on the plantations of the South when they called them "talking tools." People are not dumb animals. People are not talking tools. They have hopes, they have dreams, they have aspirations. They have ideas and thoughts. They want to know about and they want to conquer the whole world and even storm the heavens, much as the capitalists try to crush and suffocate this out of them.

## Mankind's First Great Leap

If we go back and look at history — we should look to the future but to do that we have to look at the past and understand it scientifically — we can reflect the light from the past up through the present and project it ahead to the future. When we can see scientifically and correctly where we are coming from, we can also see where we are today and understand it from the perspective of where we have to and are inevitably going to go. The fact is that humanity (including its earliest ancestors) is several million years old. This has been discovered and proved scientifically. Back in Africa and elsewhere about that time, the first forms of the human species developed when something very significant happened in the world, in terms of life as we know it on this planet. For the first time a form of life developed that did not either live in the water or crawl on the earth, nor did it walk on all fours and only occasionally reach up to use its hands. A form of life developed which stood erect, walked on two feet, and used its hands to begin changing the world around it, to begin shaping tools and transforming the rest of nature. Those various early forms of the human species that came into being and attempted to survive went through a very fierce struggle with the elements and with nature. Through a long process, those that were able to survive and develop and that managed to stay on two feet and use their hands became a new form of life.

But along with their hands being freed up, something else very significant happened among those, out of the many, that did survive to eventually develop as the human species which exists today. As they began to work, and in order to walk and live on two feet rather than walking on all fours or crawling on their bellies, something happened to their brain — an anatomical development that came to predominate through a process of natural selection. A new and a more highly developed and sophisticated brain came into being. This, in fact, is what distinguishes the human species from other and lower forms of life: not some nonexistent imaginary soul breathed into them by some nonexistent imaginary superior being or god, but the fact that in relation to their walking erect and using their hands to shape tools, their brains underwent a basic change. Their brain changed and developed enabling them to further coordinate their motions and at the same time use their hands to shape tools, develop fire, and make more sophisticated instruments and tools. For the first time in the history of life as we know it, a form of life developed which was conscious of itself and of its relationship to the rest of life, to the rest of nature. It had a more developed brain and was therefore able to consciously react upon and change the rest of nature and the very society in which it came together to survive and develop. This was something entirely new. Other animals may react upon nature, but not consciously. They only leave, generation after generation, what was there when they came in the first place. Even species that do sophisticated things, like building ant colonies, never develop anything higher or continue to advance. They just repeat the same process again and again. But with this development of a brain which was conscious of the rest of nature and the rest of the world around it, which could increasingly grasp the laws that govern life and society, human beings began to break away from the rest of the animal kingdom and advance beyond it, consciously reacting upon and shaping the rest of nature.

Now, when you say this, some people say, "Wait a minute, I know what all this is. This is all that shit about apes! I don't want to hear that shit now. Don't tell me about how I've got apes for ancestors. There are no apes among my relatives back through the ages. I ain't got no apes in my roots! I don't want to hear that stuff. There were no apes in my family at no time, never, not even millions of years ago!" Yes there were! All of us evolved from a lower form of life, that's where humanity came from. There is nothing discouraging about that, there is nothing degrading or demoralizing about it. Quite the opposite — it is uplifting, it is encouraging, it is inspiring — because it shows us in living reality that nature, forms of life, and society are constantly advancing from a lower to a higher stage.

## Best Hustle in the Universe

Now the Christian religion, for example, says that the world is only six, eight, or ten thousand years old. This has been disproven by science many times over. It has been disproven by archaeological, zoological, and other types of

discoveries which show that mankind itself (to say nothing of the history of the Earth for millions — or billions — of years before the development of the human species), humanity itself is at least three million years old. Now when you say this, some people will say and you have probably seen the bumper stickers which say: "The Bible says it. I believe it. That settles it." They don't want to hear anything about science or the truth. If the facts disagree with the Bible, then the facts are wrong. They might as well put a bumper sticker that says *I demand my right to be ignorant*, which is another right they will always allow you to exercise in this country, and we cannot afford it. We cannot be afraid of anything and we cannot tolerate anything that tells us, as religion does: "Miserable wretched sinful pitiful creatures that you are, get down on your knees and pray to some lord to save you." We don't want any lords or masters, in this world or any other world. There isn't any other world but this material world (or universe) anyway; this is the one we have. We cannot afford anything that tells us to get down on our knees and accept the miserable lot we have in this society and this world because somehow, the more miserable we are here the better we will have it in the next, nonexistent world. Anybody can and has to wake up and see that it is just a trick by the people who do not have it miserable. Of course they want us to live for the "next world," because that means they get over right here in this one.

I'll tell you something, it still won't do you any good. I heard this story a couple of weeks ago. A dude out here on the East Coast was surrounded by some of these licensed killers they call police. They were jacking him up. He pulled out his Bible and was coming at them with his Bible to show them how wrong they were, and they shot him down. Even when we take up the very things they tell us to take up, it is no guarantee that they won't just wipe you out anyway. We have to discard those things. We cannot afford those things. I will say it whether anybody wants to hear it or not. We cannot afford these things that tell us to get down on our knees, miserable wretched creatures. We have to have and we can only have those things that tell us to get up off our knees and not to serve any lord or master, here or somewhere else. Forget Bob Dylan and his song, "You Gotta Serve Somebody"! We are not serving anybody. We are serving the interests of the masses of the people to transform this world and advance it beyond the stage where there can be any more lords or masters. We don't need it.

I'll tell you one thing, if I wasn't a revolutionary, if I wasn't working for a living, if I was one of these pimps or hustlers or numbers runners or racketeers or stick-up men out here — you know what I would do? I would get the best hustle in the universe: I'd be god! That's what I would do. I would get the best hustle in the universe, I'd be god. Think about it. God has got it made. Every time something good happens to people out here, they praise god to the skies and throw money at him. If something bad happens, they still say, "Oh, I must have done something wrong, I must have sinned," or else, "It's God's master plan, He works in mysterious ways," and they throw *more* money at him. I'll tell you, you can't have a better hustle than to be god. We have to wake up and realize that there is no god out here — but there are hustlers and pimps out there in clerical garb.

Now, of course, some of these other religious figures come along, some of the liberal and intellectual theologians. They spread the idea that "Well, you see, uh... we can't, of course, take the Bible *literally*. Uh... when it says that the world was created in... uh... six days, why this can't be understood to mean six days as we know them by our time. This is six days in the mind of God and you see, uh, uh, ummm... of course, six days in the mind of God might actually be many millions of years in Earth's time. Therefore, we can't take it literally, it has to be understood... uh... uh... more or less *figuratively*." You are bullshitting. This Bible is supposed to be the word of an all-knowing, all-seeing, all-powerful being. Don't tell me you want to reinterpret it and make it figurative. It says what it says. It means what it means. And it is wrong! It was written by people. It reflects the understanding that they had and the understanding that they did not have at the time.

You read Genesis. I've read it. (Some of these people think it will be like a vampire and a cross when they hand me the Bible. "Aren't you afraid to take up that book? You're a godless atheist." I say, "That's right, and that only makes me half different than you because you are godless, too, but I know it and you don't." "But aren't you afraid to pick up that book?" they ask, and I say "No, I've read that book. There's nothing to be afraid of in that book.") Read Genesis; what does it say? It says the Earth is the center of the whole universe and that everything in the sky, in the heavens (which they say is "up" but we know is down, right, left, up — not just one direction) was put there by god after he created the Earth. That's all wrong. This is one little speck in the universe that we live on. They didn't know that back then and they said that all the lights in the sky, all the planets and stars, were put there by god to make light for the Earth. That is completely wrong. The Earth came into being as a planet long after many of those stars. In fact, many of the stars whose light we see today are actually extinct at the present time. They are so far away from us — millions and millions of light years away — that they went out of existence before the Earth came into existence as a planet. They are so far away that, given the speed of light, we are only now seeing the light from them which has traveled for millions and millions of years to reach us.

## Copernicus and Galileo

Religion has always tried to suppress new ideas which come into being and which challenge the established order, because religion has always served the ruling class and the established order to keep the people in line. Do you know that five hundred years ago when Copernicus came along, he made a crucial contribution to the discovery (and predicted that it could one day be proved) that instead of the Earth being the center of the whole universe and the sun and all the stars revolving around it, in fact, the Earth turned on its axis and revolved around the sun. And for this he was hounded, he was harassed. He was persecuted just for stating the truth that now has to be admitted by almost everyone. Less than a hundred years later, Galileo, who took up Copernicus' theory, studied it, and proved it with the latest astronomical experiments and the development of the telescope. Galileo, for proving that Copernicus had been correct, was called before the Inquisition. He was dragged before a bunch of these pompous, pious dogs in long robes and funny hats. He was tortured, persecuted, and threatened with death if he would not recant, repent, and say that he was wrong and that Copernicus had been wrong as well. Galileo finally did capitulate and give in, but nevertheless, no one remembers the names of, or cares very much about, those clowns and reactionary fools who dragged him before the Inquisition. But the name of Galileo and that of Copernicus are still remembered and celebrated. Even though Galileo recanted and capitulated in the end, nonetheless he still represented and further developed the truth. This is the only thing that we can do. We have to stand for the truth. We cannot be afraid of and we cannot tolerate anything that tells us to be afraid of: questioning, criticizing, challenging, studying, learning, and conquering the world and everything in it. That is the reason why the spirit of doing so can never be ex-

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## Those Who Refuse

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tinguished; that is the reason people will never accept the miserable lot they are handed and will never accept society and the world going on in the way they are — because people are thinking beings. Since the time that the human being and the human brain developed, people developed hopes, dreams, thoughts, aspirations — they became conscious of the rest of the world and of their ability to change it. Therefore, there was lit in them the flame of the desire to change it, and this has always been the case down through history.

Some of you might remember the movie *Spartacus*. (As I said, the capitalists control the culture, but people fight this and some truth does slip through, as it did in this movie.) This film was made in 1960. It was about Spartacus who was a leader of slave uprisings in the old Roman Empire. He was a gladiator who led other gladiators in rising up, destroying the slave owners who controlled them, and then rising up and forming a slave army to free other slaves. Finally their army went up against the whole imperial army of Rome. Though they were finally defeated and though they were put to death in the thousands, nevertheless they provided an example and lit a spark for enslaved and oppressed people not only then, but down through the ages.

One of the heaviest scenes in that movie, even heavier in many ways than the scenes of the slaves fighting back against the gladiator owners and the slave owners in general, is a scene which takes place when the slave army is preparing for the final battle in which they are ultimately defeated. Kirk Douglas (playing Spartacus) and Jean Simmons (playing his wife) are laying out in the grass. They are getting ready for the battle and Spartacus turns to her and says, "Listen, why do the birds fly? What makes the wind blow? What is the thunder? Why are the stars in the sky? Why is the earth the way it is? — I want to know all these things." To me, this is in some ways even heavier than the scenes of battle in that movie because what it brings out is a fundamental truth. People are *not* talking tools. They are *not* dumb animals. They are people, with hopes and dreams and the conscious ability to understand, react upon, and change the world in their interests. That is why, down through the ages, through every form of society in which humanity has evolved in raising itself up from the lower to a higher level, people have always struggled and strived and hoped and dreamed and aspired to move from the lower to the higher level.

### Revolution: An Urgent Question Today

Today that millions-of-years long struggle of humanity is now approaching a new, a fundamental, and a radical change — a tremendous forward leap for mankind. For the first time we will move beyond this stage of history where it is any longer necessary for people to fight each other, dog-eat-dog, to survive; where it is any longer necessary or in any way justified for one small group of people to rule over and force others to labor for them in order to live — we will move to a whole new stage in human history where consciously and in common (which is what communism means), consciously in common people can, through struggle, take what is there in nature, study it, consciously change it, use it, and transform the world and themselves in the process throughout the entire world, conquer the whole world, and in fact storm the very heavens.

That is what we are on the threshold of. That is what we are being called upon to do. That is why revolution is necessary: in order to move humanity beyond this stage, so that we can fully and completely stand erect — never again be forced to live, as we still are, on our hands and knees, degraded as we still are, in our millions and billions around the world, to barely above an animal-like existence — but able to fully rise up and use both our hands and our minds collectively, cooperatively, and consciously to transform the whole world and ourselves in the process. This is what history is demanding of us to do. This is what the development of society has placed before us as an immediate task. That is what all the groaning and struggling, all the development of humanity and human society throughout the ages has brought us to the very threshold of.

But not only is this historically necessary, not only is it indeed historically inevitable, not only is this where society must and ultimately will go, but more than that — *it is an urgent question before us today*. It is something that we are required to work for *now* and to devote our energies to *now*, exactly because the capitalist system is outmoded. The capitalist system can no longer go on and contribute to the development of society. It can only strangle and choke and mutilate society and the people in it. It can only plunge people into worse and still worse crisis and massive and still more massive destruction, as they are coldly preparing to do in World War 3. Not only can we see that history places before us the task of revolution and moving on to communism, but more than that, we can see and we must see that the immediate questions in society and the immediately existing conditions that are sharpening up and intensifying around us, those conditions place the question and the urgency of revolution immediately on the agenda for us.

Now, when we talk about this, this naturally raises many big questions in people's minds. Questions about: Is it really possible? How can it be done? What is it necessary for us to do now? How can we go out and wake up other people? Can we actually defeat these capitalists — much as we hate them and much as we can't stand their system, is there really a way that we can not only rise up and fight them, but actually defeat them on the battlefield and move society forward?

These are big questions, they are serious questions. They are questions which every day, our party and others who work with it — out among the youth, the workers, the students, the people in the neighborhoods, the schools, and the hospitals — are debating, discussing, studying, talking about, learning about, and uniting around a common understanding of. They are questions which every week in our newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, and in our theoretical and propaganda organ, *Revolution*, and in other publications, as well as in leaflets, pamphlets, speeches, and meetings, in all these different ways and forms our party is and must be discussing with more and more people. These are fundamental questions, vital questions. They have to be taken up, gone into in depth, and in an ongoing way. We have to study, we have to sum up, and we have to learn more and more about the answers to these questions. But Marxism tells us that all these questions do have an answer. Things are knowable, and by taking up and applying a scientific stand, we can learn them and we can change the world on that basis.

(Continued next week.)

## The Arson Connection

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(Which it seems, it was indeed: promoting it!) It was to be, that is, a PR wing of City Hall. Nevertheless, the Strike Force attracted some honest people who took its stated task seriously — and were raked over the coals for doing it. One incident that led several to formulate the proposal for the study of arson and subsidized housing rehabilitation occurred several years ago, shortly after fires had demolished a section of the Clinton neighborhood in Manhattan. In a couple of cases some well-known media figures (including a famous newscaster) purchased buildings and applied for rehab money after fires had forced the tenants out. The fire marshal (whose job is investigating suspicious fires) informed the Strike Force that arson had been involved. Upon doing their own investigating the Strike Force recommended that rehabilitation money not be given. Immediately, they were told to drop their work on this, and the particular fire marshal involved was transferred to another borough (outside Manhattan).

It's easy to see why the city would want to squash anything that might cause new (and in this case, also prominent) owners to back off, but some of the Strike Force people began to see more — a link between the fires that had cleared out the previous tenants and the possibility of getting rehab money. They applied to the federal government for a grant to fund the study, which, to their and the Strike Force head's surprise, they won. After the proposal had been accepted they learned that Anthony Gliedman, head of city's HPD, had tried to stop the proposal from being submitted; the Strike Force head had allowed it to be submitted only because he thought it wouldn't be accepted.

It is not clear at this time why the feds agreed to fund the report — one cannot rule out the possibility of infighting between federal and local officials or other conflicting interests among the bourgeoisie. Certainly the federal government, which is the source of most of the funds that are only administered by the city, is quite aware of their political

uses, including the arson link, and indeed created the programs to be used that way, as a vehicle for demographic changes in the cities. And in fact, they *are* used that way in every city which receives them. Whatever the reason the feds funded the report it was *not* because the feds thought their money was being "misused"!

As soon as work began on the report, heavy pressure bore down. First, the original proposers were taken off of it on direct orders from HPD-head Gliedman, who threatened to blackball anyone from ever getting a job in New York City if they didn't go along. Then, after several months, a new person was appointed to head-up the study, someone acceptable to HPD. In the meantime, the original proposers had developed a plan to work with insurance companies to identify arson risks (which, incidentally, the insurance companies expressed no interest in); the city's Department of Investigation began following them and one day ordered them to go to an interrogation session complete with guards and armed cops. Immediately after this they were fired, and on returning to get their personal papers two days later, found their files had been locked. Their co-workers were also threatened with firing if they so much as talked to them. While some may have been confused as to why all this was happening, the message that got across was clear: people in the Arson Strike Force had better not strike too hard or too deep in digging up the causes of arson. Publicizing "warning signs" is one thing; going beyond that to try to get at the underlying reasons those "warning signs" exist is something else again.

As the web of connections between arson and government-subsidized rehabilitation was more and more revealed in the course of the research project, the city had another problem on its hands: what would the final report look like? The person selected to head-up the study evidently proved not to be so pliable, and it's interesting that the final report as issued by the city has no names on it, unlike earlier drafts. The final report is significantly different from

earlier drafts in several respects: the introductory summary was substantially mutilated to downplay the findings, and small but significant changes were also made in places to change the emphasis. For instance, an important finding was that "although buildings in the Section 8 Program averaged more fires than other buildings, this effect was associated with specific classes of buildings — those that were NSA submissions, privately owned, or in specific neighborhoods." It then goes on to say that "after these factors were controlled, (taken out of the calculations — *RW*) buildings in the Section 8 Program that were not in any of these categories had 0.508 fewer fires than other buildings." The final report has this exact wording, but it has underlined the last sentence quoted, emphasizing the "fact" that Section 8 housing actually had fewer fires than normal... if only you don't count the buildings where arson happens most frequently (NSA, private ownership, and specific neighborhoods). The city of New York is also praised in the published report for working on ways to do away with "abuses cited."

Even with all these changes the city still wasn't easy about releasing it. But one of the conditions of the grant made publication necessary; so on Labor Day weekend (not exactly a time when people stay home and follow the news) the rewritten summary and conclusions were released, and at first, the whole report was not even

made available to the press.

But HPD was evidently still uneasy. So on November 1 an HPD report under Gliedman's name was issued, titled "Analysis of Arson in Residential Buildings," which briefly referred to the ASF report findings while smothering them in an announcement of how arson had declined by one-third from 1977 to 1982. (One person the *RW* interviewed said he didn't know about the accuracy of these figures, but that in part it could be caused by the drying up of Section 8 rehab funds in 1980. Gliedman's report went directly up against the findings of the ASF report, stating that where rehab-related arsons are in evidence "they were related to market conditions rather than the availability of any city rehabilitation loan programs or tax exemption/abatement programs.")

If anything, the city government's strenuous efforts to suppress the arson report in itself hints that there is something big at stake. Indeed, even the uncensored findings of the Strike Force only show the tip of the iceberg of a deliberate policy by which the bourgeoisie set out to transform and protect its cities, especially the vitals contained in the downtowns — from the cities' own population. That this policy involved arson, and with this, murder, can only be described as... for this system... typical. □

## Trailer Park

Continued from page 6

the *L.A. Times* he was seriously considering suing the LAPD for keeping a file on him Chief Gates immediately shot back, "If that's an indication of his lack of judicial temperament, then I'm amazed he remains on the bench."

The *L.A. Times* has also reported that the LAPD is preparing to bring disciplinary charges against at least one of Paul's superiors, again related to Paul's ties to Western Goals and also to the storage of police intelligence material at his home. This supervisor, Thomas Scheidecker, was, as the *Times*'s report pointed out, disciplined once before and

removed from PDID when it was revealed in another RCP-related case that he had illegally unsealed and changed the contents of a court-sealed envelope containing information about LAPD operations against the RCP. That case, too, was brought to an abrupt end — that time by a letter from Chief Gates asking the court to dismiss the charges to prevent further inquiry by the defense — just as matters were beginning to focus on the May Day 1980 period. Scheidecker, like Paul, is known to have had considerable responsibility for LAPD operations against the RCP, including during the May Day 1980 period. Clearly, this issue keeps rearing its head providing important openings for dragging these crimes into the light of day. □

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