



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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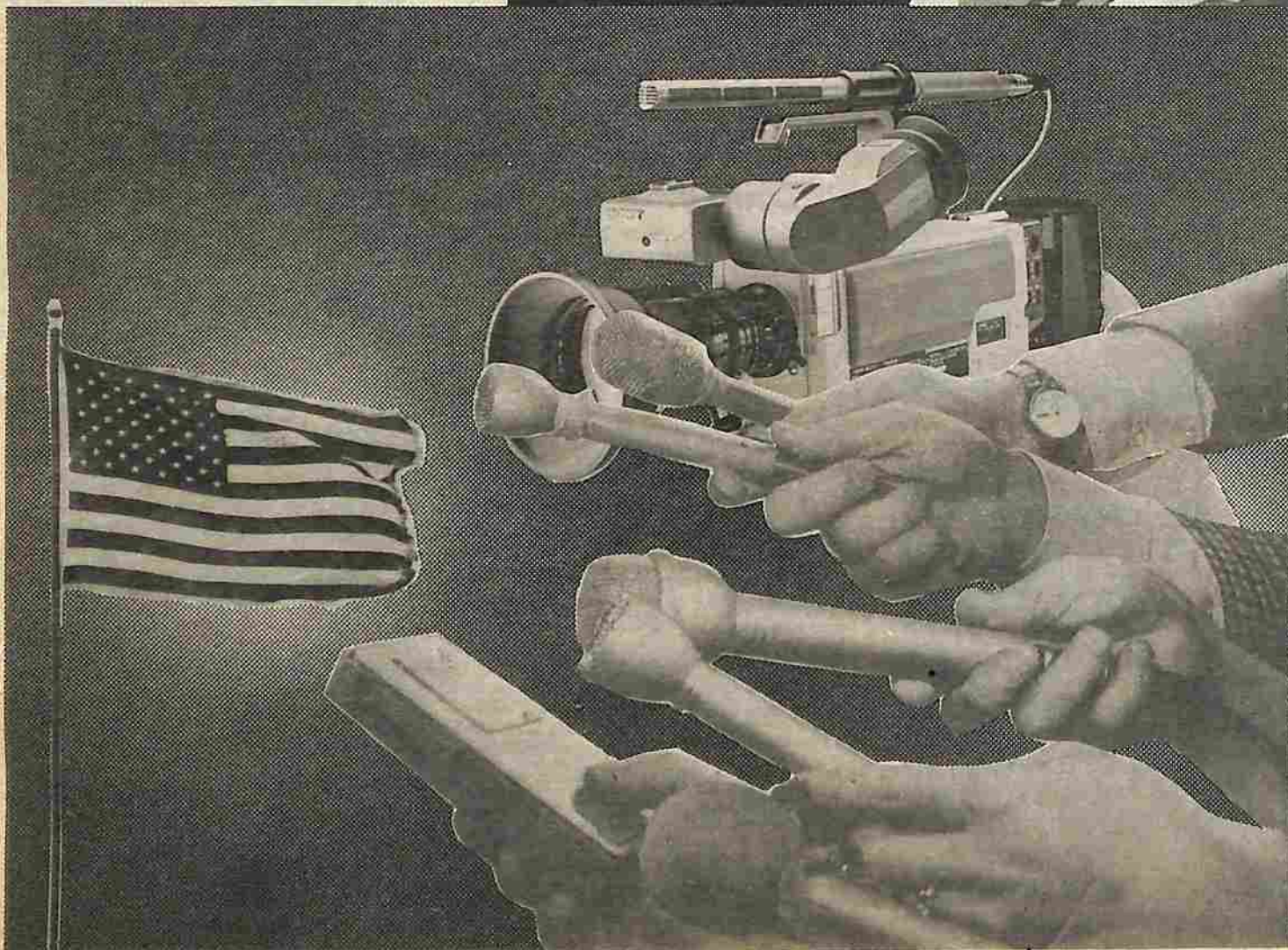
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## Winter Olympics The Narrow World, And Few Sports

There have been a number of remarkable, inspiring athletic achievements in the Winter Olympics so far; it would be nice if ABC-TV would let us see them.

With the exception of those few events and performances which have been capable of being molded into a vehicle for the necessary symbolic message, the coverage of this pinnacle of international sports has displayed a shortage of... sports. Just as one example, take the women's cross-country events. These are among the most grueling athletic competitions in the world, and yet one athlete, Marja-Liisa Hämäläinen from Finland, won gold medals in both the ten- and five-kilometer races held only three days apart. Another, Berit Aunli, from Norway, won a silver medal after having given birth just last year. But as for Hämäläinen's performance, all that was deemed interesting was her exhausted collapse at the finish line, and there was even less coverage of Aunli. On the other



hand, ABC did bring us the thrills and chills of John Denver riding a horse.

In truth, despite the 65 hours of programming there is really only one event being covered on U.S. television — the All-American Propagandathon. Necessary equipment includes a large contingent (usually described as the largest contingent) of loyal American fans to paint their faces red, white, and blue, wave Old Gory in front of each one of the 160 TV cameras, cheer American athletes and boo their rivals and, along with the announcers, laugh at the funny Yugoslavs who don't even understand English for chrissakes. Their presence also enables certain well-coached American athletes to proclaim how wonderful and inspirational it is to see all these troglodytic antics so far from home. Actually, this is the first opportunity that most Yugoslavs have had to see people from the American mainstream — up

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With the appointment of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko to replace Yuri Andropov as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, waves of analysts, experts and representatives of think tanks from all over the United States and around the world have appeared on news programs and morning talk shows to interpret what Chernenko's rise "signals" for East-West relations and overall Soviet policy. Initially, accounts featured the replacement of one "faceless bureaucrat" — Andropov, the KGB man no one knew — with another, Chernenko, the "party functionary." Chernenko himself was described as a "dullard," a man of "modest intellectual powers," given to "propagandistic rhetoric" and above all a man "too old," at 72 to do much more than oversee the preparations for the next big state funeral — his own. Of course, this first round of Western commentary was more than a bit hypocritical. Reagan is no rosy-cheeked youngster himself. And then there was America's representative at the funeral — a striking contrast to the late Andropov, the KGB man: George Bush, the CIA-man.

But even before Andropov's corpse was securely installed in the Kremlin Wall, a new slant on Chernenko has begun to consolidate itself in the U.S. media and in the official comments of President Reagan, Vice-President Bush, and a raft of European leaders who shook the hand of the general secretary at the funeral. Chernenko was Leonid Brezhnev's crony for many years, one of the many so-called "Moldavian Mafia" (Brezhnev got his start by consolidating power and a network of friends and supporters in the Soviet republic of Moldavia.) During Brezhnev's protracted illness, according to some published reports, Chernenko actually took on many of the functions of a personal valet, fluffing Brezhnev's pillows and helping to perform difficult chores. Out of this close association between the two men, of course, one can draw anything one wants: Chernenko "isn't a leader, just a caretaker"; Chernenko "is likely to show more tolerance for the slackness and corruption so characteristic of the Brezhnev era" are just two of the meteoric fragments of Kremlinology that have streaked across the firmament over the last few days. But a modest boomlet has gotten underway emphasizing one facet of the Brezhnev-Chernenko connection: "Chernenko is associated with Brezhnev's policy of detente with the West; maybe this means a chance to build a new era of more constructive U.S.-Soviet relations."

In a comment on Bush's meeting with Chernenko, Reagan stated that the new Soviet leader "did not retreat from his — the basic Soviet positions," but "at the same time he expressed a desire for better relations." And Reagan squeezed this optimistic assessment out of a 30 minute meeting, most of which was taken up with translations.

This is an interesting tack to take.

# Chernenko and the New Western "Optimism"

Remember, the Soviet military buildup which the United States points to as evidence of Soviet warlike intentions reached full maturity under Brezhnev, who died in 1982. The invasion of Afghanistan took place under Brezhnev's tenure. So did the basic Soviet SS-20 missile deployment, and Soviet-sponsored Cuban intervention in Africa. Brezhnev, during the last years of his reign, was certainly not portrayed as a very dovish figure in Western propaganda. So why not say that Chernenko is "associated with the military buildup, foreign aggression and intervention, and a relentless drive for global supremacy"?

The U.S. government and press is also offering selective readings of recent Soviet statements, emphasizing moderate sounding phrases from keynote speeches by Chernenko and speeches by other top Soviet officials, when one might just as easily cite sustained passages of "tough talk." Chernenko's memorial speech for Andropov, in particular, is notable for summarizing Yuri Andropov's "good deeds for peace" this way:

"An ardent champion of world peace,

Yuri Andropov did a good deal to consolidate the international positions of our country, to increase its defense capability and combat might."

Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, naturally, dotted the i's and crossed the t's:

"Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, in upholding the cause of peace, paid unflagging attention to securing a reliable defense of the Soviet state. He displayed constant attention to and concern for the further development and consolidation of the Soviet armed forces... (he) devoted much strength and energy to implementing Lenin's directive on all-around consolidation of the unity of the army and people, improvement of military-patriotic education and all-sided preparation of Soviet youth for defense of the motherland. . . ."

Whatever signs one might choose to read in the entrails of Soviet leaders' statements, it seems clear that the United States has, for the most part, passed up choice opportunities to reemphasize once again the implacable militarism of the Soviet Union.

There may be a combination of reasons for taking this approach at the moment. One, surely, is that it doesn't hurt the Reagan administration, either domestically or in Western Europe, to try to look like it's bending over backwards for peace and seizing at any straw to reopen any dialogue with the Soviets and get the arms talks rolling again. President Reagan reads the polls: 55% of the Americans, according to one survey, "think the United States should be working harder to reduce tensions with the Russians." European leaders, too, have long since perfected the technique of emerging from meetings with Soviet officials with upbeat and optimistic assessments of the chances for agreement on theater nuclear weapons, better relations, etc., even if there is no basis in fact for such positive assessments. The optimistic approach looks better to the home public, it is more reassuring, and gives the impression that one is earnestly and actively "pursuing every avenue to break the deadlock."

The Reagan administration figured there was no chance of a summit meeting with Andropov, even if one was desirable. Now that Andropov is out of the way, chances for, at minimum, a cosmetic "get acquainted session" between Reagan and Chernenko, if not good, are at least better than zero. On balance, Reagan might be able to use a summit to bolster his "statesmanlike" image, defeat the charge that he is incapable of dealing with the Russians, and try and blunt the feeling that it is the U.S. that's to blame for the gathering drive towards nuclear war between the two blocs. These are important public opinion concerns. A summit is not vital for Reagan, but possibilities for arranging something — if not a summit, perhaps the resumption of arms control negotiations — are being reviewed in Washington. All this, at any rate, pleases the "nervous Western European allies," who have their own, more acute problems with steadying public opinion and quieting mass opposition to the current NATO nuclear buildup.

The latest speculations also serve to popularize the assumption that the only variable determining the level of U.S.-Soviet relations is who died most recently in Moscow. Whether or not one side or the other will mount a new so-called "peace offensive" in earnest this year remains to be seen. But if one goes back and reads George Bush's comments after his first meeting with Yuri Andropov 15 months ago, one finds, almost word for word, identical phrases voicing "earnest hopes" and citing "new opportunities" for "the growth of peaceful relations." What followed then was the Year of the Missiles, the U.S. Euromissile deployments, the Soviet counterdeployments, the 007 and Grenada. In other words, history will continue to give the lie to these pious phrases. □

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# OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian

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

*This is the fifteenth and final article 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. This series, "Overrule This, Motherfucker," ran weekly, beginning in RW No. 229 (November 4, 1983) — ed.*

The times are sharpening up. As I said earlier, people are going to be knocking on your door for one class or another, on one side or another, calling on and confronting you with a choice to stand one way or the other. We are not going to be able to run from it and we are not going to be able to escape from it. We are not going to be able to hide from it and we are not going to be able to take dope, or alcohol, or anything else to make it misty and forget about it. We do not want, we do not need, and we do not have to hide from the future, because the future belongs to us if we dare to rise up, put ourselves out there, fight consciously, and shape it in our interests.

Many people ask us this question: "Listen, I really agree with a lot of what you are saying, but how do we know that, like others before you, your party will not also sell this thing down the river? How do we know that you won't sell out and try to get a soft thing for yourself? Either before this revolution comes about or even afterwards, how do we know that you will not just turn it into your own thing, put yourself on top, and keep us in the same position? How can we prevent that and how do we know it will not happen?" Well, I can say this personally and also speak for our party. I have been fighting this system myself for fifteen years. I have been a revolutionary for twelve and a conscious communist for more than ten. I have no intention of being anything else or of doing anything else as long as I am alive, and I am going to fight to stay alive, too, because we have a revolution to make, and as Marx and Engels said, a world to win. We have no intention in this party of devoting ourselves to anything other than to struggling and carrying through the fight for making revolution and moving society forward to a whole new stage together with the people of the world. That is the stand of our party and that is the stand of everyone in it or else they do not get in it, or they do not stay in it. It is not only our desire, it is also the fact that we have fought in the past, we continue to fight, and we must fight in the future to arm ourselves ever more deeply with the grasp of this revolutionary science of Marxism and with our ability to apply it and bring forward thousands and ultimately millions of people to take it up. But more than that, I am going to put it back to you. I am putting it out to people just like yourselves throughout this country on this speaking tour, and the question has to be put to many more people out here. The fundamental question comes down to this: Do you want to live on your knees, at most begging for some knee pads, or do you want to stand up and stay on your feet and fight to finally make that leap mankind has to make to completely move beyond animal-like existence? Do you want to be emancipated, do you want to stand up tall and proud and take the world into our hands and storm the heavens, or do you want to be forced back onto your knees, learn to live on your knees, and worse than that, learn to like it?

That is the fundamental question. If you want to be emancipated, if you want to get out from underneath this, you are going to have to do what we all have to do — give up this idea they always try to promote among us of looking for salvation from some savior coming down from heaven or coming down from the Kennedy mansion in Massachusetts or wherever. There will not be any salvation in any other world — it is in this world, and nobody else and nothing else is going to do it. We are going to have to do it ourselves. You want to be emancipated, you have to become part of this struggle and fight to emancipate yourself, and not just yourself but all of the exploited and oppressed people in the whole world. If you want to get free from this and stand up and not be on your knees, you are going to have to fight to make it happen. If you want this party to deepen its grasp of this theory, maintain itself on the revolu-



tionary path, and continue toward the revolutionary goal — you are going to have to step forward, work with, become part of this effort, join with, and join this party, struggle to grasp this theory, grasp this line, apply it, and fight to keep this party on the correct road with the correct theory, the correct line, the correct orientation, and the correct movement forward toward revolution. If you want to be emancipated, you have to fight for your emancipation. If we want to be free we have to free ourselves, nobody else can do it for us. That's the only way it can be done and that's the way we are going to do it.

You can always come up with a hundred-and-one reasons why *not* to step forward. "People might insult me." "I might be unpopular." "It might cause trouble in my family." "I might be in danger of going to jail, losing my job, or even my life." These things are real. They are not a joke. But what we have to understand is this: our lives do not belong to us anyway! They belong to the capitalists, and they will use us and misuse us and kill us for the interests of maintaining their system, not blinking an eye or thinking twice about it. Your life is never going to be yours, entirely yours all to yourself, and nobody wants it that way anyway. The only way our lives are going to have meaning and contribute to anything is when we give them to the struggle and join with millions and millions of people — from Kurdistan to Africa to all over the Middle East, Asia, Europe, and all over the world — who are fighting toward the goal of uprooting and eliminating every form of exploitation and oppression and moving on to communism. You want to live or you want to be a walking dead? You want to give up now and just accept the fate they have cut out for you, and even worse things they have prepared, to have your life snuffed out for nothing? We *know* there is going to be sacrifice. We know there is going to be suffering out here, worse than we have seen even yet! That is not the question. The question is: sacrifice and suffering toward what end, for what, and in whose interests? Dedicating ourselves or having our lives dedicated for us, one way or another, for one cause or another — to move society forward or to keep it backward; to advance beyond all this or keep it going for yet another generation or one more beyond that? That is the question we are confronted with.

Revolution does not come free. It does not come cheap. Getting out from under slavery does not come easy and nobody is going to hand it to us or sell it to us cheap. If we want it, we are going to have to be willing to sacrifice and work for it. We have to take out this newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, not just read it ourselves but put it in the hands of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and ultimately even millions of people. We have to take responsibility for distributing it among the people we work with, going up in their face when they laugh or mock us, challenging them to come awake to the real world. We have to call on our neighbors and friends to buy this paper and sit down and discuss what is in it. We have to get organized around the tasks that are laid out and around the calls being made for us to step forward into history, begin to transform it, and prepare for revolution to change it thoroughly.

We do not promise people any pie in the sky, any easy victory, any simple or painless way out of all this. There is no such thing. We do not promise that a revolutionary situation will certainly develop in this country within the next few years. But we do say: Look at what is on the horizon. Because we have scientifically analyzed it, we know — and people have to seriously and soberly recognize this and decide what they are going to do about it, as well as everything else that is going on — that unless revolution prevents it, there is going to be world war unleashed by these two superpowers and their imperialist

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# Those Who Refuse

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blocs within the next ten years, with everything that means on top of everything else we already have to go through. That poses the prospect of tremendous suffering and tremendous horror. But it also poses the prospect that, as things move closer toward that situation, millions of people will be brought into motion. If today hundreds of thousands protest against what happened at Three Mile Island in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, at a nuclear plant — many millions of people will be propelled into motion as the prospect of nuclear war is made more and more clear, both by the development of what the government is doing and by our party out here, ripping the mask off and exposing what is really happening. If today people are rebelling against long gas lines, being thrown out of work, and being shot down — as these things sharpen up with millions more being thrown out of work (as they are already coldly predicting will happen), those left worked even harder, and people forced to suffer even more intense and increased hardships, this is going to propel hundreds of thousands, even millions of people into motion in the period ahead. We do not say this will definitely sharpen up all the way to where we can rise up for revolution or that if it does and we do rise up, that we will win for sure. But we do say this: the only kind of work and the only kind of activity that is worth carrying out, and the only kind of life that is worth living, is to work, to be active, and to dedicate our lives toward the goal of revolution.

## A Revolutionary Legacy

Even if we cannot make revolution in the next few years, at least we are not going to leave the same situation as the old Communist Party did, where twenty years from now the next generation comes along and says: "Damn it! All right, maybe you did not have a fully revolutionary situation, but at least you could have maintained a revolutionary line. At least you could have continued to educate people and fight this system. At least you could have prepared for the future development of a revolutionary situation. Why did you sell out, back off, run away and hide, leaving us nothing but more confusion, pain, and demoralization? Why didn't you at least stand up for revolution? — even if they jailed you, even if they killed some, even if they hounded you, why didn't you at least step forward and lay a foundation that we could build on, take up the task that you had started, carry it through, and finish it off? Why did you run away and leave us so that we have to come along and start it all over again, learn the lessons all over again, and pay in blood all over again for what you should have given us in the first place?" We are not going to do that. We are determined to maintain that revolutionary line and our revolutionary bearings. We are determined, if this possibility of conditions ripening for revolution does indeed become a reality — we are determined that we are going to fight through and win. And even if we cannot finish the job ourselves, we are determined to carry it as far as we can and leave a revolutionary legacy that people can pick up. We are determined to make the furthest advances, to bring forward the most people to the greatest heights that we can. If we do not finish the job, then the next generation, or even the one after them, will carry it through. But we are not going to leave them nothing but the same shit we are going through right now.

Now people say to us, "Listen, what about these 241 years of charges you are facing, this farce where you are being accused of assaulting more than twenty-two police officers, seventeen people being accused of assaulting twenty-two police officers" — or so they call them. If you look at these indictments, you will see that in over half the charges where we are accused of doing that, either the cop who is supposed to have been assaulted, or sometimes even the person who is supposed to have assaulted him, is listed as "unidentified." You know this is a legal farce. It is a political attack and is meant — with them so openly prosecuting us on such a legal sham — to intimidate us and intimidate others. They are saying: "This is what we will do to you if you get out of line. We won't even play by our own rules and will openly flaunt those rules. We will openly go against our own laws and make a mockery out of them." We know they are going to do this and worse. We know they are not only going to threaten people with jail, they are going to jail people. They are already doing worse to people out here. They are not only going to jail people, they are going to try to kill people and they will kill some people. They will hound other people out of the country. We know this. The situation is getting sharper and the stakes are even higher, much higher, than they were in the '60s. That is not the question. This attack on our party, the present years we are facing in jail, is not even as outrageous as some attacks that go on every day out here among the masses of people. That is not why it is so important — that it is the most outrageous thing the ruling class has ever done. It is so important because it is not just an attack on our party; it is an attack on the masses of people. It is an attack on their ability — in the storms and upheavals that are gathering, and which the ruling class knows very well are gathering — to have the one thing that can lead them and show them, guide them and direct them, unite them to prepare and organize them to carry through a way out of this hell. It is an attack on the one force that is not only seriously working for, but also has the ability and the revolutionary theory to carry revolution through. It is an attack on the vanguard of the working class and the oppressed masses — an attack on the Revolutionary Communist Party. This is why it must be counterattacked and beaten back.

They want to put us in jail, and the more that they want to put us in jail the more of a victory it will be, not just for our party but for the working class and all oppressed, if we beat them back and keep them from putting us in jail. But if they do put us in jail — as we know they will do at some point to some people — and even if they kill some people, this is not going to make our party give up. It is not going to jail or kill the revolution; you cannot jail or kill a revolution. It is not going to destroy our revolutionary understanding. In fact, we are going to go out even in the midst and in the face of this and broaden and deepen our roots. This is what we are most concerned about.

People ask, "Aren't you concerned about going to jail? What about these 241 years?" Of course we are concerned. But the main reason we are concerned is because this attack is not just an attack on our party, but in the way stated, is an attack on the masses of people, and we want to beat it back for that reason. If we have to go to jail, we know there are people in jail who want revolution and we will join with them and spread the flames of revolution right in the jails. More than that, however, the reason we do not want to go to jail, the most basic reason, is that we have revolutionary work to carry out. We have people to wake up and educate and prepare and organize toward the goal of revolution. We have to lead them in revolution and we can do that work much better out of jail than in jail, so we are going to *fight* not to be in jail. We can do that work much better alive than dead, so we are going to fight to stay alive. Most fundamentally and importantly, we are going to lay the basis, spread and broaden

and deepen our roots, so that when one does fall, it will not crush or destroy the revolution, but for each person that falls ten will come forward, a hundred will come forward, take their place and the movement will grow stronger, become even more deeply rooted, and will spread among the masses of people and bring closer the time when this revolution can be carried through.

## Once in a Lifetime

I want you to think about this in closing. The chance to make revolution, especially in a powerful monster like this — the chance when it becomes weak enough, fighting within its own ranks enough, forced to drop more of its mask of democracy, having fewer crumbs to pass out, more exposed before the people, and therefore our movement can become strong enough to actually go for its throat, grab it, and choke it to death — the chance to actually rise up, cut that jugular vein, break through this system, emancipate ourselves and strike a blow together with and for the emancipation of people throughout the world, the chance to make revolution in a powerful monster like this does not come along all the time. It comes along only once or a few times in a lifetime.

Look at the situation that is shaping up before us. We do not predict where this will surely develop, but look at what is on the horizon. We are determined that if the opportunity does sharpen up — whether before, during, or after world war — we are determined to seize it. We are determined to continue to work even in the event and even in the context of them shooting off nuclear weapons — we will not give up or beg for mercy or run to pick up the blood-soaked red, white, and blue. We will, even if war is launched, be exposing them for this even more monstrous and heinous crime which they and their counterparts in the Soviet Union and all their allies and flunkies have unleashed. We will be working to deepen and channel the hatred of the people for this most monstrous crime in history towards rising up in arms and turning the very guns they give us against them to make revolution. But we want to do this even before world war. We want to join with others to make revolution to prevent world war, and we are determined that we will not and must not lose or throw away the opportunity whenever it presents itself. We will work to be prepared so that when thousands become millions, we will have trained and educated and united those thousands to become the leaders of millions — so that millions can be led and guided to carry through the revolution all the way.

And the possibility, not a certainty, but the possibility is *real* that this situation will develop in the period ahead, within the next few years, and we have to prepare for it. We are racing against time. We are behind. We have to work to bring forward our class to the forefront and march to the head of this and be prepared for when it does arise, because when this situation does arise, things will change dramatically overnight. In days, weeks, or months, millions of people who were formerly passive will come into motion, and people will be learning in a few weeks what they did not ordinarily learn in years of normal times living under this misery and degradation. And such a situation does not come along all the time. The chance to rise up and overthrow an imperialist super-power like this comes along only once or a few times in a lifetime.

But think about it more broadly. Think about the fact that when we finally do make revolution here in unity with the people of the world, when this monstrous beast which has its tentacles all over the world, squeezing and crushing the life out of millions of people, when it is finally brought down, when along with its bloodsoaked red, white, and blue, it is crushed into the dust and in its place rises a revolutionary base area where the red flag flies, calling on people all over the world to unite with us to carry through the struggle worldwide — when that day comes, *literally hundreds of millions of people* will go into the streets to celebrate, but to celebrate in the way the oppressed celebrate, by determining and acting to carry forward the struggle, finish off this system completely, and bury it once and for all! We have an opportunity and a responsibility in this country not just to fight to emancipate ourselves and free ourselves of this exploitation and oppression and degradation, but to unite with and strike a blow for all the oppressed and exploited people in the world toward the goal which millions are striving for and becoming more conscious of: the goal of socialism and ultimately communism to free all of mankind and advance history to a whole new stage.

## Our Vision of the Future

This is what we must leave this meeting firmly focusing on, deeply aware of, not only thinking about but determining to act upon and to carry back to others: To see and move beyond the temporary and superficial bullshit that people are wrapped up in, to awaken them to the real cause and the way that history is calling upon us, to the urgent conditions of society which require us to move rapidly now and waste no time to bring closer and then bring about revolution. Not only as we leave here tonight, but in the period ahead as we go out to build for May First and as we look beyond it, as we look to the period ahead and to the future, with a clear understanding of where society is moving and of how we must consciously act to accelerate its movement toward revolu-

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## Face-painting And Lebanon

Over the past ten days, the phrase "putting the best face on a bad situation" has achieved wide currency in bourgeois circles, as a characterization of the U.S.'s current "damage control" mission in Lebanon. The savage U.S. naval bombardments of the hills overlooking Beirut, striking largely Druse civilian areas, certainly have been the major part of this "best face" posture. Surely, after 18 months of peacekeeping pretenses, the offshore escalation of firepower presents a more brutally true face of the actual U.S. role and purpose in Lebanon, its profoundly antipopular, reactionary demeanor. Yet, for all the additional death and destruction such actions have caused, they have largely served only to underline the essential impotency of the U.S. position.

Indeed, no matter how great the attention to U.S. image, in sending the "right" signals to ally and foe alike, a dominant face of the U.S. over this period has been one of slackjawed incomprehension, while administration officials try to maintain a tough-guy pose — replete with such arcane phraseology as "won't bug out" and "will not cut and run" — the edifice of U.S. achievement in Lebanon, the Gemayel government and army, continues to collapse and crumble.

Among Ronald Reagan's many peculiar wrinkles, indeed a hallmark of his approach, is the blithe dismissal of troubling information; where facts contradict the requisites of faith, particularly faith in a resurgent, supreme America, they're either discarded or remade anew. Thus, the President can claim as late as Monday, February 13, that "progress has been made" in upgrading the Lebanese army, that "we have trained and equipped the Lebanese forces (whether intentional or not, Lebanese Forces is the name of the Phalangist militia—RW) to where it is really a capable military force." This at a time when almost half the army had deserted or defected, with more soon to come.

When West Beirut was taken last week by the Shi'ite and Druse militia forces, Reagan maintained a cultivated show of indifference to events. His only statement that day was the release of a photograph showing him in conversation with space shuttle astronauts — a reassuring reminder to American primitives everywhere that the frontier spirit is alive and kicking, even as news concerning present frontiers suggest a far more troubling picture. All of this is in keeping with Reagan's particular role as ideologue, and in sustaining a willful ignorance and self-satisfaction among the "us" who comprise his social base (despite some grumbling, the major media mainly assisted in this performance; when the news first broke last week of the Marines' possible departure, it was mainly presented as a politically fortunate turn of events for Reagan, relieving as it might a potentially major liability in the 1984 campaign).

As for Reagan's "capable administrators," the going has been considerably tougher. There has been no way of getting around the severity of the U.S. loss in Lebanon, and such spokesmen as George Shultz are fully aware of the grievous regional and international consequences of these developments. Shultz's own efforts on February 15 to put a "best possible face" on the situation left viewers with the impression that he is possessed of a remarkably stupid one. His stern warning, to unnamed Arab

parties (presumably the Palestinians and Lebanese) to "face reality," and accept the fact that "there is no military option" came the same day that the Shi'ite and Druse militias made major new gains, seizing the southern juncture of Khalde and thus effectively linking the southern Beirut suburbs to the Chouf Mountains Druse stronghold. The U.S. Marines, at the Beirut airport, as a consequence found themselves completely surrounded by militia forces; certainly bereft of a military option themselves, their continued stay there (pending their presumably imminent evacuation) is largely a function of Shi'ite largess.

In the same remarks Shultz maintained that the Arabs have never "gotten anywhere" except through the good offices of the U.S. and its "peace process," and he continued to uphold the May 17th Agreement as an outstanding example of such mediation. Yet even as he spoke, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, working through Saudi emissaries, was preparing to offer Syria and the opposition an 8-point program, the chief feature of which was Gemayel's first, unambiguous offer to abrogate the May 17th Agreement. This last-ditch measure suggested practical recognition of the fact that Gemayel's only hopes at this point are to strike a deal with Syria. After 18 months of having been built up by the U.S. as a bulwark against Syrian influence in Lebanon, the Syrian state stands today as the only power which could possibly rescue Gemayel's government, and provide for his continued, albeit reconstituted and redefined, "legitimacy."

Also in Washington during the week were Egyptian President Hosni Mubarek and Jordan's King Hussein. These two Arab heads of state, being the most openly identified and committed to the U.S. peace process, were also concerned with "putting the best face" on the situation. Their meeting with President Reagan indicated their own unease over the developments in Lebanon — Mubarek termed it a "disaster" should the Marines leave their positions, and Hussein asked for, and apparently received, agreement from the U.S. to supply him with some 1,613 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. Their primary interest, however, lay in making a gesture which would indicate some movement on the "peace process." To this end, Mubarek called upon the U.S. to reevaluate its regional assets and consider opening a dialogue with PLO leader Yasser Arafat, calling him a "courageous" and "responsible" leader. Mubarek's statements sparked a predictable rebuttal from U.S. officials, and a genuine outcry in Israel. Still there appeared to be considerable receptivity by U.S. officials to Mubarek's and Hussein's reported assertion that the Lebanese "problem" would "shrink" to more manageable proportions if Reagan would put new emphasis and momentum behind his September 1, 1982, Peace Plan (designed to incorporate the West Bank Palestinians into a confederation with Jordan, and turn the occupied territories over to joint Israeli-Jordanian control). One should step back for a minute to remember, however, that a major aim of the 1982 Israeli invasion — which set in motion the process in Lebanon now coming to a head — was to destroy the PLO as a force there, breaking the back of Palestinian popular resistance in the occupied territories, and thus "shrink" the Palestinian question itself to more

"manageable" proportions — a strategy that has, thus far, also met with well-deserved failure.

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As we go to press, news reports have just come in indicating that the Phalangist militia has carried out a major massacre of Druse civilians in the Chouf Mountain town of Kfir Matta. While the Chouf has long been populated by both Druse and Maronite concentrations, there had been no sectarian bloodshed there since the mid-'70s. All this changed with the introduction by Israel of the Phalangist militia into the Chouf Mountains during the fall of 1982. The massacres at Sabra and Shatila had just recently taken place, and the alliance between Israel and the Phalangist militia was still in full bloom, these "Lebanese forces" representing a major military and political component of Israel's envisioned New Order in Lebanon. In the Chouf, the "Lebanese forces" quickly began to foment sectarian strife; while the militia has consistently performed badly in every major military contest, the Lebanese forces were, and remain, a finely-honed instrument of provocation and sectarian butchery. The Phalangists were routed by the Druse militia after Israel's evacuation of the Chouf Mountains in September 1983 but retained a few positions on the periphery, when the ceasefire of late September was declared, a ceasefire largely brought about under the weight of U.S. naval bombardment into the mountains.

The Phalangists were driven away from Kfir Matta on February 16 by the advancing Druse militia; no match for the Druse in battle, the Phalange lined up 117 of the town's Druse inhabitants and executed them before fleeing themselves.

The incident, hardly an isolated one, brings into sharper focus the current conflict between at least some Lebanese opposition forces (prominently Walid Jumblatt) and the Syrian state over whether Gemayel should be compromised with or "put on trial for his crimes." Amin Gemayel, of course, is a leading representative of the Phalangist Party his father Pierre founded and still heads, a fact which bears heavily on the character of his presidency and government and upon his supposed role as "mediator" among Lebanon's factions. A representative of the Phalangist "moderate" wing (in contrast to his brother Bashir, who largely built up and led the more openly fascist, intransigent "Lebanese Forces" militia until his death), Gemayel's "moderation" has become increasingly compromised as mounting crises engulfed his regime over the past year, with Gemayel falling back increasingly upon his right-wing Maronite social base, of which the Phalangist militia remains the most assertive, dominant representative.

The relationship between the Phalange and Gemayel's government was characterized last summer by one of Gemayel's top advisors, another Phalangist "moderate" who attempted, in speaking to journalist Elaine Hagoopian, to put some distance between the regime and the Maronite ultra-right: "Still, some Christians have become quite right-wing. After all, suffering breeds fascism, and while we have some fascists among us, we are not a fascist government. We will never let ourselves be dominated by fascists and communists, even if we appear to be fascists

to others."

A convincing affirmation of Lebanese democracy as envisioned and propped up by the United States! And a major comment on the terms of the U.S. reconciliation process — the Moslem majority was not simply to "reconcile" itself with the Christian population, it was to do so under terms of a Phalangist-dominated government, under cover of which the Phalangist militia, numbering over 10,000, continued to maintain its own "state within a state" within East Beirut, as well as a broader military role, often provoking incidents which brought in the Lebanese army (itself staffed by "moderate" Phalangists) to suppress the Moslems.

The demand that Gemayel be ousted in today's situation is linked to the matter of the Phalange, and whether it will emerge largely intact, capable of striking again, in the emerging situation. Syria, in clearly entertaining the notion of throwing a life-raft to Gemayel, is not only acting according to its broader regional interest — rescuing Gemayel would help in keeping a line open to the United States, for example. The Syrian state, after all, has come to the Phalange's rescue before, in the 1975-76 civil war, when the National-Democratic Moslem-Palestinian alliance threatened right-wing Maronite political power with defeat. Such a move, at that time, was linked to Syria's collusion with the United States and Israel; today its relations with these powers are mainly marked by contention. But, as Syrian officials have themselves recently pointed out, there is a consistency to the Syrian position in regards to Lebanon, insofar as the Syrians are committed to maintaining the basic Lebanese political framework, in which the various factions and groups exercise checks and balances upon each other, thus rendering Lebanon a relatively "weak sister" in respect to Syria. Certainly, there is much to the current situation that suggests that the Syrian leaders will strive to maintain this basic arrangement, seeking through Gemayel to keep the Shi'ite and Druse forces from attaining greater independence and posing any kind of serious challenge to Syrian interests. It may yet prove to be the case that Syria, which has thus far been able to keep its own hands fairly "clean" in orchestrating the Gemayel government from a distance, with its own military forces playing a largely supplementary or logistical role, could come to intervene more directly and harshly in the emerging period. □

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## Sports

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close and personal. Rumor has it that there has suddenly developed a groundswell in Yugoslavia demanding to switch over to the Soviet bloc.

And then there are the countless profiles of *American* athletes — virtually regardless of international standing in their specialties. Why do we know more about the *American* who barely made it down the luge run than we do about the top ten finishers combined? Can it really be that only *American* skiers have had to overcome serious injuries to remain active in the sport? And while we don't get to see much ski jumping, it's encouraging to know that the bitter wind that had been howling all day died down just before an *American* was about to jump; apparently, even the forces of nature (or god) are on the side of *our* athletes.

However, in the interest of fairness, we should point out that they did interview a Swedish speed skater; they asked him about the help and inspiration he had got-

ten from Eric Heiden, the 1980 *American* gold medalist. And they spoke with Norbert Schramm, a figure skater from West Germany, who did a lively and innovative routine in the style of "breaking" — the streetcorner dance form developed by urban Black youth in the U.S. However, ABC showed that it wasn't really *geography* that interested them by skipping over any reference to Schramm's cultural influences and instead asking him how he felt about "chasing" the generally acknowledged No. 1 skater, Scott Hamilton, who is of course, as we are incessantly reminded, an *American*. For reasons of health and sanitation, the *RW* recommends that Olympic viewers refrain from eating for at least six hours before the start of any night's programming.

**Patriotism With A Purpose**

This is indeed patriotism with a purpose — and the purpose permits ABC to give us a glimpse of athletes from other lands, and even, from the other bloc. However, certain aspects of these athletes' lives seem to have the greatest

significance. Karin Enke, the world's premier woman speed skater, has won two gold and two silver medals in these Olympics, but ABC is most interested in the fact that she comes from Dresden in East Germany, which was turned into a giant firestorm by U.S. bombing during World War 2.

In a related development the Soviets introduced a new bobsled as they competed for the first time in this event. Because of its shape, the new sled came to be called a cigarski by most sledders, but ABC's announcers liked "hammerhead shark sled" better, since they were then able to describe its namesake as the "scavenger of the sea," and plug in one of the many music tapes the network has catalogued by the feeling they evoke, such as determination, victory, etc.; this one must have come under the heading of "ominous." The *New York Times* decided to skip the anthropomorphizing and just describe the sled as a "new Soviet missile."

The game of *war trivia* referred to in last week's *RW* also reached new depths this week during the noncoverage of ski

jumping. While looking at a Norwegian athlete as he awaits his turn to jump, announcer Keith Jackson suddenly raises his voice to cry, "And there isn't a lad in all of Norway who doesn't know something of the legend of Birger Rudd." Why, did you know that Mr. Rudd was not only a sports star, but a *war hero*? Surprise! First, he won gold medals in '32 and '36, then the "threat of World War 2 grew," then he refused to be a sports star for the Nazi invaders and then he won a silver medal in 1948 — thereby becoming a postwar hero. Now here is a legend chockfull of role model relevance for the European athlete of today. (Other athletes in Olympic history have bucked the program and met with attack, not accolades. For example, in 1968, Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their black-gloved fists and looked down during the Star-Spangled Banner. They were kicked off the team, blacklisted and forced into unemployment for several years. Their families were torn apart by hounding from government officials to the point where Carlos's wife committed suicide.

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# Of Citizens and Slopes

One of the biggest stories to emanate from the Olympic venues in the past few weeks has been the saga of Aundun Endestad, a Norwegian cross-country skier who had always dreamed of competing in the Winter Olympics but had no hope of making the Norwegian team. After spending several years in the U.S., training with the U.S. Ski Team and teaching at ski resorts, Endestad finally decided to become a U.S. citizen so he could go to the Olympics as part of the American team. But as he continued to train for the Olympics without knowing whether he would be eligible, Endestad worried. "The closer it got, the more unsettled I was. For a long time, I thought my chances were only fifty-fifty," he said.

But not to worry — Endestad, after all, was no typical immigrant. He had not, for instance, managed to survive a treacherous hundred-mile sea journey without food or water in a makeshift boat crowded with dozens of fellow émigrés, facing possible death by drowning and perhaps braving hostile fire from the U.S.

Coast Guard upon arrival. Nor had he spent the requisite amount of years penned up in one of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's hellhole detention centers in places like N.Y. or Florida (where over 7,000 Haitian immigrants have been imprisoned since they arrived in 1980), being beaten, starved, and denied medical treatment. Neither had he been through such routine procedures as vicious interrogations and threats by INS officials and attempts to bludgeon him into signing a consent form to be shipped back where he came from. But then, Endestad was a *Norwegian*, and not one of those fleeing the terror, torture and murder of one of the U.S.'s client/puppet regimes in, say, Haiti or El Salvador — so none of these criteria applied anyway.

There was one hitch, however. While Endestad had applied for U.S. citizenship, he was still nine months short of the required waiting period for naturalization by the time the Olympics were about to start. But America's generosity, not to mention its well-known susceptibility to

dreams Olympian (the red, white and blue variety, that is), knows no bounds. A few days before the Olympics, Congress passed a special bill waiving immigration requirements for Endestad and Reagan promptly signed it. Informed of the good news in Switzerland, where he was skiing with the U.S. team, Endestad was flown to Salt Lake City for a swearing-in ceremony. He then jetted to San Francisco to pick up his passport and turned around and hopped a plane for N.Y. where he made his connection for Frankfurt and then Sarajevo — just in the nick of time to be met by his U.S. teammates who were waiting with his U.S. Olympic cowboy uniform and whisked him to the opening ceremonies where he marched in the American contingent in the parade of nations. Jim McKay displayed a little of his own inimitable methodology in recounting Endestad's experience: "Those of us who were born in the United States sometimes forget what it means to foreigners to become Americans, and what lengths they will go to for the honor of becoming

an American citizen."

It was a dream fulfilled for "citizen Endestad," as the media has taken to calling him, whereas for those from the wrong sorts of countries it has been a nightmare guaranteed. And presumably it was a safe enough exception for the INS to make since there are, for example, no Salvadorans who are known to have applied for immigration status on the basis that they are dying to represent the U.S. in the Olympics or, for that matter, anywhere else. But even if things had not turned out the way they did, even if Endestad had been denied (apparently Congressman Mazzoli, co-author of the notorious immigration bill, opposed his quickie citizenship on the grounds that it would set a "bad precedent"), and even if — heaven forbid — Endestad had for some reason eventually been *deported*, it wouldn't have been the end of the world. Apparently he wasn't on anyone's hit list, and as far as we know there are no deaths squads in Oslo. □

Continued from page 6

However, these legends are not the kind that get dropped in in the middle of Olympic coverage these days.)

But it was left to ABC veteran Jack Whitaker to pull it all together in its most explicit rendering with his coverage — so to speak — of the biathlon. The biathlon combines cross-country skiing with rifle marksmanship, but rather than showing us much of the competition, ABC decided to present us with a Whitaker essay on "Skis in War." We heard about, and saw actual film footage of, the Finns fighting off the Soviet Union on skis (a particularly poignant moment, of course) and the mountain troops — with their "special esprit de corps" — on both sides in World War 2. And out of the ever-present fact-on-file, we found out about the crew that the U.S. Army trained in Colorado, "one of the most amazing outfits ever to fight for our country," according to recruiter Whitaker; its motto was "We conquer mountains and men," and among other things, it helped take back some of the U.S.'s property in the Aleutians that the Japanese had previously seized. Whitaker also informed us that "America's interest in ski warfare has been dramatically revived" of late, and that the Marines have trained over 15,000 troops for winter weather and the U.S. Army is training over 300 for cold weather tactics. How ironic it is that the site of the biathlon (remember, this is supposed to be about the biathlon), Igman Mountain, was the site of World War 2 fighting between the Yugoslavs and the Germans. Now, there are new "cries of victory for another partisan cause," Whitaker pontificates. "These soldiers will wage a war of symbols and some will win medals."

## The Rub

Aye, there's the rub — and the reason why we're not seeing much of the sports action in the Winter Olympics. It seems that the U.S. is not doing terribly well in the war of symbols. For example, in the case of the hockey team, the U.S. has picked up a puck only to drop it on its own feet. Why, this team even suffered the "horrendous embarrassment" of being tied by Norway, of all people. The fact that the Norwegian goalie, Jorn Goldstein, played a magnificent game was barely cause for comment — although Mr. Miracle on Ice, announcer Al Michaels, had to admit that Norway's performance would be "as big an upset as the American's beating the Soviets in 1980. Of course, it's not *nearly* as dramatic, doesn't have one-thousandth the impact, ha, ha..." That is, it better not — in the U.S., at least.

A shaken U.S. hockey coach, Lou Vairo, commented that some of his boys were "almost afraid to come home," conjuring up symbols of a war that ended in *defeat* for the U.S. And there was even a certain amount of "philosophizing"

about an American "overemphasis on winning" beginning to be heard. This is indeed serious. Victories in this war of symbols are critical, since it is the symbols around which the populace will be mobilized and pressganged into the coming war; anything approaching a "Sarajevo syndrome" is definitely not what the doctors of the national psychology ordered.

Desperation over the lack of U.S. medals was surely reflected in the "controversy" over the Nordic Combined, an event that combines ski jumping and cross-country skiing. The competition in the ski jumping part of this event was stopped twice by the jury, which ruled that the jumpers would have to take off from a different location and the entire round would have to be started over. Because one U.S. competitor had two really good jumps thrown out and another was forced to wait for hours before being allowed to jump, the American Director of Nordic Skiing began crying "politics" and "They took the medals away from us," while Whitaker moaned about "an outside agency intervening" (the official judges of the event!?) and "When that happens, the Olympic flame flickers just a little."

What a tragedy. Left unspoken was the fact that such rulings are not uncommon in ski jumping. If a jumper travels 95% of the way to what is called the "critical point" on the hill, the jurors automatically stop the jumping and decide whether to adjust the start. The reason is that the critical point is where the hill starts to flatten out, and if any jumper goes past it, proper landing is impaired and serious injury could result. Indeed, in the pre-Olympics at Sarajevo in February 1983, the jurors took a phenomenal 390-foot jump away from Finland's Matti Nykänen, generally considered the best in the world when he's on his game and the winner of the silver medal this week in Sarajevo. They started the jumping over again from a different location and Nykänen won anyway. This information seems to have been left out of all the discussion of how the U.S. was "robbed" by the European judges in the Nordic Combined. But it's obvious that such crying is no substitute for the demonstration of the will to win that is required.

## Windows of Opportunity

What gave the hockey team its special significance was its potential for a face off with the enemy — the Soviet Union. The Soviet hockey team is the world's best, bar none (including those in the National Hockey League), which is undoubtedly why ABC hasn't allowed us to see any of their games as of this writing; especially after the failures of the U.S. team, the image of a Soviet juggernaut rampaging over the competition could be devastating to America's morale. But

there are other windows of opportunity in the Winter Olympics, and while the U.S. has yet to have very much success on the ice and snow, every possibility is being milked for all it is worth — and then some. Take Alpine Skiing, for example. No need to dwell on the men's Giant Slalom, since the U.S.'s "hopes" went down the tubes on that one. However, the women's Giant Slalom was another story as Debbie Armstrong, Kristen Cooper and Tamara McKinney finished one, two and four. Armstrong may have thought she was just out to "have fun," as she has been widely quoted as saying, but ABC's Frank Gifford, after years of training on *Monday Night Football*, knew better. It was an "unbelievable story" (another miracle?) involving these "Americans who have found their way up the mountain for all of us." It seems that Frank has been preparing for a day like this for quite awhile and the script is just waiting to be regurgitated. He remembers aloud back to that day in the early '70s, when he first started covering skiing in Europe, and the U.S. skiers were falling on their faces. He remembers an announcer saying, "Too bad, ooh-S-A." (Pronunciation by Gifford.) Then the camera pans to Armstrong and Cooper. "They symbolize the culmination of years of effort by so many to bring the United States ski team up to par with the Europeans who have dominated this sport for so many years. It will be a long, long time before we'll have to listen to an announcer say, 'Too bad, ooh-S-A.'"

And then there is the men's downhill, where Bill Johnson has shown the Europeans just who's the boss of the bloc. The arrogant American, who previously announced that all the rest of the skiers should just go home because he had it all wrapped up, has already been lovingly described by a united U.S. media as "driving the Europeans crazy." Fortunately for him the downhill course was almost tailor-made for his style of skiing. And the snowstorm that kept delaying the event also worked to his advantage by softening up the course. We are certain to hear lots more gloating from, and about, Bill "the jock" Johnson.

For awhile, it looked as though Canada's hockey team might become "America's team" this year, even if you had to put a "North" in the front of it. The irony was not lost on everyone who remembered the big fuss the U.S. had instigated about Canada having professional players, as it searched for an edge in the competition. Although two of Canada's players were ultimately disqualified, the move backfired and the U.S. got creamed. But as the Canadians continued to win, perhaps portending another "miracle" vis-à-vis the Soviet bloc, one could easily imagine William Simon and the U.S. Olympic Committee scrambling around, trying to figure out a way to give Canada permission to use its missing players. Alas, Czechoslovakia

defeated Canada and it doesn't look like (North) American miracles are in stock this year. However, the new angle will likely be the search for cracks in the Eastern bloc, and the Soviet-Czech matchup promises to be fraught with new "hopes" for the U.S. and its allies. If they haven't already done so, ABC's producers might consider assembling a feature on the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia to air during — or instead of — the game. After all, the same theme has already been tried out in the luge, where the phrase "there's no love lost between the men from the Soviet Union and the East Germans" already became quite popular — although not quite as popular as the fact that an Italian beat both of them for the gold medal, with U.S. announcers unabashedly rooting him on.

Figure skating will undoubtedly provide the most opportunities for both U.S. victories and U.S. messages in the 1984 Winter Games. But that's why it's considered a "glamor sport" — at least in the U.S. The announcers, especially former skating champion Dick Button, provide the grist for the glamor mill. As a rule, Button bubbles incessantly over the Americans and points out the shortcomings (or invents them) for everyone else. When an East German pair stumbled in their routine, Button provided the perfect complement to the flag-waving loonies in the stands: he slobbered, "Ah-hah! That will improve the chances for Kitty and Peter (Carruthers)."

But there is so much more. The role of women has come in for some special attention in the figure skating competition. In ice dancing, the main required dance has been the Paso Doble in which the male skater depicts a matador while his female partner is supposed to be the cape — a new level in the objectification of women. Of course, Button just *loves* the dance, proving that his bourgeois artiste persona is just the flipside to John Wayne macho, not only in national chauvinism but also in putting women "where they belong." He also loved the ending to the U.S. ice-dancing pair's free dance program. The woman portrays "the slave he finally freed, but she wouldn't leave him," Button whispers breathlessly — a fine representation of women's place in democratic America. And he described the woman in the main Soviet ice-dancing pair as "frenetic, almost hysterical," mainly because their routine gave the woman a more active role in the dance.

The *RW* will have more coverage of all this American glamour next week. In the meantime, turn on your TV and listen to the musical themes playing in the background of the many features and, every now and then, sports events as well. When you put them all together — and add in a couple of John Denver ditties — it certainly does sound familiar. In fact, it sounds just like the Marines' Hymn. □

# The Fine Art of Treaty Breaking

Amidst the haze and fog of recent charges and counter-charges between the U.S. and Soviet Union over violations of existing arms control treaties, a little light was shed on the actuality of the treaty infringement race by the disclosure that the U.S. was no longer announcing all underground nuclear explosions conducted at its weapons-testing facilities in Nevada. The officially orchestrated "leak," which appeared in the *New York Times* of January 29, was apparently brought to a head not by Soviet charges but by the obvious discrepancy between a sharply increased testing budget and a drop in officially announced tests. "There was simply no reason to announce them all," said a Department of Energy official quoted by the *Times*. "The size of some of the tests was such that they didn't even create a ripple. Nobody could feel them off the Test Site. It takes a lot of work to announce each of those tests. And it was information that was not germane to the general public."

Hey, what you can't feel off the base won't hurt you. The fact that nuclear weapons were exploded around the globe at a rate of *more than one a week* in 1983

is hardly germane to the general public. And besides, it's so hard to put out all those press releases.

But as shocking as the disclosure of a frenetic increase in nuclear weapons explosions was, it is only the tip of the iceberg in an expanding array of treaty violations and fudging attendant to the arms race. In particular, the constant rumble of nuclear explosions under the Nevada desert is part and parcel of the actual development and testing of: (1) weapons to be stationed in space in violation of the 1967 treaty banning nuclear weapons in space, (2) development of antiballistic missiles (ABM) weapons other than fix-spaced, ground-launched missiles in violation of the ABM treaty of 1972, and (3) new high-yield nuclear warheads in a deliberate end-run around the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) limiting underground tests to 150 kilotons.

All arms agreements between rival imperialists are but momentary accommodations, temporary agreements reflecting the relative strengths and necessities of the moment and which set the terms of the next cycle of escalation. Nonetheless

it is an interesting exposure to look at the actual terms of the solemn obligations undertaken by the respective pirate gangs — fingers tightly crossed behind their backs. The language is fairly clear:

Article IV of the Outer Space Treaty says quite clearly: "States Party to the Treaty undertake not to place in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on such celestial bodies, or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner." While Article V of the ABM Treaty says: "Each Party undertakes not to *develop, test, or deploy* ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." (Our emphasis — *RW.*)

Thus it was with some embarrassment that the *Washington Post* set out to "clarify" the meaning of National Security Decision Directive No. 119, signed by President Reagan on January 6. The new directive formally set in motion a multibillion dollar program to create the nuclear, space-based weapons called for in Reagan's "Star Wars" speech of last March. First the *Post* quotes "of-

ficials" as saying, "It involves research rather than development of components for antimissile systems, and therefore it will not violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty with Moscow."

Then the *Post* adds that the new directive "is worded cautiously in an apparent effort to ease fears that Reagan is moving toward ultimately abrogating the ABM Treaty. For example, officials said the directive is described as a 'strategic defensive initiative' rather than as work on new ABMs, which might link it to the treaty."

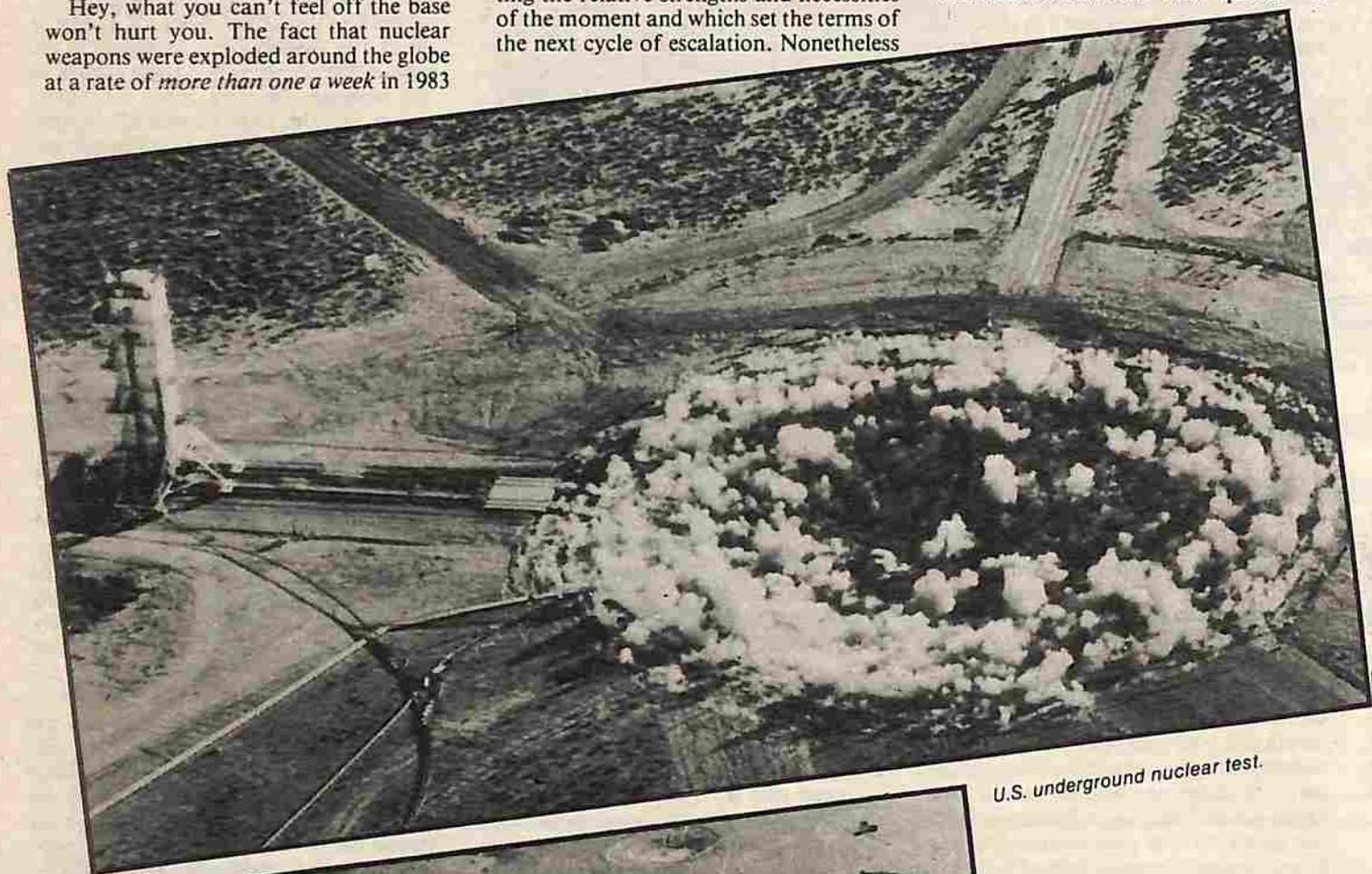
Finally, the *Post* informs us that no one is really expected to live up to the letter of the agreement anyway: "Some forms of testing and development, including space-based systems, are banned by the Treaty. One official said, however, that research was a 'euphemism' and that it was commonly understood that some development work would take place."

We must say that this does capture well just how imperialists "commonly understand" arms limitation treaties.

The current "Star Wars" race began, of course, in secret during previous administrations, long before Reagan's public call for a mobilization behind an accelerated program. In 1975 the Defense Department's Defense Advanced Research Project Agency (DARPA) stepped up its laser program, and the first test of a laser against an airplane was carried out that year. In 1977 Dr. George Heilmeyer, former director of DARPA, suggested in a report that Congress ponder the consequences of a "leak-proof defense" against incoming ballistic missiles — the consequences being the enhanced ability to launch a first-strike attack against the Soviet Union. In 1978 lasers were tested against incoming antitank missiles. Now for the '80s DARPA has for its goals the development of a four-meter diameter chemical laser beam (the *Alpha* Program); the development of a pointing and tracking laser accurate to an angle of 0.2 microradians (the *Talon Gold* Program); and the development of a four-meter diameter mirror to aim the laser beam with (Project *LODE*). Incidentally, the technology needed for Project *Talon Gold* is exactly the technology developed by NASA for their orbiting infrared astronomy telescope — ah, how the love of pure science constantly wells up in the hearts of imperialism's scientists!

But perhaps the biggest project of them all is the Excimer laser, a laser weapon based on the directed beams of X-ray radiation generated by small nuclear explosions or possibly controlled nuclear fusion technology. Begun also in the 1970s, the X-ray laser development program entailed small underground nuclear explosions at the Nevada Test Site beginning in 1981, according to *Aviation Week & Space Technology*. The weapons involved here have become known as "third generation" nuclear weapons (the first two generations being atomic fission bombs and hydrogen fusion bombs). The third generation nukes entail controlling the enormous microwave radiation given off into narrowly focused and aimed beams.

The heart of this weapons development program is the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, operated by the Department of Energy in California. In a recent speech to a National Press Club seminar, Dr. Lowell Wood, who heads up the "O group" which is developing the X-ray laser, said that ground-based lasers could be used in combination with mirrors "popped up" into space during times of tension (a "euphemism" — *RW*). Because such a system would have no components permanently based in space, it would not violate the ABM treaty, Dr. Wood said.



U.S. underground nuclear test.





# YOUNG AND HOMELESS IN AMERICA

Enter New York City's newly renovated Port Authority bus terminal and you are immediately hit with the fact that for a lot of people this glass-enclosed complex is the closest thing to a place to live. Numerous homeless people, among them a growing number of youth, are virtually forced to live in terminals like the Port Authority which provides such "luxuries" as shelter from the cold, public toilets and a place to sit down. That is, until the cops begin their routine sweeps, banging their nightsticks along the backs of rows of plastic chairs, ordering people to move on and clear out. There are some 40-50,000 homeless people in New York City alone, people who have been burned out, evicted, or discharged into the streets by various state-run institutions. The homelessness of thousands is a crime of imperialism which the bourgeoisie can scarcely conceal; for the homeless are easily seen huddled by the heating ducts of midtown's office towers. And in the last two to three years there has been another stark development in the city's homeless population. There are now an estimated 20,000 youth, ages 16-21, overwhelmingly from the oppressed nationalities and 40% of whom are young women, living in the streets in New York. One indicator of the growing number of homeless youth has shown up in reports that in 1980 virtually no one under the age of 21 sought refuge at a city shelter. Now youth comprise 7% of males and 5% of females seeking a place to crash at a city-run shelter. These figures are a small indication of the problem; for many homeless would prefer the bathroom stalls of Grand Central Station to the degrading, decrepit and often dangerous stinkhole shelters run by the city.

That there is a growing number of youth in particular being forced out into the streets is testimony to the increasing impoverishment of Black and Puerto Rican families. And if ever there was a place where the politics of "we want in" revealed themselves to in no way correspond to the material conditions of whole sections of the oppressed nationalities it is right within the corridors of the Port Authority. The stories told by these youth are a living indictment of the sick, sick, sick society that is America.

Billy is a Black youth who graduated from high school, did a brief stint at college, and worked two jobs just trying to get by. Now he is living on the street. When talking to him, he at first blames himself and then just as quickly takes a stab at the reality around him. Initially he told us that "his problem" was a lack of "enthusiasm" and if he'd just put his mind to it he could make it; and then he quickly adds, "I have the freedom to starve and the freedom to be mugged." "There are working Black families getting by," Billy reports and then injects "with a nuclear arsenal hanging over their heads. And besides, people are getting killed all the time. They get shot at, stabbed... I'm from Brownsville; I've seen a lot of people bite the dust."

A 20-year-old Puerto Rican youth has been on the streets for the past two months. One reason being that he couldn't put up with his mother who objected to his Black girl friend. Trying to find a job is impossible. How would any prospective employer — if one exists — even find him? He eyed a bank of public phones in the Port Authority and responded, "I could give them one of these numbers and they can call me up here." He laughed half-mockingly, knowing that that is precisely the reality of the situation. "They can call me up here." Right.

Evelyn, a young Black woman, told us that when her mother remarried it led to her stepfather ordering the five kids out. She had been staying with friends uptown until one guy severely beat her. The bruises were still on her face. Initially she was going to press charges and then dropped it for fear that the guy would find out where she was and come after her again. One white youth pulled up his shirt to show a scar on his side. He had been robbed and shot on the subway last summer. He checked himself out of the hospital as fast as he could reporting that the doctors had been experimenting on him. Seven months after the shooting the bullet still lies in his shoulder. When asked what he saw as his future he replied, "In this place? There is no future." Did these youth know of people freezing to death? "Sure." Starving to death? "Sure." And all of them pointed to the police as constantly hounding, arresting and beating them and forcing people out of the Port Authority and back out into the streets.

Underlying the experiences and perceptions of these youth is the system. And some statistics begin to give a picture of the deepening economic crisis and its effects. 1.4 million people in New York City live below the federally-designated poverty level of \$7,412 a year for a family of four. Over 50% of Black youth in New York are from single-parent headed families and 90% of the homeless youth come from these families that have been forced to subsist on welfare. The maximum allotment for food on welfare is \$170 a month for a family of four. Indeed the growing poverty among sections of the city's population has led to a doubling of privately-run soup kitchens in New York in the last year alone. Further the unemployment rate among youth in New York City is 33.9%, and over 60% for Black youth. Among homeless youth the unemployment rate is nearly 100%. At age 16 a youth is technically eligible for public assistance but to do so the youth

must charge his own parents with abandonment and take them to court!

Fifteen to twenty percent of the homeless youth are put out in the streets by the government's own foster care program. Thousands of youth are designated wards of the state when their parents are either too ill or destitute or are imprisoned and cannot in any way provide for their children. And the state deals with this by virtually selling the youth into foster care programs. If a youth is not in school full time (the dropout rate is between 45-70%) or in a job training program at the age of 18 he is outright terminated from foster care and it is a common practice that the foster care program simply not even consider a 16-year-old youth for any kind of placement.

One of the largest exploiters of homeless youth is the multibillion dollar pornography industry which operates in full view in Times Square, only a block away from the Port Authority. The youth we talked to said that both male and female youth were easily preyed upon and recruited by the pornography industry which often provides the sole means of survival this system has to offer them. It should be noted here that among areas of high demand for male prostitution is none other than the cultured and wealthy residents of Manhattan's Sutton Place.

In November state assemblyman Albert Vann, who heads Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in New York, held a two-day conference on homeless youth. Gathered there were heads of various government and private social programs and leading politicians in the city. Among their rousing conclusions and recommendations: provide more beds.

# Those Who Refuse

Continued from page 4

tion — as we do all that, this is going to be our viewpoint, this is going to be our understanding, this is going to be our vision.

As we go to fight this case in the courtroom as well as go to fight in struggles throughout society, we know what we are going to run up against. When we go into the courtroom, present the truth, bring out the political essence of what is going on in this case, expose the system itself for this attack on our party as well as all around, show what is really going on with our rulers' moves toward world war and the real lessons of Mao Tsetung's leadership and the Chinese Revolution — as we bring all that into the courtroom, we know what the judge is going to do. He is going to pound his gavel again and again and say: "Irrelevant... Overruled!"

That is what they do to us every day out here if you think about it. Every time we try to change things, they pound their gavel and pull their guns and say: "Overruled!" We go out here every day and what does the ruling class say to us, time and again? "All your hopes and dreams and aspirations for something higher are overruled. All your demands for a better life, your struggling and striving to get out from underneath this, is overruled. Every idea that you have ever had of uniting with other people to forge a way forward out of this hell hole is overruled." With that reactionary message of the imperialist class ringing in our ears, we are going to go out here to work among thousands and millions of people, to move thousands and then through thousands move and influence and organize and channel the hatred of millions.

And it is going to come to this point at some time in this country — the sooner the better and we will be working to accelerate that, but it is going to come to the point — when this system is going to be weakened; when these cut-throat capitalists are going to be more and more at each other's throats, even more than they are today, not just dismissing Presidents but much more vicious infighting taking place among them; when they will be more and more forced to snatch back even the few crumbs they have given out, and more than that, forced to drop more of the tattered cloak and masquerade of democracy to reveal their ugly dictatorial and bestial nature more and more openly to people. When they are caught fighting among themselves and they are weakened and their real nature is more and more exposed, as this crisis deepens, as the horrors this system has in store for people become still more raw wounds more nakedly exposed — we are going to be out there leading thousands and influencing millions. Then as things sharpen up further and as millions come into motion, we are going to be leading through those thousands who have been trained, we are going to be influencing and leading millions toward the goal of revolution.

It is going to come to that point where this system is weakened and the determination of the people for change is strengthened and millions of people are going to go from being unarmed — trying to protest or find some peaceful way to change this system by its rules — to saying: "I can't tolerate this any longer!" As we are saying tonight, millions will say: "I can't stand this another day. I won't live under it another day. I'm willing to put everything on the line to change it!" At that point our party is going to lead them and organize them in taking up arms with the strength of millions.

We are going to lead them — with military strategy and tactics but, most of all, with a conscious political understanding — to go out, go up against, defeat, and disintegrate the imperialists' armed forces. Yes, we are going to do just that. We are going to take the guns out of their hands and put them in the hands of the people. As we are kicking their ass on the battlefield, we are going to be winning over many of their very armed forces. Who is in their armed forces anyway but us, forced to be in there. We are going to go out and we are going to kick their ass and — just like in Vietnam — when they are getting their ass kicked these soldiers are going to learn. Just as we have many veterans in our party now, many more soldiers will come into our ranks and bring their units, their weapons, their military training, and join with the army of the working class and oppressed people. We are going to go up against their private armies, shatter and crush them — the Nazis, the KKK, and all the rest of these scum — and punish the leaders of these people as they deserve to be punished. More than that, we are going to go into their bureaucracies and break the strangleholds they have over people. We are going to go into their administrative offices and we are going to declare them dispersed, no longer functional, null and void!

As we do all this, our vision of the future is going to be before us and ringing in our ears will be that reactionary message they daily pound into our heads, that everything we hope and strive and struggle for is overruled. As we go and defeat, disintegrate, and win over part of their army, smash and punish their private reactionary armies; as we shatter and destroy their police forces and punish them for their crimes; as we go in and break the stranglehold of their bureaucracies; break up their administrative hold and apparatus, declaring them null and void — we are going to see those capitalists who have declared everything we want and hope and struggle for overruled. We are going to see them and we are going to chase them into the corner like the reactionary rats they are. As they are in that corner with all their state machinery, their armies, their bureaucracies broken and shattered, and with the conscious force and determination of millions of people rising up in arms, the vision and understanding of their own interests and the future that belongs to them clearly before them — we are going to point those millions of guns squarely at them, and with their reactionary message ringing in our ears, we are going to look them straight in the eye and say:

"Overrule this, Motherfucker!"

From a Speech in Cleveland, Ohio

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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Box 3486, Merchandise Mart  
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February 5, 1984

Power & Victory for Us In Our Struggle!!  
I have been reading the *Revolutionary Worker* at every opportunity and find it more and more revealing in its unrelenting and direct exposure of this capitalist/imperialistic system. I must say that I was blind to the lengths that these "pigs" will go to in their quest for world domination, oppression and exploitation. And the cold truth of it is shocking but I recognize it as true nonetheless.

I have just received my first personal copy of *RW* a few days ago and I thank you for it dearly. I've also noticed in the paper that another communist magazine is now available (*Revolution*) and I would like to be added to your list of prison subscribers and to begin receiving *Revolution* also. And once I have begun receiving *Revolution* I would like very much to correspond with you and give my opinion of the necessity and startling effectiveness of your work for the people.

Your reply and response to my request for subscription to *RW* was very fast and efficient and I hope your response about *Revolution* will be the same!

"In Righteous Struggle,"  
Holman Station, Alabama

Dear *Revolutionary Worker*:

Many belated thanks to you for your sending me issues of your publication. I've been recently transferred to another prison unit and I hope you will continue to send them.

I (as well as others here) enjoy your provocative and indepth articles. Again. Thank you.

Educate to Liberate  
North Carolina

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PAMPHLETS:

- 1— If There is to be a Revolution, There Must be a Revolutionary Party
- 1— There's Nothing More Revolutionary than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought
- 1— Bob Avakian Replies to Letter From: "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations"
- 1— Bob Avakian Speaks On the Mao Tsetung Defendants' Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead
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- 1— 1980 — A Year, a Decade of Historic Importance
- 1— Communist Revolution: The Road to the Future, The Goal We Will Win
- 1— Our Class will Free Itself and all Mankind

Thanking You In Advance —  
In Revolutionary Brotherhood,  
Rosharon, TX

February 8, 1984

Sir,  
I'm writing this letter for a Spanish/Cuban, Brother who can not speak or read English. He has no books printed in Spanish and he has been in solitary confinement (the Hole) for a long time, over a year and he has a lot of more time to do in solitary. He would like to know if you could send him a "free damage" box of your Boxed Collections of Pamphlets by the RCP, USA: "Charting The Uncharted Course: Questions of Revolutionary Strategy For the 1980s" — Collection No. 1; Strategic Outlook and Alliances, Collection No. 2; Leadership.

If you could send him this collection he would appreciate and so would I. He would appreciate if you could send him anything else printed in Spanish. Thank you.

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Just south of the UCLA campus is the fashionable Westwood shopping district. Crammed with trendy shops and chic restaurants, Westwood boasts one of the highest concentrations of movie theaters of any area in the world, most of them featuring first-run engagements of Hollywood's latest. Los Angeles is — the U.S. imperialists love to boast — the "entertainment capital of the world" and Westwood is truly one of its centerpieces. No wonder then, that this slice of high-gloss Americana is slated to become a focal point of international attention as the 1984 Summer Olympics approach. Here is the headquarters of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee. And here too will be one of the Olympic villages which will house thousands of athletes during the games and also where many of the games themselves will be staged. For an Olympics aimed at impressing the world with the splendor of the American way of life, Westwood will be a prime showcase. And this is made all the more true by the fact that another of the sites for the Games and for one of the Olympic villages is located at the University of Southern California, which is surrounded by neighborhoods of Black and Latino proletarians — not exactly the kind of area which the U.S. wants to put in the Olympic spotlight.

Of course there are things that must be done, even in the streets of Westwood, to make sure that the image of the good life in America is not tarnished. And last month a special Los Angeles Police Task Force moved into action. On the evening of Friday, January 13, 66 youth were hauled in off the streets of Westwood with another 98 busted on Saturday, all for curfew violations. At the center of the authorities' concern was the break dancing which has blossomed on Westwood's sidewalks.

The weekend crowds in Westwood, explained one Sergeant Curt Hussey who headed the LAPD's Westwood task force that weekend, "are picking up more and more, instead of dying down after the end of summer, and we figured we had to do something about it before the Olympics get here." The sergeant particularly complained that the break dancing supposedly clogged the sidewalks. Of course, anyone who has ever been in Westwood on a weekend night knows the sidewalks

## Making Tinseltown Safe for the Olympics

are always crowded. Besides UCLA students, teenagers — largely middle class and even upper class, but including a number of Black and Latino youth who are drawn to the area — jam the sidewalks.

Put in its proper context, however, it is easy to see why the LAPD has suddenly shown a concern about the Westwood scene. First, just the fact that some break dancing has been going on appears to have attracted more Black teenagers from proletarian backgrounds. Imagine, for instance, in the middle of the Olympics a Japanese TV crew ventures out into the streets of Westwood. And what does it discover? Here — surrounded by world premiere film showings and displays of the latest fashions — crowds on the street are gathering to watch, of all things, ghetto youth dancing on the sidewalk. Obviously, that will not do. Obviously, a firmer hand will be needed to let the youth on the Westwood streets know exactly what is, and what isn't, acceptable.

Since last month's sweeps the LAPD has apparently not mounted any more massive sweeps. At least not yet. They

chose instead to rely on selective harassment. The familiar sights of Westwood's weekends are now supplemented by even more cops than usual issuing reams of jaywalking and parking tickets. Within minutes after a crowd gathers to watch some break dancing the cops are certain to be on the scene blaring orders to "move on" through a loudspeaker. The repercussions soon were being felt. The *L.A. Herald Examiner* complained, in an editorial printed just after last month's sweeps, that the police were being a little heavy-handed. After all, such tactics have been known to create more problems than they solve.

How this ends up remains to be seen. The Russian revolutionary leader Lenin once commented on the authorities' "persecution of the most innocent cultural undertakings" in prerevolutionary Russia. Certainly a city like Los Angeles, with its modern, up-to-date police force, is not about to be outdone by the likes of the Czar's feudal autocracy. In L.A. we have the likes of Sgt. Hussey who is busily monitoring break dancing on the sidewalks of Westwood, carefully



determining when it will be necessary to "do something about it before the Olympics get here." One can only wonder what else the LAPD will feel compelled to "do something about" ... and what will happen when the Olympics do in fact get here. □

## Treaty Breaking Continued from page 8

Since not everyone is taken in by such specious reasoning, the *New York Times* jumped into the breach with a puff-piece on "The Young Scientists" at Lawrence Livermore. Appropriately entitled "The Young Physicists: Atoms and Patriotism Amid the Coke Bottles," the article begins by telling us: "Their dream, they say, is to end the nuclear arms race. In many ways they trace their lineage to another group of physicists in the 1940s who dreamed of ending World War II." Indeed, a truly apt analogy. The reference is, of course, to the young physicists who worked on the last national "crash program" to develop the atomic bomb — to end World War 2 with an American victory. And at that time, not a few of the young physicists were directly influenced by the erroneous and prevailing line in the Left that the war was not a war between rival imperialists but a war between "fascism" and "democracy." Their participation in the Manhattan Project was rationalized as a race "to keep Hitler from getting the bomb first." The sorry result and logical extension of such rationalizing was that these same "idealistic" scientists con-

tinued to work full steam ahead on the bomb after Germany surrendered in April 1945, right through the dropping of the bomb on a defeated Japan in August, an act whose sole purpose was to set the terms of the imperialist peace that was to follow — the hegemony of U.S. imperialism in a postwar world.

The *Times*, with glowing approval, quotes one of the nuclear muckrakers from Lawrence Livermore as saying, "Nuclear weapons can devastate the world. I recognize that. But we are making anti-weapons. My primary interest is not trying to find better ways to kill people, but better ways to kill arms." You know, like the "pacifist" who designed the land mine, the torpedo, the anti-aircraft gun, the Exocet missile, and so many, many other tools of peace.

In addition to the current testing of components for the new Star Wars ABM system, the underground nuclear tests at the Nevada Test Site are also working on the development of the new 500 kiloton warhead for the submarine-based Trident II missile. Here the problem is to get around the 1974 TTBT limiting test shots to 150 kilotons. This is done by testing the warhead in separate components, thus requiring an increased number of test explosions.

In 1963 the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed the Limited Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Hailed as a model arms limitations agreement still honored to this day, the treaty reflected the fact that the U.S. and the Soviets had completed their atmospheric tests and could continue weapons development by underground testing while hopefully barring other powers from carrying out the atmospheric tests they had already completed.

In 1980, '81, and '82 the U.S. exploded 14, 16, and 18 nuclear weapons respectively. In the same years the Soviet Union exploded 21, 21, and 31 nuclear weapons.

For 1983 the U.S. "announced" only 14 explosions, but the total was far higher. In the 18 years from Kennedy's much-vaunted Limited Test Ban Treaty through 1981, the U.S. has exploded 366 nuclear weapons and the Soviet Union 290. In both cases this is more tests than each conducted during the 18 years from

1945 to the effective date of the Limited Test Ban Treaty! That is, more nuclear weapons have been tested in the years following the Test Ban Treaty than in the years preceding it — another splendid example of the efficacy of arms agreements between imperialists. □

### CORRECTION

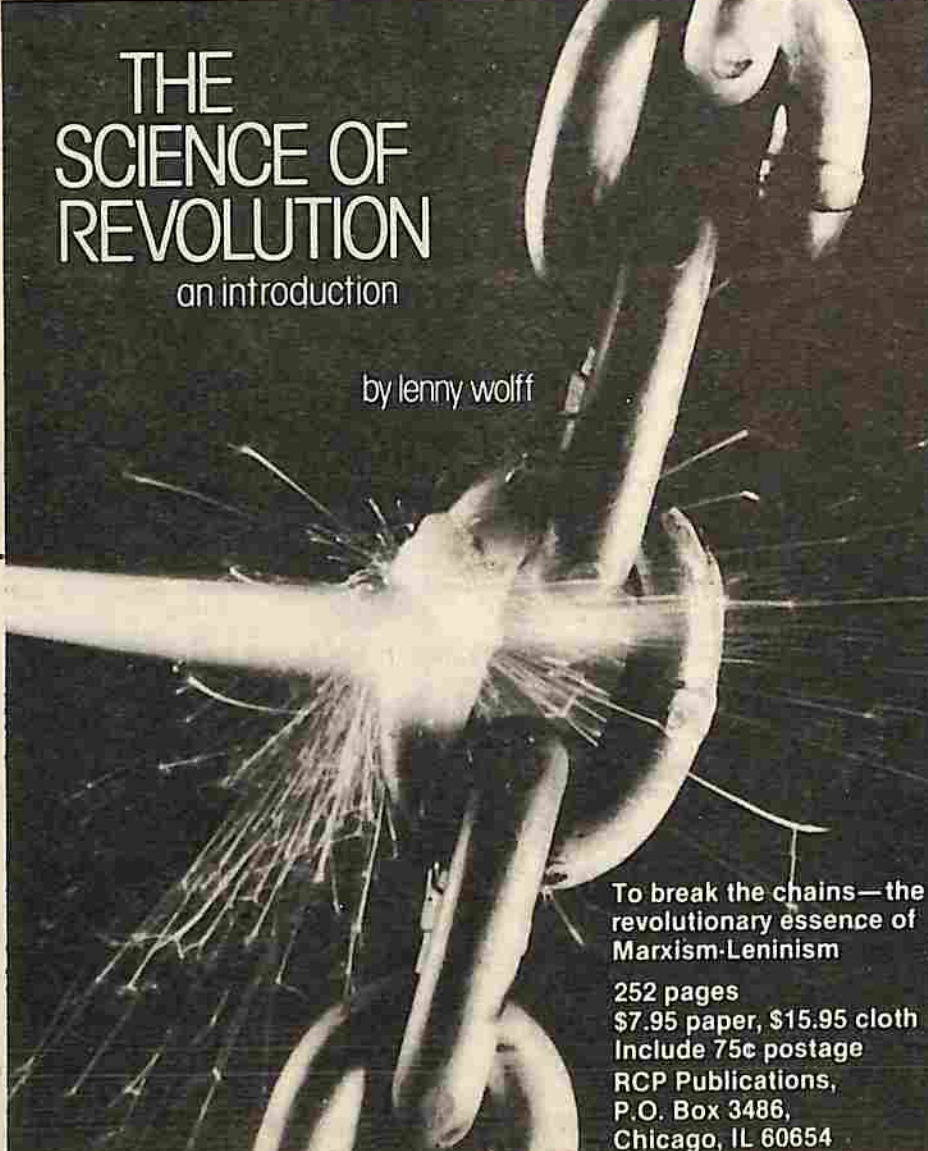
In last week's *RW* (No. 242), the article "New York's South Bronx: The Fire Storm And The Tin-Panel Tulips" contains three typographical errors. On page 8, in the first column, third paragraph, the second sentence should read: The federal government invested \$300,000 — for tin panels. In column two, the first sentence in the second full paragraph should begin: 149th and Third Avenue.

And on page 9, column one, it should read: To give some sense of the magnitude of what is concentrated in New York, note that six of the ten largest banks in the U.S. are located in the city.

# THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION

an introduction

by lenny wolff



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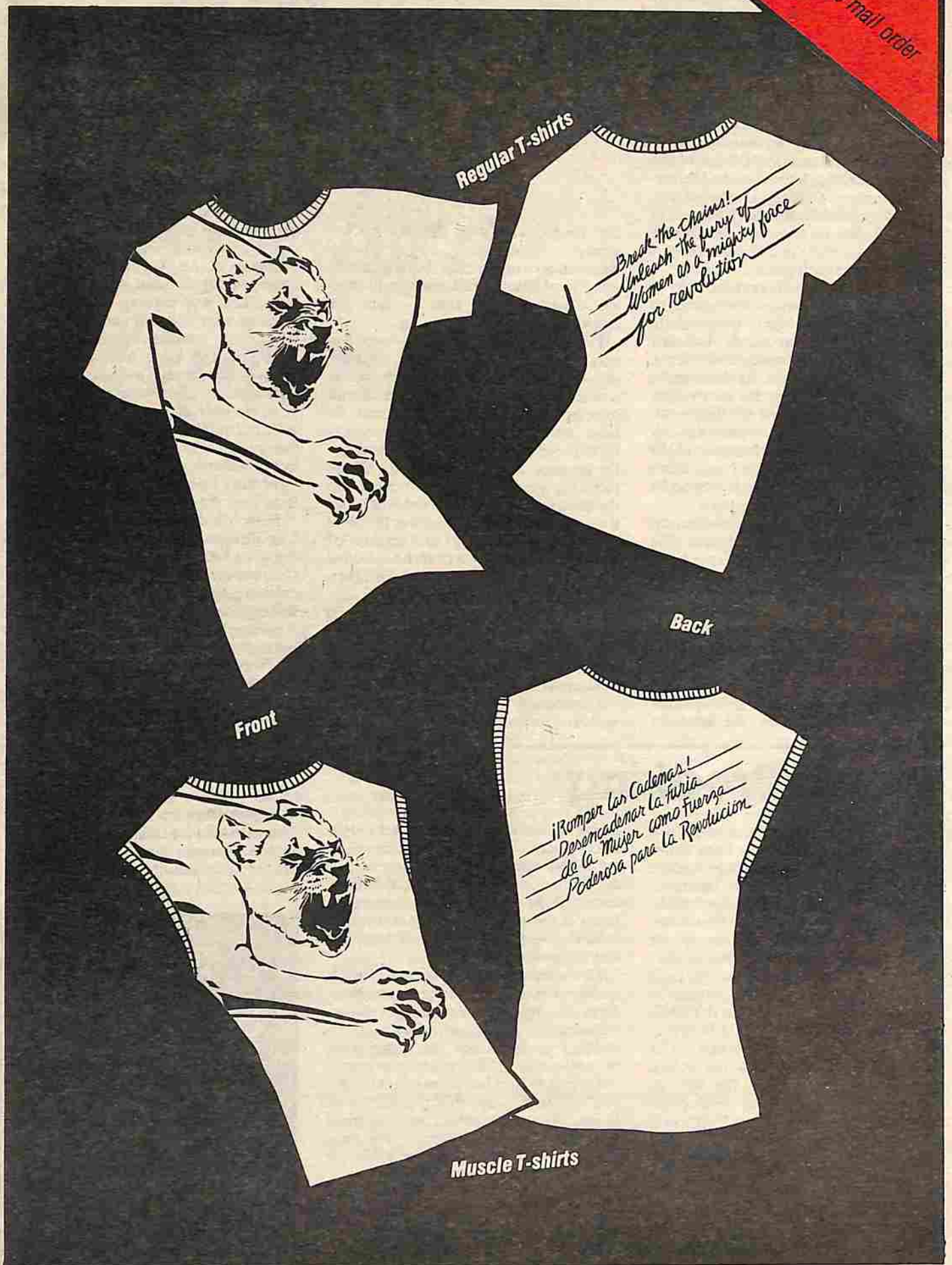
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Ohio: Cincinnati, 110 W. McMillan St.,  
Cincinnati, OH 45219  
Cleveland, 2800 Mayfield Rd.,  
Cleveland Heights, OH 44118

Also available by mail from  
RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486  
Chicago, IL 60654



**Special Offer**  
to Readers of the RW  
Bring this ad to any Revolution Books store or outlet (or use mail order form below) and get this T-shirt for \$10.00

**Mail Order Form**

Indicate first, second and third choices in the boxes below. For multiple orders, duplicate the form and indicate choices for each T-shirt ordered. Because of limited supplies, we may run out of certain colors or styles. While every effort will be made to send you one of your three preferences, we may have to send you a substitute color or style.

<u>Spanish Slogan</u>	<u>English Slogan</u>	
<u>Regular T-shirt</u>	<u>Regular T-shirt</u>	<u>Muscle T-shirt</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> Gray Large	<input type="checkbox"/> White Large	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray Large
<input type="checkbox"/> Gray Medium	<input type="checkbox"/> White Medium	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray Medium
<u>Muscle T-shirt</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray Large	<input type="checkbox"/> Yellow Large
<input type="checkbox"/> Yellow Large	<input type="checkbox"/> Gray Medium	<input type="checkbox"/> Yellow Medium
<input type="checkbox"/> Yellow Medium		

**Please send shirt /s to:**  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ shirt /s plus 75¢ postage.