



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Haig's Mid-East Mission: "Making The Desert Bloom"— With Military Bases



Flying off on his first foreign trip as Secretary of State, Alexander Haig made a whirlwind tour of key Middle East capitals and returned to Washington by way of brief talks with the major European allies of the U.S. last week. Quietly accompanying Haig on the tour was Ret. Lt. Gen. Vernon Walters, a former deputy director of the CIA who recently returned from a mission to Latin America to line up support for U.S. moves in El Salvador. In typical imperialist fashion, Haig spent his time warning of the "Soviet threat" to the area and the world while feverishly working to extend and consolidate the U.S.'s already massive military presence in the Middle East.

As the *New York Times* stated the

day Haig left, "A stated goal of Mr. Haig's mission is to encourage Israeli and Arab leaders to put aside their local concerns, and concentrate on the overall threat to the region that he believes is posed by Moscow. Mr. Haig has talked of trying, in time, to produce a 'strategic consensus' among the nations from Egypt to Pakistan." In other words the message of the U.S. to its lackeys and junior partners in the Middle East is simply this: "Advances must be made in dealing with local conflicts between the various U.S. allied states in the Middle East and the myriad internal

political problems within them now!—we have greater concerns here, gentlemen."

Appropriately, Haig's first comments to the press upon his arrival in Egypt, his first stop, referred to the

threatened Soviet invasion of Poland. "Unfortunately, my stop in Cairo this morning is clouded once again by growing tensions for peace and stability in Europe." (Secretary of Defense

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# May 1st, 1981

## Take History Even More Firmly and Boldly Into Our Hands!

## Down With the Old Order and Fight to Bring Alive the New!

## Bob Avakian and Mao Defendants Case

# Government Files “Purely Criminal” Reply Brief

During the last week of March a new development surfaced in the continuing efforts of the U.S. government to railroad Bob Avakian and the Mao Tse-tung Defendants. At approximately the same time that Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status met an initial rejection from the French authorities, the prosecution in Washington, D.C. filed a response in opposition to the demand by the Mao Defendants that the Supreme Court hear the case. The major characteristic of the document submitted in D.C. is its clearly concentrated effort to appear “non-political” and to once again don the moldy cover

of a “routine criminal trial.” This is a dramatic reversal of the position they took in their brief to the lower appeals court when they introduced openly political “conspiracy” type arguments. Their main argument now is that “we believe the Court lacks jurisdiction to consider this case at the present time,” and that they should only take it up later, after the railroad is rammed through and the defendants convicted. (Oh yes, these fair gentlemen and women do remember to put an “if” before the word convicted.)

What a remarkable coincidence that this new tack, this miraculous resurrec-

tion of the case's shoddy “criminal” cover occurs as Bob Avakian seeks political refugee status in France. The grounds of his initial rejection there (it is now on appeal) were that he had not shown that the nature of his “difficulties” with the U.S. government were of a political nature. Only the very naive (or open apologists) could possibly believe that the U.S. rulers have had a change of heart or have summed up that they should abandon their political motives. In a very real sense, the government's current “non-political” thrust is a political counter-attack and is intimately bound up with

the necessity to get their clutches on Bob Avakian. Their necessity to appear as “non-political” as possible has been increased as well by the fact that this case is now being argued in the arena of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is the highest and most openly political court whose decisions on similar cases have historically switched with the changing needs of the ruling class. But this very fact itself means that, in order to minimize the political exposure suffered, it is necessary to present the most sanitized and “purely criminal” arguments possible. This is

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## Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship *within* the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various “private” reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

*This is a chance to testify about the so-called “democracy” in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people*

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if *at all* possible, notarized\* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tse-tung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 “T” Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassment, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee before May First. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

\* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

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# 100 Issues of the Revolutionary Worker!

"Mao Tsetung said, 'First and foremost create public opinion and seize power,' and it is in this spirit that we launch the new national weekly *Revolutionary Worker*." So we wrote 100 issues ago, daring to dream of a world transformed, "It is a matter of turning this newspaper into the lifeblood of a developing revolutionary movement. It must become a newspaper that the class-conscious workers and broad masses look to for political nourishment and direction, a newspaper that the workers take up as their own in the way that the following letter written by a Russian worker on behalf of his comrades to Lenin's *Iskra* puts it: 'We would like to write a letter to your *Iskra* and ask you to teach us, not only how to begin, but how to live and how to die.'" Nothing less would fulfill the needs of this developing movement; nothing other than such a paper would—or will—provide the framework around which the forces for a successful revolutionary assault can be gathered and prepared.

We also wrote at the time, "We dare not only to dream of revolution but to work unceasingly for the fulfillment of this dream." Over the course of these 100 issues such work has begun in earnest and has already showed no small results. The Party and growing numbers of other class-conscious people, armed with this newspaper, have worked to change the world. Feats which without exaggeration can be called historic have begun to take place. The face of the revolutionary movement has been changed significantly and in some important ways the political situation in the country has been affected.

Today after only 100 issues, it is truly difficult to imagine the revolutionary movement without the *Revolutionary Worker*. Internationalism—where else would we get the full picture of the common front and mutual support of the communist and revolutionary movements worldwide? And how else could the political and ideological line of the Party—the decisive link by which it leads—be broadly and rapidly disseminated? In fact how else would the class-conscious forces be linked with each other nationwide and with the broad masses? (It should be remembered that there were those who

said—and still say—that for the Party to center its work on a newspaper would put it "outside" of the movements of the people. But in fact, without such a paper we would truly be outside; it is only armed with it that the Party has been really able to "stretch a line" into the broadly erupting outbreaks of protest, the various movements and advanced forces in every sphere of society—to learn from them and to influence them.) Speaking of a newspaper, Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?*, "The whole art of politics lies in finding and taking as firm a grip as we can of the link that is least likely to be struck from our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that most of all guarantees its possessor the possession of the whole chain." Today we can see the beginning results.

Even the very founding of the *Revolutionary Worker* was the result of a victory over economism and revisionism, a victory of Party spirit over narrowness and local circle spirit. And with each succeeding issue, further demolition has been done, especially with the battle to raise the distribution to the 100,000 level. A major leap has been taken in destroying in theory and in practice the legacy of economism and reformism which has historically infected, weighed down and destroyed the revolutionary movement in this country. Because of this the old Communist Party, USA was never able to make serious preparation for revolution; other organizations and heroic fighters who came into the fray also in the main fell victim to this political disorder. Now such preparation has begun.

Over so short a time, so much has changed. There is a kind of acceleration of history underway which has great significance for the coming period in this country. The revolutionary forces have changed. Their political understanding, influence and professionalization have all advanced. The objective situation has, too, with all the basic contradictions in the world sharpening. There will be more, and faster, changes in the period ahead. This "telescoping" requires still more all-around preparation.

The *Revolutionary Worker* is providing class-conscious proletarians with a framework for building the revolu-

tionary movement. This framework must be further built. At the same time, on this framework, a full and sturdy structure must be constructed. To fully meet the all-around needs of the revolutionary movement, the Party's all-around work must be expanded. This includes propaganda and theoretical work, which are necessary to meet the special interests and requirements of the advanced workers to fully understand the line of the Party and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as a whole. This requires the more regular and frequent appearance of *Revolution* magazine, the propaganda organ of our Party's Central Committee, *The Communist*, our theoretical journal, and still more literature; it also means more and better trained propagandists who specialize in teaching others. In fact, in every aspect, the Party's division of labor—the specialization in the ranks of revolutionaries—must be developed. Agitators are needed to sharply expose the system and arouse the masses—spreading the line of the Party wherever there is an outbreak of protest or rebellion. Literature distributors, fund raisers, cultural workers...the demands of our movement go on and on. All this is impossible without the basic and continuing guidance of the *Revolutionary Worker*, which serves as the hub of all this activity and more, but it requires further initiative and expanded work as well. Since our aim is that the proletariat feel a most powerful foe and master every sphere of social and scientific life, how could we expect that such a task would require anything less?

One hundred issues of the *Revolutionary Worker*. One's attitude toward this depends on one's class point of view. For class-conscious proletarians and oppressed, for all awakening to political life, from the first issue more and more has been eagerly awaited and expected. For the opportunists who try to hold back history, and for those who represent and uphold the backward, the reactionary and the past in general, the first issue was one too many. Slander and obstacles have been thrown up and more can be expected. Hundreds of arrests have resulted from publicly selling the paper in this democratic society. Recently, there has been an arrest in Miami for "criminal anarchy" based on the content of the paper. But class-conscious proletarians are not blind and are most resourceful. As Lenin put it, "There are not, and cannot be, difficulties or obstacles which the political

consciousness, activity and interest of the mass of the workers would be unable to overcome in some way or another." ("Results of Six Months' Work", 1912)

With this orientation we aim to accomplish still more. On May First itself we are calling for 50,000 copies of the *RW* to be distributed and, in the rest of that week, to go well over the top of the 100,000 mark. And persisting beyond that there is the question not only of boosting distribution, but, along with it, of learning and influencing still more the broad ranging social movements and varied class forces that are stirring today. On finances, we call on all class-conscious workers to step up support of the newspaper, to themselves contribute regularly above and beyond the cost of the paper and to raise money among others. We also call on all to correspond with the *Revolutionary Worker*—either for publication or for the information of the paper. Non-professional writers can and must raise their experiences, questions and opinions about the movement in the pages of the paper. While this is the Party's voice, it can at the same time be a broader voice of a revolutionary movement. This process began in earnest last May First, continued with the debate around the Draft *Programme and Constitution*, and the 100 Flowers debate around the role of the newspaper. It continues now around questions of science, centered on Carl Sagan's *Cosmos*, and culture, calling for an evaluation of the work of Bertolt Brecht. There must be debate and polemics in the movement, and the paper can play even more the role of providing a forum for it.

So still today we dare to dream. And as the Russian author Pisarev (quoted by Lenin) said, "The rift between dreams and reality causes no harm if only the person dreaming believes seriously in his dream, if he attentively observes life, compares his observations with his castles in the air, and if, generally speaking, he works conscientiously for the achievement of his fantasies." Today we are building the bridge. As Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Central Committee wrote, "it is only with the forging of the line on central task, as represented by 'create public opinion...seize power,' and the wielding of the newspaper as the main weapon, that we could really begin to forge the links between our work in this period and the actual mass armed struggle for power in the future..." □

## TO THE MARXIST-LENINISTS, THE WORKERS, AND THE OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES

Joint Communiqué of:  
 United Communist Party  
 Workers Revolutionary Party of Canada  
 Union of Marxist-Leninist Communist Groups  
 Red Workers League (Denmark)  
 Marxist Workers Collective (Ghana)  
 New Zealand Red Flag Group  
 Revolutionary Communist Group (USA)  
 Organization Communiste Proletaire (Marxist-Leninist) (Italy)  
 Partido Comunista Proletario de Chile  
 Parti Proletarien Proletarien (France)  
 Revolutionary Committee Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)  
 Revolutionary Communist Party, USA  
 Union Communiste Revolutionnaire (Belgium)  
 Workers Group and Defense of Marxist-Leninism

Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations. Autumn, 1980. Published in Chinese, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Sinhalese, Spanish and Tamil  
 \$1.00 plus c.50 postage

A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communiqué, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

Available in English, French and Spanish  
 \$2.00 plus \$.50 postage

Basic Principles For The Unity Of Marxist-Leninists And For The Line Of The International Communist Movement

# WE'RE PLANNING TO TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR HANDS



## correspondence on May 1st

At first, I didn't know what the red flag was all about, but when I began to read the *Revolutionary Worker* I saw that the red flag meant no separation by nationality or color. When I started reading those papers, I saw you got to read those papers to know what's going on in the whole world. When we get down on this battle, we got to stick to it and give no slack to the enemy. The people fighting around the world like in El Salvador need to hold tight in this battle, unite together and not give any slack. And speaking from Atlanta where they're murdering our children, I know we have the cooperation of our people all around the world in fighting against this brutality, and we appreciate their concern and we are fighting with them too. May 1st is our day, we hope that people understand what May 1st means when we carry the red flag.

A proletarian woman from  
Techwood Homes, Atlanta

### A Proposal to Wage a "Banner War" on May 1st, 1981!

In thinking of ideas for May Day this year, here's one that I think should be included.

In accordance with the central task

of "create public opinion...seize power" and with the nature of the conspiracy and the necessity to unleash the masses to take history into their own hands, while at the same time taking into account the limited amount of time we have, the idea of waging a Banner War on May 1st strikes me as right on time. This could indeed create a situation where "everywhere the modern overlords look they'll see the unmistakable sights and hear the unmistakable sounds" of a class-conscious force preparing for revolution!

Imagine turning every rat-infested apartment building and garment shop, every sky-scraping financial center and church steeple into giant billboards to hold high our revolutionary slogans and manifestos where they cannot be ignored!

Drive down any major freeway or turnpike in any major city in this country and check out how many buildings are highly visible, with easy access to fire-escape stairways and rooftops. Imagine if on the morning of May 1st, hundreds of thousands, *millions* of people, wage-slaves and overlords alike, were to see these rotting, dreary concrete jungles transformed into message-carriers pointing to the revolutionary future.

Obviously, what goes up will quickly be taken down, but there are so many buildings! It would be mobile guerrilla warfare all day, and the whole city is the battleground. While one comes down here, another one is going up there. (Naturally the materials used should not be expensive—maybe butcher paper with something used to weigh them so they won't blow in the wind—people can use their creativity to figure out what to use and how to do it.)

People's creativity and imagination can also be unleashed to figure out target areas, how to get to them, how to avoid security guards, etc. Between now and May 1st is a time to lay plans and do the necessary work as well as popularize the idea among the masses. This is the kind of activity all co-conspirators can participate in and still maintain the nature of the conspiracy.

This idea is along the lines of the call for Red Flag Day last year as well as some of the "Truth in Advertising" that has become a revolutionary "new thing" throughout the country. Let's raise this to a higher level and wage a REVOLUTIONARY BANNER WAR on May 1st!

A Co-conspirator  
March 27, 1981

Unity, R.W.,

On behalf of the majority of the prisoners housed at Maximum Security, XX prison, and aware prisoners at various camps on the prison grounds: We will be in solidarity with all who take some type of action on May Day. Here at Max. Security we will tie a Red ribbon on our cell doors and fast a half a day. Also, the hunger strike here brought minor relief, to a few of our problems; but the struggle here has not lightened any on our part or the rednecks'.

People's Power May Day 1981!!!!!!

*This letter comes from a class-conscious worker in the San Francisco Bay Area:*

I remember the first time I saw the red flag in this town. My car had gotten a flat tire and in order to get home I had to walk through the downtown area. I had my son with me, so we sort of strolled down the street, tripping on different things. I remember looking up and about half a block away was this huge red flag. The first thing that came to my mind was: these motherfuckers are crazy to fly a red flag in the middle of town; I thought again and decided I'd better stop and talk to these people (because you see I knew what the red flag stood for—communism—and for me that meant *revolution*) so if they were crazy enough, I should say daring enough to raise the red flag then I should take a serious look at what they had to say. So I talked to a few of the revolutionaries there and got me a copy of the Party *Programme* and the latest issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. I told them I didn't have any money but that Thursday when I got paid I'd be back to pay them.

That night I took the Party's *Programme* and the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, so I couldn't make up my mind which to read first. Then I remembered how the people I talked to kept saying to read the paper. They talked about the different things that the paper had to say, so at once I sat down and read the speech by Bob Avakian. I can't say I understood everything he was saying, but he was talking to what I wanted to know—how to make revolution here in the belly of the beast. I got off work about 3:00 a.m. and stayed up until about 5:00 a.m. so I could finish reading what I started and check out a few of the articles.

The next night at work I tried to get people to read the paper, telling them that what the paper was saying was true—we need revolution. I only worked with three other guys and they all agreed, but they said they couldn't read, so at lunchtime I would read out

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## Down With the Old Order and Fight to Bring Alive the New!

People have asked what we mean when we say that May 1st 1981 will be a day in which we "Boldly Take the Stand of Down with the Old Order and Fight to Bring Alive the New." Here are a few brief examples of what gave us the idea, mostly from the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*. There are clearly many other examples of such activity, including international examples and historical ones from all countries. Write us with more examples from the past, and more plans for the near future.

\*\*\* December 1980—plant cafeteria debate over Iran at National Semiconductor, San Jose, California. It was the height of the "Iran crisis." The hostage/spies had just been seized. A small group of workers went on the offensive against the patriotic garbage. They proudly wore "Death to the Shah" buttons as they prepared a teach-in in the plant cafeteria. The place was storming with controversy. Cavewomen dressed in red, white and blue. More buttons, stickers... The company was going nuts. They even paid backward workers to sit all day in the bathrooms

trying to prevent people from going in there to discuss and organize. The day of the debate came. Lunchtime. John Wayne flag waver types grabbed the table in the middle of the room, like they were taking a bunker. Even the FBI came. Forty people sat down on three tables, right in front of the speakers. "If you sat down, you were committed, like crossing a line," said one person. At least 250 stood around, some with arms folded, others pretending to be just standing there, still others were kneeling between chairs. Rumors of a possible riot. More gathered. Who dared to take a stand? What's really going on in Iran? "I felt like I was walking onto a stage," a worker vividly recalled. He had convinced three of his buddies to sit down. Reactionaries freaked when they saw 40 sitting there, new faces "not political before" included, and hundreds listening. Soon debate broke. Clusters at tables began to have their own debates. The reactionaries, burning inside, could do nothing, not even utter a peep. (See *RW* No. 32)

\*\*\* Atlanta, 1981. A group of Black women workers at a huge electronics

factory wrote and xeroxed their own leaflet calling on their fellow workers to raise money for the murdered youth. Infuriated at even this protest, the company ripped them down from bulletin boards and reprimanded the women. Mayor Jackson, when contacted, told the women, "do what the company says." Next, these women jammed their union official about calling the union out to a march around the killings. The officials refused. The infuriated workers spread the word anyhow. The hacks switched around and finally did call for a contingent and spent their efforts at the march in attempts to keep the workers from chanting and disrupting speeches. (*RW* No. 94 & 97)

\*\*\* Literally dozens and dozens of street corner rallies and gatherings in the 1960s—especially of Black people and other oppressed nationalities—which were so tight, so powerful, so together that the pigs, although they were itching to break them up, were afraid to come anywhere near.

\*\*\* and more...

# 3 WEEKS TIL MAYDAY



Revolutionary Worker

## Excerpt from Maxim Gorky's *The Mother* *An Historic Breakout*

*The following passages from the novel The Mother by Maxim Gorky provide a vivid description of how the workers in Nizhni-Novgorod, Russia in 1902 broke out in a big way on May Day. While the events described took place under conditions that are different from those that exist in this country today, these passages contain many lessons and, more than that, certainly fire the imagination as May 1, 1981 approaches.*

The whistle blew as peremptorily as ever. The mother, who had not closed her eyes all night, jumped out of bed and lighted the samovar, which she had made ready in the evening. She was about to knock at the door of the boys' room as usual, but she thought better of it, and sat down at the window, holding one hand to her face as if she had a toothache...

A ray of early sun glanced merrily in at the window. She held out her hand, and when the bright warmth came to rest on it, she stroked it with her other hand smiling meditatively. At last she got up and quietly took the pipe out of the samovar...

The second whistle was not so loud and imperious; there was a slight tremor in its thick moist tone, and the mother imagined it blew longer than usual...

The weather improved as the day advanced, and the clouds were driven away by the wind. The mother shook her head as she set the breakfast table, thinking to herself how strange it all was: here they were laughing and cracking jokes this morning, while nobody knew what awaited them later in the day. And somehow she herself felt calm and almost joyful.

When she found herself outside and heard the excited, expectant hum of voices in the air, and when she saw the groups of people standing at the gates and in the windows of the houses curiously watching her son and Andrei, everything swam before her eyes in a hazy mixture of green and grey.

The people exchanged greetings with them, and today there was special significance in their words. She caught snatches of remarks passed in quiet voices:

"There they go, the leaders."

"We don't know who the leaders are."

"I didn't mean any harm."

From a courtyard someone shouted crossly:

"The police'll catch 'em and that'll be the end of 'em."

"They caught them once!"

A woman's wail leaped out of a window down into the street: "Mind what you're doing! Remember, you've got a family to take care of!"

They passed the house of the legless Zosimov, who received a monthly pension from the factory for having been crippled at work.

"Pavel!" he cried, sticking his head out of the window. "They'll break your neck for you, you scoundrel! You'll get what's coming to you!"

The mother shuddered and stood still. A stab of anger shot through her. She glanced up into the bloated face of the cripple, and he drew in his head with an oath. She quickened her steps until she caught up with her son and followed at his heels, trying not to lag behind.

It seemed as though Pavel and Andrei took no notice of anything and were unconscious of the remarks made as they passed. They walked on calmly and unhurriedly. Once they were stopped by Mironov, a modest, middle-aged man whom everyone respected for his sober, upright way of living.

"So you too decided not to go to work today, Danilo Ivanovich?" said Pavel.

"My wife's about to have a baby. And besides, a day like this makes you feel restless." He gazed steadily at his comrades as he asked in lowered tones, "They say you fellows are planning to make trouble for the director today—smash some windows, eh?"

"We're not drunk!" exclaimed Pavel...

The sun kept climbing higher, pouring its warmth into the crisp freshness of the spring day. The movement of the clouds slowed down and their shadows grew lighter and more transparent. They slid gently over the street and the housetops, shading the people and cleansing the settlement, wiping the dust and dirt off

the houses, the boredom off the faces of the people. Everything looked more cheerful. The sound of voices increased until it drowned out the distant hum of machines.

Once more words came flying and crawling to the mother's ears from windows and courtyards—words that were vicious and alarming, thoughtful and cheering. But now she was eager to contradict, explain, express her gratitude—to take an active part in the strangely variegated life of that day.

A crowd of some hundred people had gathered in a narrow by-street, and from the midst of them came the voice of Vesovshchikov.

"They squeeze the blood out of us like the juice out of a cranberry." His clumsy words fell heavily on the heads of the people.

"Don't they just!" boomed several voices at once.

"The boy's making an effort," said the *khokhol*. "Think I'll go and help him."

And before Pavel had a chance to stop him he had twisted his long, supple body into the crowd like a screw into a cork.

"Comrades!" he cried in his rich voice. "They say that different peoples inhabit the earth—Jews and Germans, Englishmen and Tatars. But I don't believe it. There are only two peoples—the rich and the poor. People dress differently and talk differently, but when you see how the rich Frenchmen, Germans and Englishmen treat the working people, you realize that for us workers all of them are rascals, damn their hides!"

Somebody in the crowd laughed.

"And on the other hand, if you take a close look you'll see that the French and the Tatar and the Turkish workers all live the same dog's life that we Russian workers live!"

More and more people kept turning into the by-street, craning their necks and stretching up on their toes without saying a word.

Andrei's voice grew louder. "The workers abroad have already grasped that simple truth, and today on May Day..."

"The police!" cried somebody.

Four mounted policemen rode straight into the by-street, lashing out with their whips and shouting:

"Break it up!"

The people frowned and retreated unwillingly. A few of them climbed up on the fences.

"They think they're brave soldiers, but they're just pigs!" shouted someone brazenly...

"Comrades!" came the strong, rich voice of Pavel. The mother's eyes were stung by hot tears, and she felt an upsurge of strength. With a single quick movement she took up her stand beside her son, about whom people were clustered like bits of steel about a magnet.

The mother looked into his face, seeing only his proud, brave, burning eyes.

"Comrades! We decided that today we would make an open declaration of who we are and raise our banner..."

A long white staff flashed in the air, then dipped into the crowd, bisecting it, hidden by it, until a moment later the banner of the working class rose above the lifted faces like a huge red bird.

Pavel lifted his arm and the banner wavered; a dozen hands grasped the smooth white wood of the flagstaff, and among them was the hand of the mother.

"Long live the working class!" cried Pavel.

Hundreds of voices roared back in response...

The crowd seethed. Those who knew the significance of the banner pressed towards it; Mazin, Samoilov, and the Gusevs reached Pavel; Nikolai, with lowered head, pushed his way through the throng, and the mother felt herself being thrust aside by other bright-eyed young people whom she did not know.

"Long live the workers of the world!" cried Pavel.

He was answered by a soul-stirring cry coming from a thousand throats in a surge of joy and strength...

The crowd grew. Pavel lifted the banner and it unfolded in the air as he carried it forward, lighted by sun, smiling its broad, bright smile.

Continued on page 20

# Miners Upset Contract Plan

The situation in the coalfields looks like it's shaping up for a long strike. On Tuesday, March 31st, miners voted down the proposed contract between the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the BCOA (Bituminous Coal Operators Association) 2-to-1, with a 10-to-1 margin in southern West Virginia's District 17, the UMW's largest district and the heart of the wildcat movement of the '70s. Shock and dismay struck the union leadership, the coal operators and the bourgeoisie in general. The *New York Times* cried, "It sounded like an April Fools' joke at first. How could there be a serious coal strike after the high hopes expressed last week for the new contract just signed by union leaders and industry?"

"It's no joke. The fiercely independent United Mine Workers have again confounded their leaders and said no to a deal cooked up in Washington..." B.R. Brown, president of the Consolidation Coal Company, the chief negotiator for the operators' association which has announced that it will not resume negotiations, squawked that the rejection of the contract reflected "a disturbing lack of bargaining discipline."

The U.S. imperialists were certainly hoping to avoid such an internationally embarrassing political situation as a major strike in the coalfields which might recall to mind, and recall in fact, the '77 and '78 threats of Taft-Hartley and the possibility of mobilizing troops against U.S. workers, while they are busily denouncing the threats of Soviet intervention against workers in Poland. The thought of tortured explanations are amusing. "Well, you see miners are striking against the interests of your American democracy, so we have to send troops. But in Poland troops were sent against striking workers because they've got dictatorship." As it turned out, the strike in Poland was at least temporarily called off, and the miners turned the tables on them. But CBS' Dan Rather was right in step and his report on the "no" vote in the coalfields followed right on the heels of his report on Poland where he self-righteously rapped the Soviet's threat of sending troops. Then without batting an eye, he reported in his same self-righteous tones on the miners' rejection of the contract which he said was strongly denounced by industry and union leaders as "irresponsible." He chimed that the miners were "only hurting themselves" and reminded listeners of the '77 and '78 strikes, Taft-Hartley and so on.

This contract strike comes after three years of much-heralded "labor peace"—a big drop in wildcat strikes and disgusting declarations of "unity" by UMW international leadership. Productivity in the Eastern coalfields has gone way up since the last contract, at the expense of miners' jobs and safety. 1980 tonnage was the highest since 1973 with thousands fewer miners. In West Virginia alone, over 10,000 miners have lost their jobs and there were over 30 miners killed last year. In preparation for the contract, the union leadership in collusion with the BCOA attempted to badger and cow the miners into signing the contract. They whipped up a big noise about how the BCOA was after a seven-day work week and planned to cut pensions altogether. Miners were portrayed on television as backward people from another century who wouldn't go for the seven-day week because Sunday was the day the lord rested and no god-fearing man would work on Sunday. As one former coal miner put it, "The ones who really think like that probably would vote for the seven-day week 'cause they're company sucks. After all, the contract was made in Washington and what could be closer to god than the U.S. government?"

Sam Church called a two-day memorial period to protest Reagan's loudly advertised proposed cuts in Black Lung benefits, and the union hauled 8,000 miners to Washington, D.C. to carry on

like "poor pitiful souls" begging the "good liberals" merciful attention and attending a rally where the red, white and blue bedecked speakers' platform sagged with the weight of numerous coalfield politicians, including West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller, IV. It was far from the scenes of miners marching with red bandanas and waging a real battle that inspired many in the last big wildcats; no, the plain truth was that the Washington spectacle was anything but the way the class-conscious proletariat acts. And that's the way it was intended to be. It was grovelling practice, and an "example" for the rest of the working class.

With all this build-up, UMW President Sam Church appeared quite confident that ratification would be certain and orderly when he got on TV, March 22 to announce the "breakthrough" in contract negotiations and a new settlement between the union and the BCOA. He even went so far as to propose that—just maybe—miners would agree to keep on working since a yes vote was a foregone conclusion. The bargaining council (district and international representatives, which is the first step in ratification) dutifully approved the settlement. Church's announcement—widely spread by the media—that "miners will most likely be back on the job before the machinery is cold"—was not so much a prediction as an attempt to create public opinion for the contract. Meanwhile, in the coalfields, many miners talked about preparing for a long strike.

As the terms of the proposed contract came to light, the outraged response of the miners was fast and loud. Wherever Church showed up on his campaign to "sell the agreement" he was met by protesting miners. While Church was talking on a Wheeling, West Virginia radio station, angry miners massed outside loudly denouncing the sellout, and as he drove off he was showered with eggs. At district-wide meetings across the coalfields, held to explain the terms of the agreement, hundreds walked out in disgust.

There were very large turnouts at local meetings to vote against the contract, with more than 100,000 of the 160,000 miners voting. There has been picketing to shut down non-union coal production, especially in Eastern Kentucky and in Mingo County in southern West Virginia. On April 1st, a group of miners attempted to stop a non-union coal truck convoy—despite a state police helicopter escort and a massive show of force by Kentucky state police in riot gear. Four miners were arrested under Kentucky's riot statute. A Kentucky state cop blabbed about some of the virtues of American democracy saying, "You know, being part of the coalfields here we have some disturbances with coal miners and these riot squads were organized four years ago exactly to deal with hostile crowds like this..."

Throughout the past week miners have continued their efforts to stop the movement of non-union coal; on Wednesday, April 8, 100 miners attempted to derail a Chessie system coal train.

Many miners have expressed the feeling that they would have voted down the first offer no matter what it was. As one miner said, "We've been waiting for this chance, not so much because of any single issue, but more as a response to what's generally seen as a tighter crunch all around." One older miner put it, "They've got a thousand ways to keep us down. It used to be the company store, now it's the finance company." Others see the strike as an expression of broad discontent and a form of protest against the overall situation—"Things are just generally going to hell." There is a long tradition among the miners of striking as a way to show, "We're just not going to take it any more." During the wildcat upsurge of the late '60s and '70s, this came up around everything from disputes at the mines to bad roads to gas rationing.

It is this sentiment and a generally restive mood among the miners which underlies the potential of this strike to be a real strike—a battle marked by much independent action and initiative among the ranks of the miners—markedly different than the tightly controlled "going through the motions strikes" which characterize most industry contract disputes. At the same time, this strike is still within the limits of the trade union struggle—a fight between the miners and the coal operators.

Although the BCOA's demand to end the industry-wide pension plan and to institute the seven day week were dropped from the contract, which Church attempted to use to sell it to the miners, the proposal opened the door for cutting pensions in the future by including a "memorandum of understanding" agreeing to study this and stating that abolishing industry-wide pensions wasn't "wrong in principle." But the BCOA is attempting to ax anything that stands in the way of maximizing productivity and is using the threat of expanding non-union coal production as blackmail against the miners, as though the miners are supposed to take it in the ear so the BCOA can compete better against non-union producers who have won a big share of the market. Along these lines, the proposed contract calls for the elimination of a provision requiring BCOA companies to pay a special royalty on non-union coal processed through union-organized processing plants. This royalty goes into the fund which pays benefits to widows and pensioners. Although the actual amount of money from these royalties is relatively small, it is a very significant move in that it represents another push in the overall direction of more non-union, and more profitable coal for the coal operators. Since the last contract the percentage of non-union coal in some areas of the Appalachias has almost doubled relative to coal mined by UMW members since the last contract.

Another point in the contract is the introduction of a 45-day probation for new miners, breaking a long tradition of immediate union protection as soon

as a miner goes underground. In the words of one active miner, "We have never had anything like this. It gives the companies the power to fire anyone who shows any fight in them."

The contract rejection has stunned the ruling class. As the *Times* editorial put it, "The producers had hoped, for the first time in 15 years, to negotiate a contract without a strike, demonstrating that labor peace has finally come to the mines." They had put a lot of stock in Sam Church's ability to get this contract through without a strike. He failed, and this failure is almost a mystery to them. They can't understand what accounts for this "uppitiness" on the part of the miners. "The next test of Mr. Church's leadership, therefore," according to the *Times*, "will be how fast he can bring this strike to an end."

This "labor peace" in the mines is clearly more than just a question for the coal operators and their profits. The imperialists need to tighten control over domestic energy sources overall. After the last contract, the bargaining arm of the coal industry, the BCOA, was restructured to give much greater control to the oil consorts and steel, like Consolidation Coal Company, which is owned by CONOCO oil and U.S. Steel. And even more than this, as they gear up for war, they need tame, loyal slaves, with a lot of "bargaining discipline," and the proper sense of patriotism vis à vis the U.S. imperialists. Who better to "make an example" of than the miners? And even the fact that the miners have shown—despite the massive lay-offs, threats and Washington spectacles—that they are in no mood to settle down and passively cooperate with getting their throats cut in a contract struggle, is a worry to the imperialists.

But what about a section of miners who see not only this, but the limits of the economic struggle (which have shown themselves clearly in the coalfields), who see the need for all around political struggle against this entire system? Wouldn't that worry these imperialists far more? It remains to be seen what will come in the course of this coalfield battle. □

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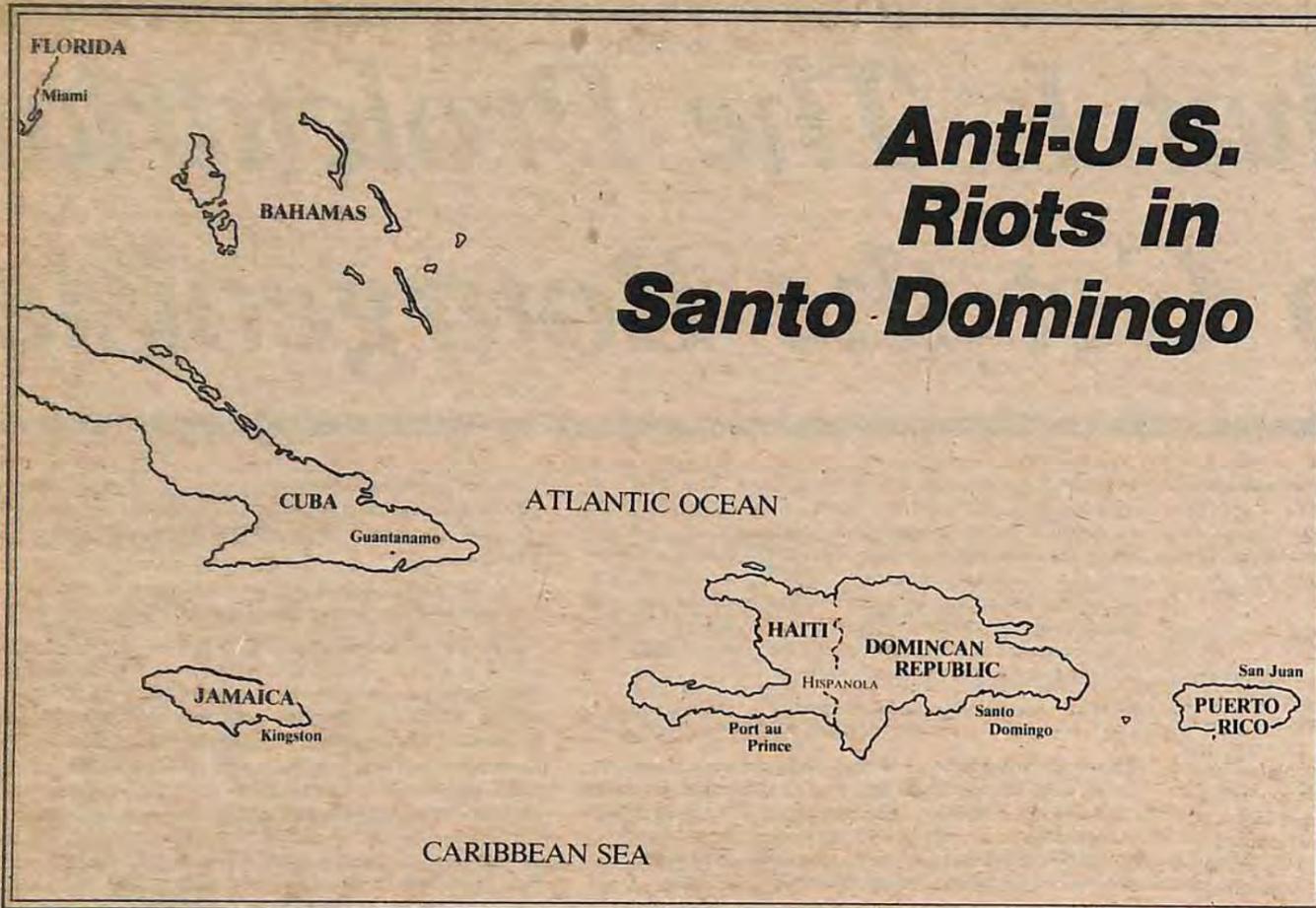
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## Anti-U.S. Riots in Santo Domingo

On April 3rd, two U.S. warships steamed into port at Santo Domingo. Their arrival came just two weeks before the sixteenth anniversary of the April uprising in 1965, when the U.S. sent in 22,000 Marines to crush the uprising. The word spread through Santo Domingo: one of the same warships that had carried the Marines in 1965 had returned, on what was described in the Dominican press as a five-day "friendly visit."

The day after their arrival, an upheaval which has been almost completely blacked out in the U.S. media once again shook the Dominican Republic. Due to the blackout, reports at press time are still sketchy and difficult to confirm. But according to some sources, including "La Noticia" and "Ultima Hora," both Dominican papers, the protests began when large numbers of students from the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo

and masses of high school students took to the streets, shouting "Yanqui Fuera de Santo Domingo." (Yankee out of Santo Domingo.) The U.S. puppet regime of Antonio Guzman was forced to call out the police and the army in an effort to crush the demonstrations. A student in the city of Mao was machine-gunned to death by government forces. The protests spread to the working-class ghetto districts. Riots and demonstrations swept through the

capital of Santo Domingo, and engulfed the cities of Santiago, Mao, Puerto Plata, and San Francisco de Macoris, as crowds armed with rocks, bottles and Molotov cocktails took to the streets to battle the government troops and police.

The government repression was unable to bring an end to the protests. In an apparent effort to prevent the crisis from intensifying, the U.S. withdrew its ships after two days. At least five people have been killed by the government over the past week, according to reports, including a journalist from "La Noticia" newspaper. Hundreds have been arrested and beaten.

The most recent accounts available state that, according to the students, the two ships were armed with nuclear missiles. At present, Santo Domingo is reportedly under a state of virtual martial law. The streets are being patrolled by army troops and tanks and portions of the city are under direct military occupation. All public schools are closed. The army has surrounded the university. A fifteen-year-old newspaper boy has been cut down by sub-machine gun fire. The police have attacked municipal workers who apparently were rallying to the support of the students; the city workers and the dock workers are reportedly on strike. It is also reported that the school teachers have called for a nationwide strike in protest against the murders carried out by the Guzman regime. □

## Salvadoran Holy Man Stumps for Junta in U.S.

On Tuesday, April 7, 23 bodies ripped by automatic weapons fire were strewn in the street and seven more lay in their homes in a working class section of San Salvador called Monte Carmelo after yet another in a long string of brutal massacres by the U.S. fascist junta in El Salvador. The *Chicago Sun-Times* ran the following accounts:

"When reporters arrived, the bodies, five of them women's, were strewn for 100 yards along a street. The street ran with blood and the victims, presumed to be leftists, were disfigured by large calibre slugs pumped into their heads and chests. Two homes were burned, apparently by fires started by bazooka rounds.

"All the dead had been shot in the head and at least six were blindfolded and had their thumbs tied behind their backs. One youth's genitals had been cut off and placed on his chest. . . ."

Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in El Salvador currently visiting the U.S., proclaiming that the U.S.-Duarte regime was a "lesser evil," will undoubtedly rush to this neighborhood upon his return and console the friends and families of the victims.

As he recently explained, "The role of the Catholic Church in El Salvador is to be close to the people and to alleviate their sufferings, denounce the violation of human rights, continuing always to be what it is, without changing its nature." What he meant with the reference to "without changing its nature" is that those in the Catholic Church who actively oppose the junta must get in line with the wishes of the Catholic Church hierarchy whose role in the world continues to be just as reactionary as ever. This holy man has had to leave his suffering flock temporarily to make a holy mission, including stops in West Germany, the Vatican, and a number of major cities in the United States—particularly those where large numbers of Catholics are opposing the U.S. involvement in El Salvador. And while the Monsignor has never tired of criticizing—or more to the point, targeting—those rank and file priests

and lay members of the church who "exercise a clear political option" by joining the opposition to the U.S. and its junta, apparently his trip is purely theological. After all, he is serving the highest authorities—U.S. imperialism.

On his current pilgrimage, Rivera y Damas is revealing the Catholic Church hierarchy's own version of the U.S.' dual tactics in El Salvador. As we have pointed out in previous *RW* articles, the U.S. is both militarily escalating its war against the masses in El Salvador, while at the same time tries to pull off a "political solution" by bringing the more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces in the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) opposition coalition (which also includes significant pro-Soviet revisionist forces in its leadership) to the "negotiating table," and hopefully back into the U.S. puppet government. For the Catholic Church hierarchy, its dual tactics involve escalating efforts to win Catholics (the dominant religion in El Salvador) away from the path of overthrowing the junta—or for those in the U.S., from supporting its overthrow—while it plays a crucial role in trying to "mediate" the Salvadoran crisis. Thus, after getting instructions from the Pope, Rivera y Damas has scheduled meetings with Catholic leaders in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Cleveland to discuss ways of cooling out the opposition within the U.S. He has also been widely quoted in the U.S. press with statements about how the fascist junta is a "lesser evil," as well as that the "left in El Salvador lacks support" and represents only "a small minority of Salvadorans." But he has also been scurrying to meetings with West German officials and U.S. Ambassador-Designate to El Salvador, Deane Hinton, to develop new efforts at "mediating" the conflict.

Rivera y Damas took over as head of the Catholic Church in El Salvador after the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero a little over a year ago. Romero had openly criticized the junta, including calling for its soldiers to refuse to carry out repressive orders, as part of his efforts to find a

"solution" to the Salvadoran conflict short of the revolutionary overthrow of the junta. But Romero's proposed solution meant including opposition organizations and pro-Soviet forces in a new government, something which the U.S. and its junta refused to accept. So, with "his holiness" the Pope's tacit approval, and no doubt by the order of the U.S., Romero was knocked off by the junta's security forces—out of uniform—and a few days later, Rivera y Damas was named as his replacement. Significantly, the Pope has refused to give Rivera y Damas the title of "Archbishop," until he has thoroughly proven his ability to carry out U.S. directives. Thus, Rivera y Damas is known as "Apostolic Administrator."

However, Rivera y Damas' current journey should earn him a big promotion soon. For one thing, while announcing that he had received a request from the "Revolutionary Directorate of El Salvador (also known as the U.S. junta headed by none other than José Napoleon Duarte—*RW*) that an atmosphere favorable to mediation in the conflict be created," he also hastened to emphasize that this would purely be a kindly gesture on the junta's part, "now that it is capable of winning (the counter-insurgency war) completely." Then, while "evenhandedly" calling on the U.S. to stop further military aid to the junta, he urged the U.S. to set up a blockade ("belt of containment") around El Salvador to stop the alleged weapons flow from Cuba and Nicaragua. He called this plan a way of ending "foreign intervention in our problems."

Rivera y Damas also put forward a concrete proposal for a "negotiated settlement," calling for the junta to recognize the FDR as a legal opposition, and "amnesty" for all political prisoners, and the ending of certain fascist "legalities," in addition to continuing its infamous "agrarian reform" (in reality a "pacification program" à la Vietnam). "On its part, the left must cease the armed struggle and collaborate in the reconstruction of the country, which is gravely lacerated by

the internal war." As is obvious to anyone who has followed the Salvadoran situation, this is not only a plan for continued Salvadoran neo-colonial rule by the U.S. and its fascist junta, but it would also enable the junta to carry out a somewhat selective bloodbath under more optimum conditions.

However, this may not be so obvious to the "moderate" leaders in the FDR—and even pro-Soviet revisionist elements in it such as the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS)—or rather, it may be obvious, but acceptable to them. While the FDR has stated that Rivera y Damas is not acting on their behalf, they have conspicuously avoided any comment on his specific proposal. Furthermore, one reporter who is known to be sympathetic to the FDR commented on a Los Angeles radio station that the FDR was "favorable" to Rivera's proposals. In the face of the massive pressure that the U.S., other imperialists and various lackeys have applied to these bourgeois forces in the FDR, they may feel that this plan would at least guarantee their own safety. As for the revisionists, they most likely feel that a "negotiated settlement" may leave them some room to maneuver in a new government and would therefore go along with it.

However, all this is still at the jockeying stage—the "sounding out" stage, as the FDR calls it. The U.S. would desperately like to pull off some kind of "political solution" and at the same time, cool out the worldwide exposure of and growing opposition to its rule in El Salvador—both of which are serious problems for them. So, while it escalates its search and destroy missions and napalm bombardment against the Salvadoran people, and while it prepares to unleash much, much more on a world scale, it is indeed comforting to the U.S. to know that there are still loyal holy men such as Arturo Rivera y Damas who will bless the imperialists' crimes before the masses, and thus help to alleviate the "pain and suffering" of those whom they have dedicated their lives to serving. □

# What Is The Proletariat to Get the Bourgeoisie

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," FLP, p. 77

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," FLP, pp. 48-9

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," FLP, p. 41

...The contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation reproduces itself as the antagonism between the organization of production in the individual factory and the anarchy of production in society as a whole.

"The capitalist mode of production moves in these two phenomenal forms of the contradiction immanent in it by its very origin, it relentlessly describes that "vicious circle" which Fourier has already discovered. But what Fourier in his day was as yet unable to see is that this circle is gradually narrowing, that the motion is rather in the form of a spiral and must come to an end, like the motion of the planets, by collision with the centre. It is the motive force of the social anarchy of production which increasingly transforms the great majority of men into proletarians, and it is the proletarian masses in their turn who will ultimately put an end to the anarchy of production....

Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Section II, "Theoretical," FLP, p. 352

Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

Mao Tsetung, 1949. "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 428.

... In order to create the modern revolutionary class of the proletariat it was absolutely necessary to cut the umbilical cord which still bound the worker of the past to the land. The handweaver who had his little house, garden and field along with his loom was a quiet, contented man, "godly and honourable" despite all misery and despite all political pressure; he doffed his cap to the rich, to the priest and to the officials of the state and inwardly was altogether a slave. It is precisely modern large-scale industry which has turned the worker, formerly chained to the land, into a completely propertyless proletarian, liberated from all traditional fetters, a free outlaw; it is precisely this economic revolution which has created the sole conditions under which the exploitation of the working class in its final form, in capitalist production, can be overturned. And now comes this tearful Proudhonist and bewails the driving of the workers from hearth and home as though it were a great retrogression instead of being the very first condition of their intellectual emancipation.

Engels, "The Housing Question," Part I, Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 311

Altogether, collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," FLP, p. 45

Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.

Marx, "Feuerbach. Opposition of Materialistic and Idealistic Outlook," Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol 1, p. 41

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," FLP, p. 47.

Only our revolution, the revolution of the masses of the people led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, aims at the final elimination of all systems of exploitation and all classes...

Mao Tsetung, 1955, Editors Notes to "Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique," *Selected Works*, Vol. V., p. 181-2

People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realise that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is only one way of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, must—constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new, and to enlighten and organise those forces for the struggle.

Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

Independent organisations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society; it is rallying its ranks ever more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is growing irresistibly.

V.I. Lenin, "Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 28



Poster done in the Soviet Union in 1920 is titled "Comrade Lenin Sweeps the Globe Clean."

# and Why Is It Coming and All Class Distinctions

Moreover, the mass of *propertyless* workers—the utterly precarious position of labour-power on a mass scale cut off from capital or from even a limited satisfaction and, therefore, no longer merely temporarily deprived of work itself as a secure source of life—presupposes the *world market* through competition. The proletariat can thus only exist *world-historically*, just as communism, its activity, can only have a “world-historical” existence. World-historical existence of individuals, i.e., existence of individuals which is directly linked up with world history.

Marx, “Feuerbach. Opposition of Materialistic and Idealistic Outlook,” Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 36

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got...

Marx and Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party,” FLP, p. 56

Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat.

V.I. Lenin, July 6, 1920, Preface to “Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism,” FLP, p. 10

The basic reason for this tremendous acceleration of world development is that new hundreds of millions of people have been drawn into it. The old bourgeois and imperialist Europe, which was accustomed to look upon itself as the centre of the universe, rotted and burst like a putrid ulcer in the first imperialist holocaust. No matter how the Spenglers and all the enlightened philistines, who are capable of admiring (or even studying) Spengler, may lament it, this decline of the old Europe is but an episode in the history of the downfall of the world bourgeoisie, oversatiated by imperialist rapine and the oppression of the majority of the world’s population.

That majority has now awakened and has begun a movement which even the “mightiest” powers cannot stem. They stand no chance....

V.I. Lenin, “On the Tenth Anniversary of *Pravda*,” *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 349-50

The new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, for it resolutely opposes imperialism, i.e., international capitalism.

Mao Tsetung, “The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party,” *Selected Works*, Vol 2, pp. 326-7

Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same economic basis: the interests of a tiny stratum of privileged workers and of the petty bourgeoisie who are defending their privileged position, their “right” to crumbs of the profits “their” national bourgeoisie obtain from robbing other nations, from the advantages of their position as the ruling nation, etc.

Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same ideological-political content: collaboration of classes instead of class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one’s “own” government in its embarrassed situation instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments for revolution.

V.I. Lenin in “Lenin on War and Peace: Three Articles,” FLP, p. 18-19

...the *opportunists* (social-chauvinists) are, together with the imperialist bourgeoisie, working *precisely* towards the creation of an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa... Objectively the *opportunists* are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain working-class strata that have been *bribed* out of imperialist super-profits and converted into *watchdogs* of capitalism and corrupters of the working-class movement...

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into “eternal” parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to “rest on the laurels” of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent technique of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses*, who are more oppressed than ever and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the working-class movement will now inevitably develop.

V.I. Lenin, “Imperialism and the Split in Socialism,” *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, FLP, p. 369, p. 377

Engels draws a distinction between the “bourgeois labor party” of the *old* trade unions—the privileged minority—and the “*lowest* strata,” the real majority, and he appeals to the latter who are *not* infected with “bourgeois respectability.” This is the essence of Marxist tactics.

V.I. Lenin, “Imperialism and the Split in Socialism,” *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, FLP, p. 381

One of the most widespread sophistries of Kautskyism is its reference to the “masses.” We do not want, they say, to break away from the masses and mass organizations! But

just think how Engels treated the problem. In the nineteenth century the “mass organizations” of the British trade unions were on the side of the bourgeois labour party. Marx and Engels did not reconcile themselves to it on this ground, but exposed it. They did not forget, firstly, that the trade union organizations directly embraced a *minority of the proletariat*. In Britain then, as in Germany now, not more than one-fifth of the proletariat belonged to organizations. No one can seriously think that under capitalism it is possible to bring the majority of the proletariat into organizations. Secondly—and this is the main point—it is not so much a question of the size of an organization’s membership as of the real, objective meaning of its policy: Does this policy represent the masses, does it serve the masses, i.e., does it serve the liberation of the masses from capitalism, or does it represent the interests of the minority, of the minority’s reconciliation with capitalism?

V.I. Lenin, “Imperialism and the Split in Socialism,” *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, FLP, p. 381

There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one’s own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this* struggle, this, and *only this*, line, in *every* country without exception.

V.I. Lenin, “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75

A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, cannot fail to see that its military reverses facilitate its overthrow. Only a bourgeois who believes that a war started by the government must necessarily end as a war between governments and wants it to end as such, can regard as “ridiculous” and “absurd” the idea that the Socialists of *all* the belligerent countries should wish for the defeat of *all* “their” governments and express this wish. On the contrary, it is precisely a statement of this kind that would conform to the cherished thoughts of every class-conscious worker, and would be in line with our activities towards converting the imperialist war into civil war.

V.I. Lenin in “Lenin on War and Peace: Three Articles,” FLP p.25

To the old world, the world of national oppression, national bickering, and national isolation, the workers counterpose a new world, a world of unity between the working people of all nations, a world in which there is no place for any privileges or for the slightest degree of oppression of man by man.

V.I. Lenin, “The Working Class and the National Question,” *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 92

...Communism\* is always found to be in advance of all others in that it furnishes the most revolutionary appraisal of every given event and by its championship of every protest against tyranny. It does not lull itself with disquisitions about the economic struggle bringing the workers up against their own lack of rights and about concrete conditions fatalistically impelling the working-class movement onto the path of revolution. It intervenes in every sphere and in every question of social and political life... Everywhere the Communists are found to be ahead of all others rousing political discontent among all classes, rousing the sluggards, pushing on the laggards and providing a wealth of material for the development of the political consciousness and political activity of the proletariat...

V.I. Lenin, “What Is To Be Done?,” Chapter III, FLP, pp. 119-20

Working-class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases, *without exception*, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected. Moreover, to respond from a Communist,\* and not from any other point of view. The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical (current), political facts and events, *every* other social class and *all* the manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata and groups of the population.

V.I. Lenin, “What Is To Be Done?,” FLP, p. 86

The socialists teach that revolution is inevitable, and that the proletariat must take advantage of *all* the contradictions in the life of society, of every weakness of its enemies or of the intermediate strata... The bourgeoisie and the liberals teach that revolutions are unnecessary and even harmful to the workers, that they must not “shove” towards revolution, but, like good little boys work modestly for reforms.

V.I. Lenin, “Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement,” *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 234

The proletariat is revolutionary only insofar as it is conscious of this idea of hegemony and acts upon it. The proletariat who has become conscious of this task is a slave who has

rebelled against slavery. The proletariat who is not conscious of the idea of hegemony for his own class, or who renounces this idea, is a slave who does not realize his slavish condition; at best he is a slave who fights to improve his condition as a slave, but *not* for the overthrow of slavery.

V.I. Lenin, “Reformism in the Russian Social Democratic Movement,” *Collected Works* Vol. 17, p. 232

... Like all true friends of the oppressed class, we can only derive satisfaction from the exploiters’ extreme measures of resistance, because we do not expect the proletariat to mature for power in an atmosphere of cajoling and persuasion, in a school of mealy sermons or didactic declamations, but in the school of life and struggle. To become the ruling class and defeat the bourgeoisie for good the proletariat must be *schooled*, because the skill this implies does not come ready-made. The proletariat must do its learning in the struggle, and stubborn, desperate struggle in earnest is the only real teacher. The greater the extremes of the exploiters’ resistance, the more vigorously, firmly, ruthlessly and successfully will they be suppressed by the exploited. The more varied the exploiters’ attempts to uphold the old, the sooner will the proletariat learn to ferret out its enemies from their last nook and corner, to pull up the roots of their domination, and cut the very ground which could (and had to) breed wage-slavery, mass poverty and the profiteering and effrontery of the money-bags.

V.I. Lenin, “Fear of the Collapse of the Old and the Fight for the New,” *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 402-3

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution.

Mao Tsetung, “Problems of War and Strategy,” *Selected Military Writings*, FLP, p. 269

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget, unless we become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out of this society, and there can be none, except by means of the class struggle. In every class society, whether it is based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage labour, the oppressing class is armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia—even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for example—represent the bourgeoisie armed *against* the proletariat. This is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. It is sufficient to recall the use of troops against strikers in all capitalist countries.

The fact that the bourgeoisie is armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, most fundamental, and most important facts in modern capitalist society. And in the face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats\* are urged to “demand” “disarmament”! This is tantamount to the complete abandonment of the point of view of the class struggle, the renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: the arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics a revolutionary class can adopt, tactics which follow logically from the whole *objective development* of capitalist militarism, and dictated by that development. Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before*.

V.I. Lenin in “Lenin on War and Peace: Three Articles,” FLP, pp. 62-3

What is desire for power? The proletariat has the proletarian desire for power and will never share a bit of its acquired power with the bourgeoisie. What is the bourgeoisie’s desire for power? It is that they will never give a bit to the proletariat. We have learned it from them, but we learned it better.

Mao Tsetung, June 28, 1976, cited in “Talks Concerning ‘Criticizing Deng Xiaoping and Repulsing Right Deviationist Wind’”, by Chiang Chun-chiao. *And Mao Makes Five*, Banner Press

For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one.

Marx and Engels, “Address of the C.C. to the Communist League,” Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 179

As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one’s adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people’s state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist.

Engels to August Bebel, in Appendix to Karl Marx, “Critique of the Gotha Programme,” FLP, pp. 42-3

Excerpts from  
Chile: An Attempt at "Historic Compromise"  
by Jorge Palacios

## A Case Study in the Counter Revolutionary Role of Revisionism

The passages below on the counter-revolutionary role of the pro-Soviet "Communist" Party of Chile during the Allende years and also the role of the petty-bourgeois "left" opposition are reprinted from the book Chile: An Attempt At "Historic Compromise," by Jorge Palacios, a founder and leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile. These excerpts as well as the entire book provide invaluable exposure of the designs and methods of the Soviet Union and their loyal revisionist front men not only in Chile but throughout Latin America. A thorough and correct understanding of the role of Soviet imperialism is absolutely essential in order to understand the political developments in "the U.S. Hemisphere" today, with world war between the U.S. and Soviet superpowers rapidly approaching. While the material focuses on the events in Chile and the particular role of the "C" P there, especially its pushing of the strategy of the "peaceful road to socialism," there is much that is applicable to other countries in Latin America today such as El Salvador and Guatemala, where variations on this strategy are being applied for the same reactionary purposes. We are referring here to the phenomenon of increasing lip service by the "C" P's in Latin America to "armed struggle" and their alliance with guerrilla groups following the "Cuban line" in a number of countries.

These adaptations are completely compatible with and are developments of the same basic strategy employed in Chile. This trend is spoken to in the draft position paper for discussion,

Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and For the Line of the International Communist Movement prepared by leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. It says:

"A crucial lesson in relation to all this is that it is a serious error to identify revisionism merely with the repudiation of 'armed struggle,' and this is all the more important in today's world. True, the Soviet social-imperialists and those who follow them, like the Cuban leaders, as well as other revisionist forces, will in certain circumstances promote the 'peaceful road to socialism.' This is not merely an illusion but a dangerous trap for the proletariat and its allies, and in fact the 'peaceful road to socialism' is littered with the corpses of countless masses who were pointed down this road by revisionist betrayers. At the same time, however, in circumstances where it better suits their bourgeois aims, and increasingly in the current world situation, with the intensifying developments toward war between the rival imperialist blocs and toward revolution, these revisionists and other opportunists will frequently replace the principle of armed struggle of the masses with empty phrases about armed struggle which renounce all types of political and organizational preparations or with putschist theses and practices aimed at installing themselves as heads of regimes exploiting and oppressing the masses under a 'revolutionary,' a 'socialist,' even 'communist' cover."

The policy imposed on the UP [Salvador Allende's Popular Unity Government—RW] by the "C" P [Communist Party of Chile—RW] leaders (which we will only outline here because it is analyzed throughout the book), expressed itself in their resolute opposition to any revolutionary mobilization of the people to seize power or even as a means to oppose the putschists; in their flat refusal to denounce the Armed Forces and mobilize the people to destroy them; in their vain efforts to court the Armed Forces command and to infiltrate it in order to make the army serve the government; in their scrupulous respect for the laws and institutions of the bourgeois state; in their setting increased production as the main task of the workers, in opposition to the workers' struggles and demands; and in their constant quest of an alliance with the pro-U.S. faction of the CDP [Christian Democratic Party—RW], on the orders of the Soviet rulers. As far as the "C" P leaders were concerned, the essence of this policy, as we have stressed in the present study, was not the result of mere ideological errors, still less of purely tactical mistakes. It was an opportunist and anti-Marxist policy, inseparable in substance from their plan to establish state capitalism disguised as socialism. Since this was only another system of exploitation, they could not establish it except by preserving, in the main, the bourgeois state and its laws and institutions (including the Armed Forces), and by initially checking and later crushing any revolutionary mobilization of the people. Another reason this had to be done was that for the "C" P leaders, the plan for state capitalism was intimately linked to the efforts of Soviet social-imperialism to gain military, economic, political and ideological influence in Latin America

using Chile, but without openly confronting U.S. imperialism—that is, by trying to impose joint domination of the two superpowers in Chile through an alliance with the CDP.

The trend in the UP and close to the UP that attempted to oppose this dominant line on certain points was essentially inspired by petty-bourgeois ideology. Although some sections of it were and are receptive to some Marxist-Leninist ideas, the influence of "Castroite" revisionism, Trotskyism, anarchism and other anti-proletarian ideas is very strong within this trend. Very

many supporters of this trend had the determination and aspiration to fight for socialism, as many of them demonstrated by sacrificing their own lives. However, this determination and aspiration were defeated because of an ideology that was confused, vacillating and erroneous on basic points, an ideology that prevented them from becoming an alternative destined to lead a revolutionary struggle for power and condemned them to being nothing more than the radicalized wing of revisionist reformism. Their opposition to the dominant opportunist trend in the UP was over secondary aspects unrelated to the essence of this political line. Thus they stopped halfway, short of a break with the opportunists, which was indispensable to winning the broad masses over to a revolutionary line. Often, in opposing the opportunist leaders, they put forward utopian, "leftist" positions, which, combined with the dominant right opportunism, facilitated the collapse of the UP's experiment with state capitalism. However, the role of these utopian positions was very secondary and not decisive, as the "C" P leadership today cynically maintains in an attempt to hide its own fundamental responsibility in the defeat of the Allende government....

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The petty-bourgeois opposition to the dominant trend within the UP and the Allende government suffered, as we have said, from a number of errors and weaknesses which prevented it from offering a revolutionary alternative despite very favourable conditions. We will now point out some of these erroneous conceptions.

1. One of the main faults of the radical tendency in the UP and of MIR\* was that they were incapable of understanding (and many still do not understand today) the plan of the "C" P leaders and their conscious supporters for phony socialism and the underlying reasons for the revisionists' indirect strategy of alliance with the CDP, a strategy deriving from the nature of their plan given the conditions of U.S. imperialist hegemony in Chile. They believed that the "C" P leaders' plan was a gen-

\*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Left Movement). Movement of Castroite inspiration founded in 1967.

uine plan of advance towards socialism, but a plan implemented under the leadership of those who mistakenly used reformist and opportunist methods. MIR, for example, whose differences with the dominant group in the UP were the most pronounced, stated in its documents that: "They are taking a road different from ours and have never regarded our development sympathetically. But, despite everything, nothing makes them our enemies...," thus forgetting that according to the teachings of Lenin, the revisionist leaders are "better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself" and that "if they did not lead the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power". Because they did not understand the profoundly reactionary nature of the revisionist leadership (falsifiers of Marxism), they thought revisionism was merely a reformist trend (and still today call it "worker reformist"). They believed it was possible to correct or to bypass the line of the revisionists, without exposing them or depriving them of mass support, without fighting or breaking with the hegemony they exercised over the UP and the government. Although they promote some reforms in order to use the mass movement to their advantage and to demagogically deceive the people, the revisionists are not mere bourgeois reformists, much less "worker reformists". The various strata of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, to the extent that they are reformist, aspire to develop (towed along by the proletariat) at the expense of the big bourgeoisie and imperialism and to take power for themselves. On this level the proletariat can and must use these objective contradictions to liquidate domestic and imperialist big capital, on condition it maintains supremacy and leadership in the process. This strength and leading role must ensure that the petty and middle bourgeoisie do not lead the process, for this would result in compromise and defeat; and that they do not take advantage of it to convert themselves into a big bourgeoisie when victory is won. In reality, in our country, given the weakness of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and their close links with imperialist and internal monopoly capital, the first outcome is the most likely if they lead the process—that is, capitulation and compromise with im-

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CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT  
"HISTORIC COMPROMISE"  
The Real Story of the Allende Years

by Jorge Palacios

The first book to tell the real story behind the U.S. engineered military coup in 1973. Palacios, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, poses the crucial question of why—in a country with such a powerful mass movement—the reactionaries were able to deal the people such a swift and stunning defeat. His hard-hitting account nails the treachery of the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Chile, with its efforts to form a coalition government with the U.S.-backed Christian Democrats—the so-called "historic compromise," a strategy devised in Moscow and followed by the French and Italian CP's as well. An incisive analysis of the revolutionary and anti-junta forces in Chile today. A book of far-reaching significance.

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# Important Book

## Nails U.S. Lies and Worldwide Crimes



This photo supposedly shows a Khmer Rouge execution by axe in Cambodia in 1976. It ran in Time magazine on November 21, 1977. The authors of this book expose the fact that even before publication this photo was known to be a fake created by Thai intelligence.

Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *The Political Economy of Human Rights*. Vol. 1: *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*. Vol. II: *After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology* (South End Press).

"It would require at least the talents of Jonathan Swift to do justice to this scene," write Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman in their remarkable book, describing a particularly vile example of the hypocrisy of the U.S. press. Even this master of satire, however, would be shocked at the incredible effrontery of the American bourgeoisie and its media to lie so loudly with such a straight face. Who else, for instance, after manufacturing the torture devices and training the torturers of the Iranian people during the reign of the Shah, after admittedly using their embassy to plan the coup there in 1953 that brought the Shah to power, and after being caught red-handed using the same embassy for the same trick again, would have the nerve to use the terms "torture" and "barbaric" in describing the treatment of captured spies who were literally not even touched, or forced to suffer anywhere near the privation that a prisoner goes through in an American jail?

But this latest shameless media brainwashing attempt around Iran was hardly exceptional. In particular, the U.S. has tried for long years now to rewrite history on its brutal intervention and stunning defeats in Indochina. What is somewhat new is the volume and blatancy of these incredible justifications and whitewashings, a volume that is growing as one very important part of current war preparations by the U.S. It is quite necessary for them to try to reverse what millions and millions in this country learned about who really was barbaric in order to rally the boys—and girls—for the big one coming up.

Because they take this attempt head-on, and because they do it so thoroughly and so sharply, Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman's massive but concentrated two-volume work of exposure, *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, is a valuable contribution to this struggle.

Before getting into the book itself, it's worth noting that its very history as a book illustrates the book's argument, revealing both the hypocrisy of the free press and just how damaging this sort of exposure is to the bourgeoisie. Two years ago, the *New York Times Book Review* called Chomsky "arguably the most important intellectual alive." Several months later, this book was released. It has yet to be reviewed by either the *Times* or any other major paper or magazine in the U.S., ex-

cept for the *Village Voice* and the *Nation*. And the original edition, contracted to be published by a subdivision of Warner Communications, was suppressed after 20,000 copies had been printed but not distributed; the new edition has been published by South End Press, a small, progressive publisher.

The book not only documents in overwhelming and irrefutable detail the towering and systematic American crimes against the peoples of the oppressed nations, it also exposes the ugly role of the much-touted American Free Press, most especially two of its main bulwarks and suppliers of copy to others, the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. They are up to their necks in the blood and filth of this charnel house empire called the Free World, and Chomsky and Herman nail them for it.

### Torture Capital of the World

"The military junta model has been found to be a good one, and the U.S. has helped it flourish and spread. Torture, death squads and freedom of investment are related parts of the approved model sponsored and supported by the leader of the Free World. Terror in these states is functional, improving the 'investment climate,' at least in the short-run, and U.S. aid to terror-prone states, as we show below, is positively related to terror and improvement of investment climate and negatively related to human rights. It turns out, therefore, that if we cut through the propaganda barrage, *Washington has become the torture and political murder capital of the world.*"

Indeed it has. Despite its massive detail, Chomsky and Herman's study necessarily and admittedly can only scratch the surface. They focus on Latin America and Southeast Asia, though equally as much could be written about Africa, the Middle East and even parts of southern Europe.

A short roll call:

**Indonesia:** a military coup, most of whose leaders were trained in the U.S. and some of whom were admitted CIA "contact men," comes to power in 1965, ousting the nationalist Sukarno. According to the coup's own head of security, Admiral Sudomo, over a half million people were slaughtered in the months immediately following—according to most other investigators, over a million. Following the slaughter, and the establishment of the Suharto regime, the U.S. rallies Indonesia's creditors to stabilize the new set-up, with the World Bank making the country its third-largest borrower. Indonesia is probably the most richly endowed country in Southeast Asia, with immense resources of oil, rubber, tin, bauxite, copper, timber, etc., and Western imperialism immediately moves in to more completely scoop up these prizes—the lion's share being

claimed by the U.S., and second place going to its junior partner in the area, Japan.

**The Philippines:** In the face of growing peasant rebellions, U.S. puppet Marcos declares martial law in 1972. In the next five years the army quadruples in size and military outlays rise five-fold. 60,000 are arrested for political crimes by 1977, with widespread torture routine. Meanwhile, foreign investment doubles on an average annual basis after 1972 and the Philippines becomes one of the largest borrowers from international lending organizations, its loans rising from \$182.5 million in 1972 to \$1.5 billion four years later. Aided by the U.S., Marcos continues battling the communist-led peasant movement and Moslem fighters, with 60,000 murdered by government troops on the island of Mindanao alone.

**Dominican Republic:** "This country is not pro-American, it is U.S. property" said Juan Bosch, the ex-president overthrown by 25,000 U.S. marines in 1965. Following his overthrow, Chomsky and Herman document several hundred political murders or "disappearances" a year, through 1971. From the authors: "The Dominican Republic advertisement section in the *New York Times* of Jan. 28, 1973, has a heading entitled 'Industrialists Dream of Chances Like These,' featuring the low, low wage rates, running between 25 and 50 cents an hour. The ad stresses the role of the law in fixing hours and wages and allowing the free import of foreign technicians." The AFL-CIO has supervised the gutting of the trade unions in the Dominican Republic. Again, from Chomsky and Herman: "Presumably their blind hatred of Communism and radicalism in general has led Meany and his close followers to sell out systematically the interests of labor in the Dominican Republic and other U.S. satellites. Meany and some other labor bosses actually have a more direct interest in the pacification of labor in the Dominican Republic. Meany, his number two man Lane Kirkland, Alexander Barkan, director of COPE, the AFL-CIO political arm, Edward J. Carlough, president of the sheet metal workers, all are stockholders in the 15,000 acre Punta

Cana resort and plantation in the Dominican Republic. In order to clear the ground for this enterprise designed for the Beautiful People a large number of squatters were evicted by the army." The book quotes nutrition figures for the country—in 1972, 11% of all Dominicans drank milk, 4% ate meat, 2% tasted eggs.

The list is potentially endless: Uruguay, where following a 1973 coup one out of every 500 people becomes a political prisoner and half a million of a population of 2.7 million flees the country; Argentina, where a 1976 coup leads to an estimated 15,000 murders by the military, with an unknown number of others either held as prisoners or victims at one time or another of brutal torture (torture, by the way, which is taught in the U.S. Army School in Panama where 35,000 Latin American military men have trained); or Bolivia, or El Salvador, Zaire, Haiti, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and on and on and on.

### The U.S. Media—The Executioner's Song

In this light Chomsky and Herman take up the role of the U.S. media and expose the really incredible forms and levels of prostitution and hypocrisy developed by the Free Press. Take for example, Indonesia:

"Media treatment of the massacres was sparse," write the authors, "with the victims usually described merely as 'Communists and sympathizers.' Little mention was made of the large numbers of women and children massacred or the modes and details of the slaughter. A characteristic rationalization was that 'the people rose up in anger against the communists' in a 'political upheaval that had an air of irrationality about it, a touch of madness even...tinged not only with fanaticism but with bloodlust and something like witchcraft'; 'nowhere but on these weird and lovely islands' could such an affair 'have erupted.' The rationalization is useful in suggesting (falsely) that this was a purely spontaneous popular upheaval, a peculiarly Asian form of 'madness', not a mass murder coordinated and stimulated from the top with direct par-

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# Vicious Lies, Crass Attacks Surround Atlanta Murders

Atlanta. On April 9th, another body of a murdered Black male was found in an abandoned apartment. Within hours he had been identified as Larry Rogers, 20-years-old, a mentally retarded youth who acted much younger than his age. He had been abducted on March 30. The cause of death is undetermined, say the police. As soon as the body was discovered, hordes of cops descended on the all-Black area to begin a massive "search" of the apartment complex and surrounding neighborhood. Reporters were forced to leave the scene. No further information has been released.

Rogers had disappeared 10 days after the abduction of Eddie Duncan (the 21-year-old from Techwood Homes who was one of the two youths found in the Chattahoochee River last week). For the past month, the killers have grabbed a youth every 8 to 10 days, a further escalation of these hideous murders, which jumped from one murder every 25 days last fall to one murder every other week beginning in January. This murder brings the total dead to 26 in the past 21 months, two of

whom are still listed as "missing." Another pattern that has recently surfaced is that the discovery of one body is followed directly by another abduction. Those responsible for these murders are growing more disciplined and more deadly.

And the help these murderers are getting from the authorities is becoming more obvious with each new escalation. The name of Larry Rogers had been on the Special Task Force list only 2 days before he was found dead. Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown explained his "rush" to place this youth's name on his list (after sitting on the case for days) "Because of similarities between his profile and disappearance and that of some of the other cases handled by the Special Task Force." At the same time, the police continued to spread stories about supposed sightings of the youth the whole week after his kidnapping. It was a brutal rerun of the same lies that had been spread about each of the recent murders. The Atlanta Police Department even went so far as to brag about a change in long-standing

regulations concerning missing persons. Police officials will now make a decision about who will take charge of any youth's disappearance within 72 hours after the police had been notified. This will give the murderers of Atlanta's Black youth a nearly three-day head start to complete their sinister work.

The tension is reaching extreme levels. As a result, the pressure for an arrest is tremendous. And it appears that the police are making moves towards nabbing a group of Black men, involved in a "homosexual ring" according to police, in order to frame them for the murders. A Black suspect, Larry Marshall, has been arrested in Connecticut and is being extradited back to Atlanta this weekend. This man supposedly knew Timothy Hill, the other youth who was found in the river last week. According to police, this suspect has a record of homosexual sex offenses. One reporter for a local TV station "found" the address of a house that Marshall used to live in and then interviewed a "neighbor" who said that at least 10 of the murdered kids had been seen at this house. Which ten? Of course he couldn't name them. The whole thing has the distinct smell of a police setup.

In fact, the DeKalb County Sheriff Britt Hand openly boasted as much. He "leaked" the information to a reporter that he wanted to use Marshall as an informant on the "homosexual ring" supposedly operated by the suspects' former landlord. Britt wants to go after this landlord for the murders, and use Marshall in this scheme. Marshall is wanted in DeKalb County as a suspect on a robbery and assault charge, a logical candidate for cooperation with police. Britt undoubtedly wants "testimony" from him, implicating the landlord and possibly others. It's all a neat, clean package for the authorities.

Along similar lines, the police have released a composite drawing of a Black man who was supposedly seen picking up Larry Rogers when he disappeared. An unnamed neighbor was able to give police a detailed description of this Black man, including his opinion that the man's moustache was false, but was not able to get the license plate number of the car. The line was run out on national TV that this is a possible major break in the case, and that is the first composite drawing to be released.

But most people remember distinctly the picture of a blond-haired, white man whose composite picture was released soon after he was seen standing near the body of a youth found last January. Not a single word has been said about this man since a look-alike white man was found dead only days after this composite was released. A suicide, said the cops. Debate about this "suicide" and the imminent arrests of the Black suspects continues to rage in Atlanta as people struggle to understand all these complex twists and turns and to get to the heart of the obvious coverup. Speculation here is that since this man's face was seen, he was murdered by his cohorts to avoid their possible exposure.

One thing stands out sharply—the authorities are determined more than ever to pin these murders on Blacks, no matter what they have to do to accomplish this end. And they have launched an attack on a variety of forces who have pointed to the all too blatant racial motivations for these killings. This attack has come down in many forms, which is testimony to the breadth and depth of the questions being raised. Voices of Black "leaders" such as Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League have been heard on this issue: "We should be cautious about racial and class explanations of why the killer has not been caught. In today's tinder-

box racial atmosphere, such suggestions may be dangerous. Otherwise, we only let our imaginations run with the accumulated grief and hardships Black people have always faced and allow emotions to dominate over the hard-headed, cool thinking that is needed in a time of crisis." Jordan ended his nationally syndicated column with literally begging the people to "Let the police do their job."

A much heavier-handed attack was spearheaded by the *Washington Post* two weeks ago and the theme was embellished by *Time* magazine (April 6) in an article entitled "Exploiting Atlanta's Grief." "The Communist Workers Revolutionary and Socialist Workers parties in Atlanta have joined mass rallies on behalf of the Atlanta children, complains Camille Bell, head of the Committee to Stop Children's Murders (STOP) and mother of a victim, 'those leeches follow us around and talk about the murders when we don't know what the motivation is.'" ("Communist Workers Revolutionary" party is a typically garbled reference to the RCP.) The article continues, "Like looters after a disaster, there are those capitalizing on Atlanta's tragedy..."

About this *Time* article, Camille Bell told the *RW*: "I never said that or anything like that. And further, I never talked to a reporter from *Time* magazine." She went on to explain that all she's ever said to anyone about the motivation is that she doesn't want to speculate because she doesn't know. This is one utter and blatant lie that *Time* may be hard-pressed to explain. But the explanation is simple. The editors fabricated the quotation to squeeze into the slanderous line of their whole article which was a sharp attack on any struggle against these murders. Numerous equally significant prestigious media sources have tried to pin Camille Bell on these questions, as well as many of the other relatives of the murdered youth who are traveling around the country raising hell about these murders. Overwhelmingly, the families have thrown this right back in their faces by focusing their attention back to the murderers, many of them hitting hard at the police and the authorities.

In other developments in Atlanta, another capitalist enterprise has handed over a fat check, \$15,000 to show their concern over these murders. The Heublein Foundation, part of Kentucky Fried Chicken, donated this money to the United Youth Adult Conference (the city council-sponsored group that leads the weekend searches) to buy none other than Kentucky Fried Chicken to feed the searchers. And local reactionaries are definitely continuing to setp out. At Hertz, 8 Black employees have begun to receive threatening, racist letters on company stationery. *RW* sellers have run into workers around town, especially Black workers, who have been fired from their jobs for being caught discussing the child murders on the job.

But the reactionaries are by no means the only force in the field. In Cabagetown, the poorest white working-class neighborhood in Atlanta, 47 people signed a banner this week: "The Blood of the Murdered Youth is on the Hands of the Ruling Class! Down With National Oppression!" Some handwritten comments on this banner said: "Everybody is equal!" and "Hope they catch the murderer before I do!" And a banner sent to Atlanta from Seattle that was signed by several hundred people, has been an inspiration to many who've seen it here. As one of the many "statements of outrage" on the banner says, "Out of our mourning, the flames that spell death to this system and all racism burn!" □

## Reply Brief

Continued from page 2

all the more so because the Supreme Court's decisions are highly visible and under close scrutiny by broad sections of the people.

The ruling class has tried throughout the history of the case to maintain both the criminal cover of their railroad and the political essence of it intact. In the days immediately following the arrest of the defendants, the bourgeoisie's politics were hanging out all over the place, as indicated in then Chief U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert's appearance in the D.C. Superior Court to argue that Bob Avakian should be kept in jail because "he is a revolutionary leader." But, in the months that followed, the ruling class went to great lengths to hide their politics behind the guise of a criminal trial, and the fact that the political essence of the attack was only dragged out into the daylight through exposure. However, as the government suffered further exposure of their cover, their political motivation began to surface more and more, beginning with the statement in a pre-trial hearing that a speech by Bob Avakian at a press conference a few days before his arrest would be introduced as crucial evidence. Then, following the temporary retreat in the attack, when the case was dropped in November 1979, the government escalated the attack to a higher political level. With the prosecution's January 1980 brief, appealing the trial court's dismissal of the indictments, the political basis for the attack was hung out openly. In that brief itself, the prosecution placed an extreme emphasis on the central theme of their prosecution—their theory of "joint liability," spelled C-O-N-S-P-I-R-A-C-Y. For the first time they said, "the defendants had acted premeditatedly and in concert in committing the assault." And at the oral arguments on the appeal in March 1980, the prosecuting attorney stated that "What we have here is essentially a conspiracy trial."

At this current stage in the battle, however, the prosecution has conveniently "forgotten" the political emphasis of the past. While they still hold to the "joint liability" theory, it is no longer placed in the politically charged context in which it originally emerged. Instead, we get—"no jurisdiction now" as the central argument.

While the ruling class has obviously expended a great deal of effort in seriously back-pedaling to cover their political trail throughout the railroad, it is very significant that in their new document they are forced to address for the first time the issue of their political motivations. Of course they deny that they are politically motivated, but in doing so they come off about as convincing as the wolf playing Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother. Besides the argument they make here is openly self-contradictory with the legal argument of "conspiracy": "The indictment in this case, however, charges petitioners with a violent armed attack on police officers guarding the White House. If the government proves these acts at trial, petitioners will be subjected to sanctions for 'criminal acts'—not for an expression of 'their ideas.'" Lest anyone get "the idea" that this prosecution argument is too shabby a cover, its authors then quickly scurry once again to make the jurisdictional argument that the lower courts have not considered this matter and, "Accordingly, petitioners' claims of political bias are not properly raised in the present procedural posture of this case." But far more significant than their response to the charges of "improper political motivations" is the very fact that they were forced to address the issue at all. In large part this is due to the exposure they have suffered throughout the battle and most recently with Bob Avakian's applying for political refugee status in France; and particularly it's due to the politically charged climate surrounding the railroad, a climate that has been created both through the work of the Party and things like the recent *Washington Post* ad and the other work of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, as well as the contributions of thousands of others who have stepped forward to overturn this railroad.

Although the ruling class has attempted to carefully cover over the political nature of their attack, even as they are denying "improper political motivations" on their part, they can't seem to escape the politics of the case. The prosecution's clumsy and loaded attempt to portray the defendants as having engaged in the "criminal" act of staging a "violent, armed attack on police officers guarding the White House" cannot be mistaken for anything other than it is, a worried alert issued to the Supreme Court that yes, indeed, this is a very significant political trial. □

# Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals Set to Begin

Fascist takeovers accompanied by the mass murders of tens of thousands and the rape and torture of many thousands more; genocidal wars against entire peoples and cultures; nuclear holocausts and chemical-biological warfare testing on civilian populations; forced sterilization for women and poisoned baby formula for children in colonial and semi-colonial countries; concentration camps and hell-hole prisons; overt and covert terrorism, including assassinations, directed against any who stand up against its brutal rule—the list of truly unsurpassed crimes against humanity perpetrated by U.S. imperialism is staggering. From Africa to Atlanta, from Tehran to Texas, from South America to the South Bronx, the gangster class that rules its domain has sucked and spilled the blood of millions to perpetuate its brutal exploitation and oppression. Much evidence against this mob was powerfully uncovered during the mass revolutionary upsurges of the 1960s,

and tens of millions registered their verdict in city streets, rural areas and jungles in a global siege against the U.S. fountainhead of reaction, including within the U.S. itself. But today, as they prepare to take yet another leap in barbarousness, U.S. imperialism is desperately trying to reverse those verdicts and drum up a patriotic frenzy of support for further "heroic, freedom-loving" atrocities, including mass destruction on an unprecedented scale—world war. Already they are running into significant difficulties in these efforts, as widespread and growing exposure of and opposition to these criminals is going on around El Salvador, oppressed nationalities, the draft, oppression of women, nuclear weapons and power and more. But the challenge to all revolutionary and progressive people is great and the need for widespread, glaring and truly international exposure of the full-range of U.S. imperialism's crimes is both massive and urgent. In this context, the

mass, proletarian war crimes tribunals of U.S. imperialism are about to explode on the scene.

Already, potential testimony in this series of hearings indicates that these tribunals will be a wide-ranging and ripping exposure. A number of examples of possible testimony give a picture of what one of these hearings might be like: A man steps forward to reveal that one of his parents died as a result of U.S. biological warfare tests, conducted in several major cities. A survivor of Hiroshima adds some personal experience to a panel of scientists discussing the potential effects and thinking behind U.S. development of nuclear weapons and their link to the nuclear power industry—a vivid reminder that the "accidental" disasters pale in comparison to the intentional uses to which imperialism has already put its nukes and the even more criminal holocaust for which it is preparing. A Puerto Rican testifies to the widespread forced sterilization of women in that U.S. col-

ony, while Puerto Ricans in the U.S. point out that the former director of that "family planning" program is now the head of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx—an overwhelmingly Puerto Rican area. A defendant in a recent legal frameup in the U.S., testifies to U.S. military activity on the El Salvador-Honduras border. Specific testimony from veterans—and perhaps, active duty GIs—on the true nature of America's aggression, past and present, and on its preparation for future military slaughter. South American exiles, American Indians, historians, former U.S. think-tank specialists, "illegal" aliens, African freedom-fighters—all brought together in a series of hearings in major U.S. cities, all adding their own powerful indictments of the red, white and blue.

This is the vision that has already brought forward a significant number of proletarians, activists, and pro-

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We the undersigned view with concern the high-echelon effort to reverse earlier and correct verdicts brought against U.S. Imperialism for war crimes against the people of the world. Even now they are staggering from the high tide of struggle of the 1960s—which saw the U.S. opposed by tens of millions on every continent. The world was turned right side up as U.S. Imperialism stood exposed and isolated as the naked defender of reaction.

There is an intensifying attempt to whip up every kind of ugly chauvinism and super-patriotism with tactics such as orchestrating the yellow ribbon hostage hysteria and awarding medals of honor to newly discovered "heroes" of the Vietnam War. The rulers of this country, whose agents trained the SAVAK torturers, decry the "cruelty" to their hostages. Meanwhile they deny the unspeakable actions of their CIA in country after country. They denounce "terrorism," while in El Salvador they perpetuate their historic policy of genocide and contemplate major intervention. And the list of their crimes goes on and on, from the Halls of Montezuma to Wounded Knee, from the enslavement of Black people to the incarceration and murder of Puerto Rican freedom fighters. All the while planning more, and even more foul, deeds—nuclear proliferation, and increasing military expenditures to unprecedented heights in preparation for war.

These developments pose an historic challenge and opportunity to progressive people to expose and oppose U.S. Imperialism. We are calling for the formation of a War Crimes Tribunal. The Tribunal will call for testimony and other evidence to be presented as to the war crimes the

U.S. has committed against the people of the world. There are many people, foreign-born, veterans, and many more oppressed living in this and other countries who have rich testimony to offer. Representatives of U.S. Imperialism will also be challenged to appear and defend their actions. At the close of the hearings the Tribunal panel will consider its findings and publish them in as many languages as possible and disseminate them broadly throughout the world.

This Tribunal will provide the masses with a dramatic forum from which to speak and all over the world people will see and rejoice that right in the belly of the beast people of many nationalities and all walks of life are uniting in a mighty exposure and condemnation of U.S. Imperialism.

We urge you to take part in and support the Tribunal in every way possible and to encourage others to do so. The actions we take will have a profound effect in exposing to many and deepening for many others the crimes the U.S. rulers have committed here and around the world. This Tribunal will constitute a powerful blow to their war moves.

THE FUTURE IS BRIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE  
IF WE DARE TO SEIZE THE TIME!

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL: (213) 439-4985 or write to  
WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL  
2625 E. 3rd Street  
Long Beach, CA 90814

Following are the organizations and individuals who have endorsed the call for War Crimes Tribunals as of April 4, 1981:

The Plowshares 8: **Father Daniel Berrigan**, **Father Carl Kabat**, **Philip Berrigan**, **Molly Rush**, **Elmer Maas**, **John Schuchart**, **Sister Ann Montgomery**, **Dean Hammer**

The UN 2: **Steve Yip** and **Glenn Gan**

The Moody Park 3, Houston: **Travis Morales**, **Mara Youngdahl**, **Tom Hirschi**

CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft), Seattle

Feminist Women's Health Center, Los Angeles

Feminist Women's Health Center, Oakland

Haitian Task Force, Chicago

Hawaii Committee to Support the Iranian People

Iranian Students Association, Bay Area

Iranian Students Association, Columbus, Ohio

"Screaming Urge" Band, Columbus, Ohio

James Simmons Support Committee, Seattle

Union of Iranian Students, Bay Area

World Peace Committee, Berkeley Unitarian Church

Roy Barrington, Seattle VVAW (A-I), took part in the invasion of Cambodia

Ron Bitzer, Activist for Veterans' Rights

Carl Dix, one of the Fort Lewis 6

Norm Ellsworth, Office of Veterans Affairs, S.F. State\*

Hayden Fisher, Vietnam Veteran and one of the 3 who raised the Red Flag over the Alamo (stabbed and seriously wounded when Damian Garcia was assassinated in East Los Angeles)

Wade Hannah, former combat marine, military advisor in Vietnam, Detroit

Odell Johnson, Vietnam Veteran, Professor Malcolm X College (Chicago) Community Youth Liason\*

William Little, Korean Vet, ex-Black Panther, Winston-Salem, N.C.

Hubert Lloyd, Long Beach

Mike McCarthy, Activist for Veterans' Rights

Bob Mertz, Vietnam Veterans Counselor, Bay Area

Shad Meshad, Activist for Veterans' Rights

Randy Rowland, Tacoma, VVAW (A-I), one of the Presidio 27

Larry Swearingin, L.A. VVAW (A-I), refused duty in Vietnam

Michael Tarisi, Veterans for Peace, Chicago

Rex Wiegel, Bay Area Vietnam Veteran

Bob Weiland, Vietnam Veteran

Joe Urgo, one of the organizers of the Winter Soldier Investigation, Detroit (1971)

Nader Ajluni, General Union of Palestinian Students\*, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Andrea Bauer, National Prison Movement Activist

Father Roy Bourgeois, Chicago

Lemuel Bradley, Black Student Union, L.A.C.C.\*

Herni Brown, of the Creekside Players\*, Dayton, Ohio

Gregory Davis, President Black Student Union, Seattle Univ.,\*

Prentice Deadrick, editor NOMMO, Black Student Paper, UCLA\*

Howard DeNike, Attorney, San Francisco, defended GI's in Vietnam against fraging charges; defended members of the Presidio 27

Mike Derry, Santa Monica Draft Resistance

Jon Divens, Former President Black Student Alliance\*, UCLA

Ronald R. Dow, Detroit Activist

Steve Duarte, Academic Advancement Program, UCLA\*

Farid Edwards, M.D., Columbus, Ohio, former resident of South Africa

Leo Gomez, for the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Andre Hall, Activist, Los Angeles

Father Bill Hogan, Clergy & Laity Concerned, Chicago\*

Flo Kennedy, Lawyer and Member of Black Women for Political Action\*

Yuri Kochiyama, Japanese-American Activist

Rene Krisko, Cleveland

Mark LaRue, Prisoner from segregation unit for the Northwest

Prisoners' Organization

Ray Lambert, Writer, Columbus, Ohio

Andy Lieberman, UCLA Alliance for Survival\*

Jodi Linscott, Percussionist

Nancy A. Lyles, Cal State Long Beach Alliance for Survival\*

Conrad Lynn, Attorney, long time activist and freedom fighter

(Defended four Puerto Rican Nationalists)

Bridgette McDonough, Assoc. Professor, Keene St. College, Keene, N.H.

Craig McDonough, Assoc. Professor, Keene St. College, Keene, N.H.

Charles Meconis, PhD, Seattle Religious Peace Action\*

Prof. Arturo Melendez, University for Puerto Rico\*

Luma Nichol, National Prison Movement Activist

Fritz Paper, Member of "Flexibles" Band, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Danny Peck, Musician

Rafiqh Pooya, Iranian Filmmaker—"In Defense of People"

Tom Poullot, National Prison Movement Activist

Steve Sanora, L.A. regional representative, La Raza National Legal Alliance\*

Pat Sanyo, Teacher Union Activist, Los Angeles

Chris Smith, National Prison Movement Activist

Dr. Richard Solomon, Physician, Cleveland

Robbie Stamp, San Diego, one of the students shot at Kent State,

4th of May 1970

Mohamed Tat, Iranian Filmmaker, UCLA Film School\*

Mohamed Reza Tat, Sociology Student, Cal State Northridge\*

Cella Villalpando, Staff, AAP Tutorial Center, UCLA\*

Justin Vitiello, Asst. Professor, Temple University, Philadelphia\*

Meri Lynn Warren, Seattle

Donald Wasson, AAP Tutorial Center, UCLA\*

Mary Beth Welch, Community Activist, Los Angeles

Virginia Wohl, Freelance writer, contributor to *Revolutionary Worker*

Howard Zinn, Author, Professor, Boston University\*

26 People attending West Coast Churches for Peace & Justice Conference,

Oakland, California, March 20, 1981

7 Prisoners in the general population at Walla Walla

\*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

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**TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR HANDS!**

**Atlanta Outrages Mount**

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**May 1st, 1981**

**Take History Even More Boldly and Boldly Into Our Hands!**

**Down With the Old Order and Fight to Bring About the New!**

Letter Exposes:

# CWP Waves the Red, White, and Blue and Yellow Ribbons Too

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:

As a sometime reader of *Workers Viewpoint* (newspaper of the Communist Workers Party)—and as an always-reader of the *RW*—my attention was very sharply drawn to some instances lately of a very revolting American flag-waving, social-chauvinist tendency in the CWP. This is an aspect that you focused on in your last article on this group, in analyzing their Democratic Convention leaflet (which they titled "Extreme Times Require Extreme Measures to Save the Country"). (See *RW* No. 69.) I just want to add a couple of more recent examples along the same line.

Both these examples are from the CWP's replies to communications from readers of *Workers Viewpoint*, and they show how this group attracts some revolutionary-minded people—and then how it tries its best to turn their striving for revolution into its opposite. Really I think I can do little better than let them expose themselves, so the following will be mainly quotation.

First is from their most recent paper (Vol. 6, No. 12, 3/30-4/5). A reader saw something about a demonstration by veterans when the hostage-spies returned from Iran, and writes to ask about it:

"... I am a Vietnam Veteran and I didn't feel like a hero when I returned from Vietnam and was not treated like one. I would like to know if the Indianapolis Veterans wanted to be treated as heroes when they came home or did they want to expose the Yellow Ribbon trash to the country as a whole. It is a good thing to expose the patriotic rib-

bon waving as preparations of W.W. III and attacks on Iranians. The imperialists allowed William Calley to go free after he murdered a hundred Vietnamese civilians (witnessed by myself) and then they convict a former P.O.W. of helping save the lives of Vietnamese civilians. I will be supporting Robert Garwood and all other anti-war P.O.W.'s in their fight against the repressive Military Justice system. Free Robert Garwood! Indict the real criminals.

In the struggle,  
Prisoner  
O.S.P., London, Ohio"

And here is the main part of the CWP's reply:

"The demonstrators were mainly protesting that they had not been treated as heroes when they had given their lives and limbs for a cause they were told to believe in. Yet the hostages, who had never done anything except to be in the wrong place at the wrong time were lauded for what? The vets' protest *objectively* exposed the emptiness of the ticker tape parade and the Tavern on the Green feast in New York City, and the yellow ribbons. All the hostages were, or rather the U.S. media and State Department made out of them, was a rallying point for a patriotism revival. The patriotism that died over the course of the Vietnam War when the American people saw that their government could openly commit genocide, and use their sons to do it. The vets' demo served to expose the hollowness of U.S. propaganda once again."

Notice how they don't pick up on the reference to Garwood and in fact do not

unite *at all* with the real revolutionary thrust and content of the vet's letter. Instead they try to lecture the writer on how the Indianapolis demo was "objectively" good even if it was organized around the theme of "we want yellow ribbons and ticker-tape too"! Incredible! Or maybe not so strange after all. This letter-writer is 1,000 times more revolutionary than the CWP. He draws a clear line of demarcation between what is really objectively reactionary (Vietnam Vets claiming a right "to be treated as heroes when they came home") and revolutionary ("to expose the patriotic ribbon waving as preparation of WW 3 and attacks on Iranians")—and the CWP tries to convince him that the reactionary is actually progressive.

The second example is even more so along the same lines. This time a reader has sent a drawing showing Uncle Sam taking off his glove to reveal an iron fist, an American flag on his wrist, with "Fascist U.S.A." where the stars would be, walking down a road composed of the words, "Decay, Crisis, Repression, Depression, World War 3." Uncle Sam has a worried look on his face, and people are rising up to attack him. (Enclosed is a copy of the graphic.)

And this is the CWP's reply (or at least the crucial paragraphs of it):

"But we want to caution you on how you use Uncle Sam and the American flag. For many who marched thousands of miles in the anti-war days, flag-burning and making fun of Uncle Sam were routine. But many Americans see it differently. They do not associate the flag or Uncle Sam only with the U.S. government. They see it as a symbol of the country, of the people, and of their

own values.

"You drew the people hitting on Uncle Sam to mean people's resistance. But to some people it's an attack on themselves, on the American dream they treasure so much. Some people who feel this are also open to communism, so we have to be careful how we use these symbols.

"Another concern is the use of the flag in your drawing. We think you're saying we will have a fascist U.S.A. when the government uses its iron glove. But many see the flag as a symbol of American people. To write 'Fascist U.S.A.' can be mistakenly read the U.S. people are all fascist.

"If you have other views on this, please let us know. We are only beginning to understand the uses of Uncle Sam and the flag to illustrate our political views."

The self-exposure of this supposedly "communist" group is so blatant here that I really don't know what to say, except to refer anyone who may read this to the article in the August 1, 1980 *RW*: "You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag," and to heartily agree with the CWP that they "are only beginning to understand the uses of Uncle Sam and the flag to illustrate our political views." I am sure that when the CWP reaches a full understanding on this question, they will fly this putrid imperialist rag on their masthead and will wave it frantically as they try to suck people into an imperialist war in defense of "our" country and "the American dream."

Yours in revolutionary struggle  
and co-conspiracy,  
T.K.

## Revolutionary Big Character Posters Back in China

The April issue of a pro-revisionist Hong Kong magazine gave an all too brief insight into some of the activities of revolutionaries in China in the wake of the recently-concluded trial of Mao's comrades. According to *Cheng Ming*, revolutionary big-character posters sprung up in the streets and campuses of Peking and Shanghai after the "guilty" verdict and delayed death sentence for the revolutionary leaders Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao were announced in January. The posters carried such slogans as: "Down with Deng Xiaoping!"; "Deng Xiaoping is stepping up the right deviation"; "Deng Xiaoping wants to bribe off people by talking about improving people's livelihood"; "Deng Xiaoping affirms Mao Zedong in the abstract but negates him in reality"; "Mao Tsetung's recognition of capitalist roaders in the Party is a truth"; "We need to conduct a second Cultural Revolution immediately!"; "We want to speak in defense of Chiang Ching!" As *Cheng Ming* put it, "Looking at these slogans altogether, everyone will come up with this conclusion: this is the activity of ultra-leftists and Gang of Four remnants."

Big-character posters are one of the Four Bigs—contending in a big way, airing views in a big way, debating in a big way, and big-character posters—which were specifically written into the Constitution at Mao's insistence during the Cultural Revolution. Truly a means of mass political expression, big-character posters could be seen in factories, schools and agricultural communes all over China, as the masses took up the pen (or the

brush, in the case of big-character posters) to denounce the capitalist roaders and debate the cardinal questions of the day—in a big way. Such a picture of political struggle raging among the masses is much too dangerous for the revisionists. Last year they eliminated the clause guaranteeing the Four Bigs from the Constitution because they "impeded the normal exercise by the people of their democratic rights" and furthermore, were a "factor causing instability." But outlawed or not, the posters denouncing Deng and supporting Chiang Ching that were put up in Peking and Shanghai recently showed clearly that the revolutionaries are not about to give up this effective weapon.

The revisionist rulers certainly are not taking such signs of revolutionary opposition lightly. Deng himself warned in a work meeting of the Central Committee held last December that there are people calling for, and some actually already carrying out, a "second Cultural Revolution." Deng called on his fellow revisionists to exercise dictatorship over such forces. According to *Cheng Ming*, Hu Yaobang, the Secretary-General and Deng's right-hand-man, claimed that these people who cause trouble are only "four in every ten thousand," and that "it's nothing, there is no need to become nervous and confused." But Hu also continued on to say that "their numbers are small, but their capacity is not small. They can destroy some big undertakings." Evidently Hu and the rest of the revisionist bunch themselves are quite "nervous and confused." □

### Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

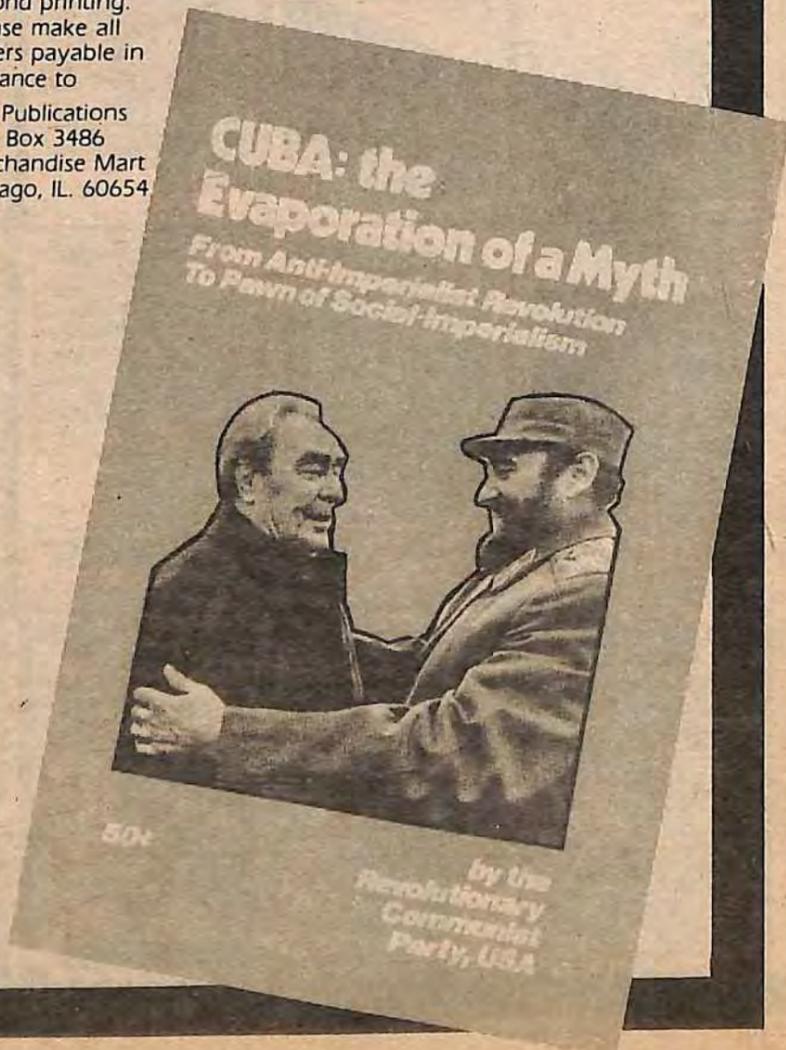
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# The Future of Blood Futures

The following article, "An Inside Look at the Future of Blood Futures," was originally intended for publication in *Leeche Review*, the newsletter of renowned investment counselor, I.M. Leech. The article was evidently pulled from Mr. Leech's April issue, perhaps after he discovered the manuscript missing. It was forwarded to us from someplace in New Jersey, along with a note signed simply "The Phantom Proofreader." We are reprinting the article in full, as it provides a rare behind-the-scenes glimpse of a particular aspect of that dynamic component of the free enterprise system—commodity futures speculation.

In recent years, considerable attention has been drawn to the explosive growth of the commodity futures market—the market in which commodities are traded for future delivery. Two years ago *Business Week* (BW) said that:

"Swarms of U.S. and foreign investors, both institutional and individual, are rushing into futures because of the variety of contracts being traded. By doing so they are shifting their dollars away from the traditional capital formation mainstream—out of investment and into something close to out-and-out gambling. Yet as the economies of the world gyrate madly, the futures market, with its speculative and hedging properties increasingly becomes the only game in town. 'The more uncertainty, the more business,' says one futures industry official. 'As human beings and citizens, we deplore the state of the economy. But the state is good for business.'" (i.e.—the futures business)

Speculation has become an increasingly more important aspect of investment since the turnaround in Indochina and, more markedly, after the shocking economic developments of the early 1970s and the more troubled times since. An analyst for the Lipper Analytical Distributors, Inc. pointed out two years ago that: "The annual compound rate of change between 1972 and 1978 is 19.6% for total industry revenues. Everybody is gearing up internally."

Despite the temporary resurgence of the stock market recently, almost all analysts remain gloomy as to the medium and longer-term prospects for investment in industry. Also even though interest rates and inflation have shown a slight easing recently, they are not expected to return to the golden age conditions of the fifties and sixties. Because of the declining profitability of basic industry and the problem of inflation, it will continue to be expensive rather than profitable to keep assets in the form of paper money or low-interest holdings; speculative activity will continue to abound. Investors have to exercise great caution in the area of commodity speculation since conditions are rapidly changing and, as investors in the gold boom, the silver boom, the hog-belly boom, etc., have discovered, prices that rise considerably during such speculative booms do in fact crash back to earth before too long. Copper, for example, averaged about 38 cents per pound in 1967, went up to a high of about \$1.40 in 1973, crashed to less than 60 cents in 1974, lay dormant until 1979-80, when it began rapidly rising again. The price rose from \$1.065 on January 11, 1980 to \$1.26 one week later—an 18% increase in a single week. It has come back down to the 85 cent range where it has been hovering now for over a month.

As a result of such radically shifting price levels, many investors lose all they gain. Indeed, a study done in 1976 found that 92% of futures traders in that year lost rather than profited from their investments. While this is especially the case with the amateurs now thronging the markets, in recent years even the big investors have encountered drastic problems. Under these conditions, even the largest of our clients are

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learning the importance of very carefully analyzing the broad range of conditions affecting the futures markets, especially the conditions of production, the market, and also the international political environment.

For example, the sharp drop in the market price of copper in 1974 cannot be understood apart from the reestablishment of a government in Chile in September of 1973 that truly cherishes the important role of U.S. corporations in the Chilean copper mines. During the Allende years, ITT together with Anaconda, Kennecott and other corporations (in cooperation with our security agencies such as the CIA) wisely led (and enforced) an international boycott of Chilean copper exports and brought new mining facilities into production in the U.S. and in such countries as Peru, Zambia, and Zaire. Consequently, the resumption of our U.S. free enterprise operations in Chile (with the establishment of the Pinochet government) brought the level of international copper production beyond the needs of the recession wracked economies of the advanced industrial democracies of 1974, and thus the price fell sharply.

Such developments have created an insatiable demand for information on the part of the more sophisticated investors. To accommodate these anxious investors, not only have the traditional business magazines been supplying more analysis and tips, but a whole new crop of forecasters have come forward to render these services. Now that the Granville balloon has burst, investors are anxious for insights that appear more scientific (subscriptions to *Leeche Review*, for example, are positively leaping ahead).

Together with an overall analysis of conditions, inside information indicating the future prospects of boom for any particular commodity proves to be quite important. When a commodity boom becomes more widely known, it soon brings in so many investors and therefore drives the price up so rapidly to the bursting point, that only the earliest investors can harvest substantial profits—and, even then, only if they can be well enough informed to sell before the overpriced commodity comes crashing down about their ears. (Typically, this occurs just as the price is undergoing its most spectacular rise.) Our friend, Bunkie Hunt, suffered losses that were considerably less serious in relation to capital advanced than were the losses of those who entered the silver speculation late.

Further, as the general level of

speculative activity continues to rise, it becomes increasingly important to acquire *newer types* of futures thus far unrecognized by the market in general. *BW* points out that:

"In the longer run... futures could extend far from the types of commodities on which current proposals are based. In addition to U.S. securities, foreign government securities are being eyed as the basis for futures contracts... Other esoteric new contracts are being discussed at the exchanges ranging from futures based on diamonds to ocean freight rates."

In this issue, *Leeche Review* spotlights one of the most rapidly rising, highly profitable, and dynamic of the "esoteric" new futures—the international trade in blood. Until now these

remarkable futures have not been given the attention they merit. James Ridgeway's recent book, *Who Owns The Earth* (Collier Books, 1980—*RW*), while certainly not intended as a work beneficial to investors, does contain a chapter that helps to correct this oversight and provide valuable information for our scrutiny. According to him, "the world market in human blood is estimated to be worth well over \$1 billion a year to corporate traders..." and others. At present, "this commercial blood costs recipients about 40 times more than the actual costs of extracting, transporting, processing, administering, researching and transfusing blood in volunteer, non-profit systems." Yet, at present, the supply of blood is still lagging behind the demand within what Ridgeway terms the "wealthy" countries. Thus investors who move into this field

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## Butcher Named to Head Chase Manhattan

Quietly, unceremoniously David Rockefeller will step down as chairman of the Chase Manhattan Corporation this week. Not that his ties to the bank have been severed—on the contrary, he personally commands close to 400,000 shares of Chase, a mite under 3% of all shares outstanding—but one supposes that the pre-eminent "banker-statesman" will be devoting himself full-time to the problems of an empire under siege. After all, he has been recently received in Paris, San Salvador, Moscow and Peking and was instrumental in engineering the entry of the late Shah of Iran into the United States in a dramatic gesture of humanitarianism in late 1979.

But who is his successor? From an in-depth profile and interview in the *New York Times* we learn that he is a "fist-thumper," an "activist" who takes "a head-on approach to problems," who has a keen interest in national and international affairs. He visits Washington once a month to confer with high-ranking members of the Reagan administration. He is a veteran of the tumultuous '70s in the banking industry which saw Chase reel from \$1 billion in shaky real estate loans and huge losses in the bank's bond-trading portfolio. He played a major part in the expansion of Chase's overseas network which now accounts for more than half of the bank's total earnings. His heritage invites awe: "I

don't unprudently claim descent from a number of original settlers," he points out.

His name? Bill Butcher! As *The Times* put it with such exquisite journalistic elan: "David's Bank will become Butcher's Bank." Maybe it should be re-named. One wonders who wrote the script. Willy Loman was a lowly and ordinary salesman. The money lender Shylock threatened to extract a pound of flesh. But a Butcher running America's most hallowed financial institution? The image of the slaughterhouse? But why not, this was a bank profitably underwriting letters of credit in Iran while tens of thousands were tortured by David's regal friend; it earns millions in Brazil where similar practices are rather routine; and it owns a good chunk of Harlem—rats, roaches and pigs; ah, we can't escape that butcher shop.

This Butcher knows his work is cut out for him: "The financial industry," he tells us, "is about to have a big upheaval. I can't predict how, where or when it will come, but I know it's coming." And being a man for his times, he approaches it at once ruthlessly and with a stiff upper lip. You see, his hero is none other than Robert E. Lee: "Lee made the momentous decision to go with the South and spent his life in a losing cause. I admire his devotion to his home, his family and his country."

# Haig's Mission

Continued from page 1

Weinberger was in Europe at the same time making similar warnings.) Haig then proceeded to talk about the business at hand: "We are here today to learn how best we Americans can participate in a partnership to enhance the security of this region, which will enable us to go forward with the peace process with Israel in the confines of the Camp David Accord." Of course, U.S. participation in this "partnership" is that of an increasing desperate superpower feverishly trying to fortify its position in this vital strategic area in preparation for world war with its Soviet imperialist rivals and it is clear to all concerned just who is boss when it comes to "enhancing the security of this region."

Each of Haig's Middle East stops was directly concerned with the introduction of new forces and weapons systems into the area. On the way to Egypt, for example, American reporters accompanying Haig were told that he wanted to be "very careful that the Arabs do not view the strategic consensus as an effort to put the peace-keeping process (i.e., the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict—RW) in a lower priority." But that was precisely the purpose of his Egyptian visit—to take the faltering talks on the final Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai and transform them into a new plan to pre-position more U.S. troops within striking distance of the Persian Gulf, and to complete the arrangements for the use of Egypt's Ras Banas Air Base on the Red Sea by U.S. B-52 bombers.

## Egypt

The Camp David accord, which represented a total capitulation by Egypt to the needs of U.S. imperialism, outlined the stages of a separate settlement between Egypt and Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people. Egypt was to officially recognize the occupation of Palestine and in return Israel was supposed to withdraw in three stages from the occupation of the Sinai. The resentment against this sellout ran so high among the Arab masses that every Arab country except Morocco and Oman was forced to break diplomatic relations with Egypt. As a partial face-saving device, to cover over Sadat's prostitution to the U.S., the U.S. monitors of the cease-fire in the Sinai are required to be civilians (U.S. agents out of uniform), and even after the final Israeli pullback set for April, 1982 a "demilitarized" zone inside Egypt is to be occupied by a U.N. military force rather than U.S. troops as demanded by Israel.

The Camp David agreement between Egypt and Israel was hastened by the fall of the Shah of Iran who was the U.S.'s No. 1 gendarme for the Persian Gulf. With the loss of Iran it became imperative that the most populous Arab country, Egypt, be further consolidated as a full-fledged military outpost of the U.S. But the rearming of Egypt by the U.S. required a settlement with Israel, the principal ally of the U.S. in the region. A warm relationship like the one that had existed between Israel and the Shah was needed. And Israel's demand of absolute guarantees that weapons sent to Egypt would never again be used in support of the Palestinians, lay behind Israel's proposal for a permanent U.S. force to be stationed in the Sinai.

While the U.S. initially favored the cosmetic U.N. force to help mask Sadat's subservience to the U.S., the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the general rush toward world war resulted in a U.S. shift to the Israeli position of the need for U.S. troops based in the Sinai for the purpose of placing them within striking range of the Persian Gulf. Also at stake were two large military airfields built by the Israelis in the Sinai just inside the Egyptian border at Eitam and Etzion. The Etzion base is described by U.S. military experts as the "finest tactical fighter facility in the world," but Israel has threatened to

blow both of them up unless they pass directly into U.S. hands.

Preparing for the visit of Haig, Anwar Sadat put on a hilariously funny display of his "independence" from the U.S., declaring that Egypt was strongly opposed to the inclusion of American troops in the multi-national force for the Sinai and that a large presence of Americans would open Egypt to the charge that the Americans were simply replacing the Israelis as the occupying power in the Sinai. Since it is common knowledge that any proposed U.N. force for the Sinai would immediately be vetoed by the Soviet Union, Egyptian officials proudly announced that Australia, New Zealand, India, Ghana, Nepal and Fiji had agreed to take part in the event of a Soviet veto. Yet as soon as Haig arrived all this was brushed aside and Sadat quickly agreed that 2,000 of the 4,000-man "peace-keeping" force should be U.S. troops. And despite all protestations to the contrary, it was obvious that these were to be the advanced party of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force in the Middle East.

The second topic discussed was the U.S. use of the Ras Banas air and naval base. The U.S. has been demanding a written agreement giving it full control over the base, but Sadat, again hard pressed politically at home, protested that a formal U.S. base in Egypt would jeopardize Egypt's standing as a non-aligned country! (Egypt is about as non-aligned as Cuba.) Sadat's sudden concern for his virginity is even more ridiculous considering that a squadron of U.S. Phantom jets has already been stationed in Egypt for "training purposes" and ground units of the Rapid Deployment Force have already been there allegedly "to experience desert conditions" (there being no deserts in the U.S.). In the end, Sadat announced that there would be no formal agreement but that Egypt welcomes the use by the U.S. of Egyptian military facilities. Even this was a farce because the issue had been fully decided long before Haig arrived. The March 31 *Washington Post* identified the specific B-52 unit which would operate out of Ras Banas and even produced a map displaying the 2,500 mile operating radius of the B-52s from Ras Banas. Also, Congress has already been requested to authorize \$106 million to refurbish the base. The *Post* article discusses only conventional bombloads, but one of Carter's last acts in office was a presidential directive authorizing the development of plans for nuclear weapons to be dropped by B-52s in the event of an all-out Soviet attack on the Persian Gulf.

Here it should also be mentioned that the U.S. already possesses an impressive array of military force in the Middle East. In the Arabian Sea just off the Persian Gulf, the U.S. has had two carrier task forces on station in the last few months. The U.S. fleet in the Mediterranean contains another carrier task force. A strategic bomber base is being constructed on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia, and the U.S. has recently completed arrangements for naval and air facilities in Berbera, Somalia (where they have taken over a Soviet-built base), Mombasa in Kenya, and two bases in Oman. Added to this as U.S. allies are Turkey, with one-third of all of NATO's ground divisions, the U.S.-supplied and advised Saudi and Jordanian armed forces, and Israel, with the most effective Air Force in the Middle East.

By the end of Haig's visit, Sadat's tongue was raw from licking Haig's boots, but Sadat even managed to get in a few more for the road. Egypt finally announced publicly that it has been shipping ammunition and military equipment to Iraq to supply the Iraqi attack unleashed by the U.S. on Iran (4,000 tons so far, according to ABC News). Egypt, like Iraq, having once been armed by the Soviet bloc, now manufactures its own ammunition for Soviet-made weapons. Egypt also announced that it has resumed diplomatic relations with Sudan, and Sadat declared his readiness to engage in joint military action with the Sudan against Libya, a Soviet-armed country to the west of Egypt and Sudan. At the end of his meetings with Haig, Sadat finally let

it all hang out, declaring that "it is time that the U.S. resume its role as the first superpower all over the world."

Support in the Egyptian government for Sadat's complete capitulation to U.S. desires has been strengthened by the mysterious helicopter crash three weeks ago in which 13 top military men, almost the whole high command, were killed. The new Egyptian defense minister and army commander is now Lt. Gen Mohammed Abdel Halim Abu-Ghazala, the former Egyptian military attaché in Washington. Still, the rule of Sadat is anything but secure, with massive anti-government food riots occurring in 1977 and the growth of Islamic secret societies among the student population.

## Israel

From Egypt, Haig took off for Israel, where again he stumped for the anti-Soviet crusade, denouncing "Soviet imperialism" and declaring that "Israel has an important role to play in our common effort to safeguard our strategic interests in the area." This is indeed an understatement. The Zionist state of Israel has been central to U.S. plans in the Middle East and the U.S. has given its undying support to its bloodthirsty imperialist junior partners in this key military outpost. A significant demonstration of this support was the showing of the TV mini-series *Masada* on U.S. television this past week. The message of this series, billed as "the greatest spectacle to ever be shown on TV" and as "the Jewish Roots", was made clear at the very start as Israeli troops were shown scrambling up the side of the historic fortress of Masada and planting Israeli flags on top portraying the state of Israel as the culmination of the historic quest of the Jews, with Masada standing as a bastion against all comers. After this introduction the story of the battle at Masada of the Jews against the Roman invaders is recounted—all of this to imply that somehow, the vicious imperialism of Israel today is a struggle for the liberation of an oppressed people.

Declaring the stepped-up fighting in Lebanon to be Soviet-inspired, Haig's major activity in Israel was to support the continued Israeli military aggression in Lebanon, both direct and through the "Christian militias" in Lebanon. In 1975-76 Lebanese domestic rightists such as the Phalangists launched an open civil war against the Lebanese left and the PLO. In order to restore the "balance of power," a 22,000-man Syrian force entered northern Lebanon and since that time much of Lebanon has been effectively partitioned into separate zones controlled by the pro-Soviet Syrians and the pro-U.S. "Christian militias." The far south of Lebanon along the Israeli border is known as "Haddad-land," named after Major Haddad who commands one "Christian militia" which is totally supported and funded by Israel. The families of Haddad's troops are even permitted to cross the border into Israel for free medical treatment.

One aim of the new "strategic consensus" is the expulsion of the Syrians from Lebanon and the disarming of the Palestinian refugee camps—all in the name of "protecting the suffering Christians," of course. Symbolically holding a press conference in Jerusalem, (more than a little symbolic since the U.S. officially recognizes only Tel-Aviv as the capital of Israel), Haig announced that "We view the brutality of the Syrian action against the Christian enclave as a very, very serious turn of events which is unacceptable by any measure of appropriate international standards of conflict." Haig accused the Soviet Union of prompting Syrian aggression in Lebanon while world attention is focused on Poland. Then Haig added ominously that the U.S. had taken a number of "unprecedented measures" with regard to the situation in Lebanon. While aides hastened to explain that these "unprecedented measures" were in the nature of diplomatic contact, one of Haig's aides more candidly told reporters that "we are right on the brink of a major outbreak of hostility in and around Beirut." An Israeli spokesman added that "great pressure (is) building in

Israel to do something to protect the Christians."

The second topic of discussion with Israeli Premier Begin was the question of new aircraft being supplied to Saudi Arabia. In particular the Saudis are being given new F-15 fighters with long-range wing tanks to make them operational over Iran and the rest of the Gulf area. Also being supplied to them are the AWACS radar and command planes which bear "side-looking" radar that can see over international borders to pick up enemy planes as they are taking off. The equipping of the Saudis with the most modern air defense system is of utmost importance to the U.S. plans to defend the Persian Gulf oilfields and Haig was in Israel to insist that the Israelis accept it. After hotly denying that the U.S. would be giving the Israelis any "compensation" for the new weapons system to the Saudis, the Haig mission went on to detail the nature of the compensation. Besides the new squadron of F-15s the Israelis are getting, it was announced that Israel would be given major contracts for the maintenance of high technology weapons systems in the Middle East. Begin beamed his approval since this would put Israeli agents in operational control of much of the hardware of U.S. allies in the region.

## Jordan and the Palestinians

In Jordan, Lebanon was also a major issue of discussion. (After Iraq, with U.S. backing, attacked Iran last September, Syria massed tanks on the Jordanian border, but King Hussein came through with flying colors for the U.S. bloc as endless convoys with military supplies rolled across Jordan from the Gulf of Aquaba to Iraq.) Any major military move in Lebanon would have to be coordinated with Jordan. While King Hussein is moving closer and closer to joining the U.S.-dictated Egypt-Israel "peace process" there are still obstacles in the way. Chief among these obstacles is the Palestinian people and their struggle for national liberation, which continues to be a principal thorn in the flesh of the U.S. and its lackeys to achieve a stable "strategic consensus" in the Middle East. In spite of his status as a loyal U.S. puppet, Hussein has maintained public opposition to the Camp David accord and has up to now refused to enter public talks on the question of an agreement with Israel without the participation of the PLO. This position is necessitated by the fact that such an open renunciation of the rights of the Palestinian people to their homeland, now occupied by Israel, would be too politically costly at this time. A large part of the population in Jordan is Palestinian and they have strong support from broad sections of the masses of other nationalities, not only in Jordan but throughout the whole Middle East.

While there are definitely elements within the PLO leadership who would be willing to compromise with the U.S. and who agree with the right of the Zionist state to exist, the continuing struggle of the masses and the influence of the Soviet Union within the PLO (both directly and through Syria) forces the U.S. to continue a hard-line policy against negotiating with PLO leaders. Moves toward such negotiations have been made in the past but the recent trend on the part of the U.S. has been away from making any deals while they attempt to pressure the "moderates" within the PLO leadership to break with Soviet influence and move closer to accepting U.S. terms. Part of the current U.S. "hard line" policy is precisely to bring such pressure to bear. Nevertheless the "Palestinian problem" continues to haunt the U.S. They are in a position of trying to forge as close and as open alliances with the reactionary Arab regimes as possible without causing explosions among the masses of people against the U.S. puppet rulers and giving the Soviets new openings in these countries.

## Saudi Arabia

This dilemma was also highlighted in Haig's visit to Saudi Arabia. Haig's arrival in Riyadh was accompanied by an editorial in the *New York Times* which stated bluntly what the U.S. would like

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### Cabrini-Green

# Behind the Siege in Chicago



In the foreground: Cabrini Green. Background: John Hancock Building and luxury highrises.

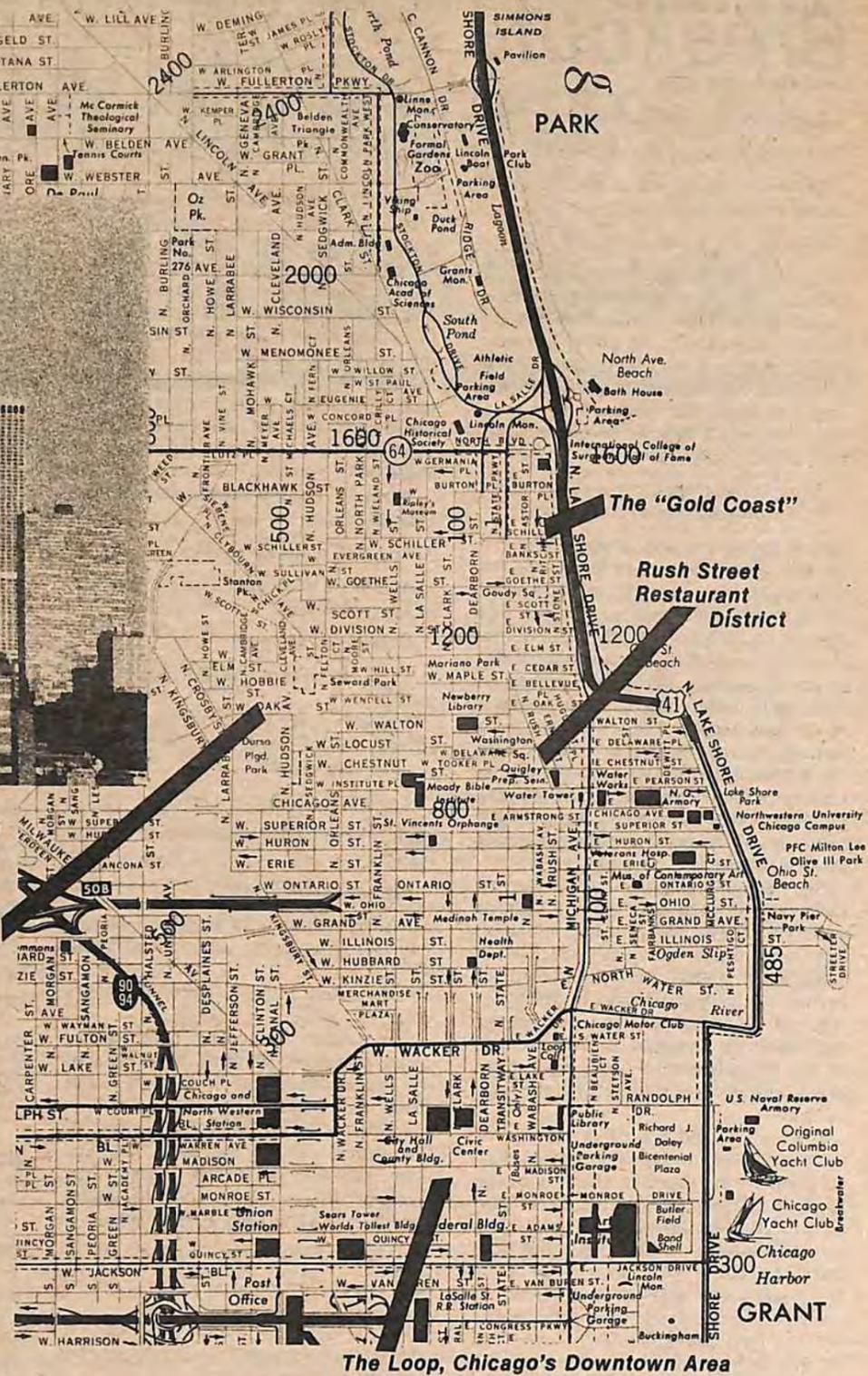
The assault force of 150 uniformed men assembled in the pre-dawn hours to prepare for a surprise attack. Pulling out his binoculars, the commander scanned the target of the raid. A search and destroy mission to flush out enemy forces and seize weapons was about to begin. The double column marched on enemy territory. Armed with guns and dogs, the platoon swooped down for a house to house search of the area. Mission accomplished, the patrol retreated back to its headquarters.

A scene from Vietnam, or maybe an operation carried out by the El Salvadoran junta's fascist troops? No. This particular militaristic assault was conducted by the Chicago Police Dept. in a search of vacant apartments at the Black housing project of Cabrini-Green on the city's near northside. But there is more than a little similarity between the U.S. counterinsurgency program in Vietnam and the pacification campaign currently being directed against the masses at Cabrini-Green. Just as the U.S. sought to terrorize and destroy the rebel villages of Vietnam, the objective at Cabrini is to harass and brutalize the residents of the housing project and drive them out of this potential base area of rebellion.

Although the March 29 raid on Cabrini netted disappointingly little—some drug syringes, two daggers and a dog—Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne heaped lavish praise upon her brave boys in blue. Each was rewarded with a \$50 bonus from the mayor's personal campaign funds—combat pay for the troops.

As if all this wasn't enough to get the point across, Byrne also announced last week the appointment of no less than the ex-commander of the Green Berets in Vietnam to oversee future attacks on the people. The brand new post of "health and safety officer" for the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) is specially created for retired Army Major General Michael Healey, a man who proved to be such a gung-ho imperialist agent in Vietnam that it actually blocked the further advancement of his career. (Healey, it was reported, voluntarily spent so much time in the field that his chances for higher rank were thwarted.) Apparently CHA Security Director Winston Moore, the man who should have undertaken these duties, was considered too bush league for the suppression campaign at hand. After all, Moore's credentials as an ex-warden of Cook County Jail who was dismissed for personally beating up prisoners hardly stack up against the qualifications of a much-decorated counterinsurgency expert.

Mayor Byrne has made no bones about her plans to evict 800 families—nearly one-fourth of the 15,000 families—nearly one-fourth of the 15,000 residents—from Cabrini-Green. This is merely step one of a



vicious game plan to oust the residents altogether and grab up the property. The housing project is like an island ghetto surrounded by some very valuable real estate. Less than a mile away stands the glistening Gold Coast, a string of upper-crust highrises lining the lakefront. New townhouses, condominiums and luxury highrises are springing up almost right on the doorstep of Cabrini-Green. But the decisive factor behind the land grab is political considerations of Cabrini's close proximity to Chicago's central district, the Loop. Driving Black people out of Cabrini is part of a conscious plan to

disperse this strategically located, potential area of rebellion which stands as a threat to one of the bourgeoisie's most important centers of power.

The opening shot at Cabrini-Green was fired on March 21 when Jane Byrne made the announcement that she would temporarily take an apartment in the housing project located less than a mile from her own Gold Coast residence. In a transparent ploy, she vowed to stay until "all the gang violence is cleaned up." This was the signal to put Cabrini under a state of siege from an invading army of cops. Every repressive measure

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## State's Pathetic Parade In Pontiac Trial

Chicago. As the Pontiac Brothers trial continues into its fourth week, a ridiculous—but vicious—performance is being acted out by the state's inmate witnesses. As the spectacle unfolds, it has become abundantly clear that the state has resorted to fabricating a pack of lies which is held together through simple bribery.

The state's case rests almost solely on the statements of other prisoners against the Pontiac 16. For the price of an early release from prison or some cash money, these witnesses have shown they are only too eager and willing to help the state railroad the Pontiac Brothers into the electric chair.

Angelo Robinson, a man who admits his jailhouse nickname is "Lowdown," is a prime specimen. Robinson was indicted for the murder of the three guards and the attempted murder of two others along with the 16 other Pontiac Brothers back in March, 1979. According to his own testimony, somewhere around February, 1980, Angelo decided to tell the "truth"—not because he expected any reward from the state, but because it was "the right

thing to do." "I feel guilty of the murder of these officers," he told the jury in a touching show of repentance. "I was involved," he admitted. But the desire to relieve himself of this burden of guilt did not stop this selfless truth-teller from driving the hardest bargain he could over what price the state would pay for his testimony.

After six months of negotiations with the state, the final deal was agreed upon. First of all, the 26-year-old Robinson would receive help on the 40-120 year sentence on a murder conviction he is now serving. He had tried once already to get the conviction overturned and had been turned down. With the help of a new attorney retained for him by the state, a new appeal filed on this original conviction stands a much better chance of winning. Once this rap is disposed of, the state has also arranged for Angelo to get off light on the guard murders. In a letter to Angelo's lawyer which was turned over to the defense attorneys, the state promises that his charges on the guards will be reduced from murder and attempted murder to aggravated battery; he would

be released on parole as early as possible as part of the agreement. Besides this, relocation to any place within the continental United States is promised for Angelo's protection.

With such a debt of gratitude owed to the state, it is hardly surprising that Robinson's testimony was tailor-made to fit the prosecution's case. It seems that on the day of the rebellion, Robinson was an all-knowing and ever-present figure. Besides personally taking part in the attack on guard Conkle, he claims to have seen the murder and attempted murder of four other guards even though they occurred in different parts of the cellhouse. His testimony manages to implicate six of the ten defendants on trial in the attacks. Angelo claims to have seen Michael Evans, Kevin Tolbert and Albert Jackson stab guard Danny Dill; those three plus Steven Mars attack guard Stanley Cole; David McConnell supposedly beat guard Dale Walker with a pipe and Joe Smith allegedly was seen stabbing guard William Thomas.

But with all this going for him, Angelo couldn't let well enough alone.

He had to embellish the story even further and ended up getting trapped in his own lies. The state's "theory" is that the rebellion jumped off when rival gang leaders formed a truce and, instead of fighting each other, decided to move against the prison regime itself. Accordingly, Robinson identified David McConnell and Joe Smith as leaders of the Vice Lords and the Souls. They face the additional charge of conspiracy to commit murder. In describing the infighting between gangs, Robinson testified he was present at a meeting on March 6, 1978 at the prison along with defendant Steven Mars where McConnell supposedly got down on a member of the Souls for not giving up a cut of his dope.

This little story was torpedoed to pieces when Mars' attorney Marianne Jackson told Robinson, "When I prove to the ladies and gentlemen of the jury that Steven Mars did not even come to Pontiac from Joliet until March 30, 1978, I'm going to prove that you're the biggest liar who's hit this stand yet, aren't I?"

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# Breakout

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Feodor Mazin began to sing:

*Renouncing forever the old world...*

Dozens of other voices rose in a soft strong wave to join him:

*We shake off its dust from our feet!...*

The mother walked behind Mazin, a radiant smile on her lips, her eyes straining above Feodor's head towards the banner and her son. All about her were joyful faces and eyes of many colours, while in front marched her son and Andrei. She could hear both of them singing, Andrei's sonorous tenor merging with Pavel's deep bass:

*Arise to the struggle, oh workers, arise!  
Arise, all who labour and hunger!*

People came running towards the red banner. They shouted as they ran, but their shouts were drowned by the sounds of the song—that same song which had been sung softer than others at home. Here in the street it rang out unrestrained and with an awful force. It resounded with indomitable courage, and while it challenged people to take the long path leading to the future, it frankly told them how difficult that path would be. Its steady flame consumed the dark slag of all that had outlived its time, all the refuse of traditional emotions, reducing the fear of the new to ashes...

She caught glimpses of perturbed faces as the men and women teemed past. The throng kept pouring on and on like lava, drawn ever forward by the song, which seemed to sweep everything before it, clearing the road by the sheer force of its impact. As she looked at the red banner far up ahead, she saw the face of her son in her mind's eye—his bronze brow, and his eyes shining with the light of faith.

Now she found herself at the end of the procession, among people who walked unhurriedly, glancing about with the cold indifference of observers who already know how the play will end. They spoke in matter-of-fact voices and with utter conviction.

"There's one company stationed at the school and another at the factory."

"The governor's come."

"Really?"

"Saw him with my own eyes. Just arrived."

"At last they're scared of us—just think, soldiers and the governor!" The speaker swore with gratification.

"Ah, you good souls," thought the mother.

But the words she heard sounded cold and dead. She quickened her steps so as to get away from these people; it was easy to pass them, they walked so slowly and lazily.

Suddenly the head of the procession seemed to smash into something and the body reared back with a frightened roar. The song also shuddered, only to be taken up again, louder and in quicker rhythm than before. But again it subsided. One by one the people stopped singing. Separate voices could be heard trying to lift the song to its former glory:

*Arise to the struggle, oh workers, arise!  
Arise, all who labour and hunger...*

But in this effort there was no longer the common will, the cemented faith. Alarm now sounded in the voices.

Since the mother could not see the front ranks and did not know what had happened, she began pushing the marchers aside and forcing her way ahead. As she advanced, she kept bumping into people who were retreating, some of them frowning, with drooping heads, others smiling in discomfiture, still others whistling ironically. She searched their faces, her eyes filled with inquiry, pleading, appeal...

At the end of the street the mother saw a grey wall of faceless people, all of them alike, cutting off the entrance to the square. From the shoulder of each came the cold glitter of a bayonet. And from that silent, motionless wall came an icy breath that enveloped the workers and chilled the mother's heart.

She pushed her way through the crowd, trying to reach the spot where the people she knew were gathered round the banner along with people she did not know, from whom her friends seemed to

seek support. She was pressed tight against a tall, clean-shaven man with only one eye, who had to turn his head half-way round to look at her.

"Who are you?" he asked.  
"I'm Pavel Vlassov's mother," she said, conscious that her knees were shaking and that she was unable to control her lower lip.

"Oh!" said the one-eyed man.  
"Comrades!" said Pavel. "All our lives we must keep pressing forward. There is no other direction for us!"

The people grew quiet and expectant. The banner was raised, wavered for a second, then floated out over the heads of the people as it was carried steadily toward the grey wall of soldiers. The mother shuddered and closed her eyes with a gasp: four people—Pavel, Andrei, Samoilov and Mazin—had gone up ahead of the crowd.

Through the air came the clear voice of Feodor Mazin:

*You fell, a noble sacrifice...*

And like a deep sigh came the response in lowered voices:

*In this unequal fight...*

The four moved forward in time to the music.

Feodor's voice rolled out like a bright ribbon, full of resolution and proclaiming this resolution:

*You gave all that you had...*

while his comrades joined him in the second line:

*For freedom's cause...*

"Aha!" gloated someone off to one side. "Singing a dirge, the sons of bitches!"

"Sock him one!" cried an angry voice.

The mother pressed her hands to her breast and glanced round. She saw that the crowd which had flooded the entire street was wavering as it watched the four men advance with the banner. A few dozen of the marchers followed them, but with every step someone else dropped out, as though the pavement were burning the soles of their feet.

*An end will come to violence...*

sang Feodor prophetically.

*The people will arise...*

was the sure warning sung in response by a chorus of strong voices.

But awed whispers mingled with the singing:

"They're about to give the command!"

And sure enough, from up ahead came a sharp cry: "Lower guns!"

In a wavy line the bayonets were lowered until they greeted the advancing banner with a cunning steel grin.

"Forward march!"

"Here they come!" said the one-eyed man, thrusting his hands into his pockets and striding off to one side.

The mother watched without the flicker of an eyelash. The soldiers surged across the entire width of the street in a grey wave that advanced with cold persistence and was capped by the silvery gleam of the bayonets. With a few quick steps she came closer to her son and saw that Andrei had stepped in front of him to protect him with his tall body.

"Return to your place, comrade!" called Pavel sharply.

Andrei was singing with his head thrown back, his hands behind his back. Pavel shouldered him away and once more cried:

"Get back! You have no right to do that! The banner must go first!"

"Disperse!" commanded a little officer in a thin voice as he flourished his sword. He raised his legs high as he marched, without bending his knees, and slapped the earth hard with the soles of his boots. The mother was aware of the shine of those boots...

Smaller and smaller grew the space separating the people with the red banner and the solid wave of grey people. Now she could see the collective face of the soldiers—a distorted face smashed into a dirty-yellow line unevenly dotted with varicoloured eyes stretching all across the street. In front of it glittered cruel points of steel levelled at the breasts of the marchers, and without touching them, the steel cut them away, one after another, dispersing the crowd.

The mother heard people running behind her, and agitated voices crying:

"Scatter, fellows!"

"Run, Vlassov!"

"Get back, Pavel!"

"Drop the banner, Pavel!" said Vessovshchikov sullenly, "Give it to me, I'll hide it."

He seized the staff and the banner swung back.

"Let go!" cried Pavel.

Nikolai snatched his hand away as if he had burnt it. The song died. The people came to a halt and formed a solid wall around Pavel, but still he pushed ahead. Suddenly and unexpectedly there was a silence which seemed to have dropped from above, enveloping everyone in an invisible cloud.

Some twenty people surrounded the banner—not more—but they stood their ground firmly. The mother was drawn to them by her anxiety, and by a vague desire to tell them something.

"Take that thing away from him, lieutenant," said the tall old man, pointing to the banner.

The little officer ran over to Pavel and seized the flag.

"Let go!" he shrieked.

"Take your hands off!" said Pavel in a loud voice.

The banner shook in the air, dipping to right and to left, then again stood upright. The little officer jumped back and fell down. Nicolai rushed past the mother shaking his fist.

"Arrest them!" shouted the old man with a stamp of his foot.

Several soldiers ran forward. One of them swung the butt of his gun. The banner shuddered, fell forward and disappeared in the grey mass of soldiers.

"Oh dear!" cried someone bitterly.

The mother wailed like a wounded beast. In reply came the clear voice of Pavel from among the soldiers:

"Good-bye, mother! Good-bye, dearest!"

Two thoughts struck her: "He's alive! He remembered me!"

"Good-bye, nenko!"

She strained up on her toes to get a glimpse of them. There above the heads of the soldiers she saw the face of Andrei. He was smiling and bowing to her. "Ah, dear hearts... Andryusha! Pasha!" she cried.

"Good-bye, comrades!" they called from the midst of the soldiers.

The shreds of an echo, many-voiced, answered them. It came from the windows, from somewhere up above, from the very roofs...

Somebody struck her in the chest. Dimly she perceived the strained red face of the little officer standing in front of her.

"Get along with you, woman!" he shouted.

She swept him with a glance. At his feet she caught sight of the flagstaff broken in two, a bit of red cloth still fastened to one end. She stooped and picked it up. The officer snatched it out of her hand and pushed her aside.

"Move on, I tell you!" he shouted, stamping his foot.

From inside the ring of soldiers rose a song:

*Arise to the struggle, oh workers, arise!*

Everything reeled and swam and quivered. The air was filled with a menacing noise, like the hum of telegraph wires. The officer rushed over.

"Stop your singing!" he squealed in fury. "Sergeant-Major Krainov..."

Unsteadily the mother went over to where he had dropped the broken flagstaff and picked it up.

"Shut their blasted mouths for them!"

The song struggled, trembled, broke off and was over. Someone put a hand on the mother's shoulder, turned her round, and gave her a push.

"Get along, get along," he said.  
"Clear the street!" shouted the officer.

The mother saw another crowd of people a few steps away. They were shouting and cursing and whistling as they slowly backed down the street and disappeared in the yards of the houses.

"Move on, you devil!" shouted a young soldier in the mother's very ear, pushing her up on to the sidewalk.

She walked away, leaning heavily on the flagstaff, for all the strength had gone out of her. With her other hand she held on to walls and fences to keep herself from falling. The people kept backing away from her, while behind and beside her walked the soldiers, shouting:

"Get along, get along!"

She let them pass, then she stopped and looked round. At the end of the street she saw more soldiers blocking the entrance into the square, which was empty. The grey figures ahead of her kept pressing back the people.

She longed to retreat, but involuntarily she went forward until she came to a narrow empty by-street, into which she turned.

Again she stopped. She gave a deep sigh and listened. From somewhere in front came the murmur of the crowd.

Leaning heavily on the staff, she set out once more, now all in a sweat, her brows quivering, her lips moving, her hand gesticulating as disconnected words flashed through her mind like sparks, growing in volume until they burst into the flame of a vast desire to give them utterance, to cry them aloud!

The by-street made a sudden turn to the left, and here the mother caught sight of a large group of people.

"You don't brave a line of bayonets just for the fun of it, brothers!" said someone in a loud, strong voice.

"Did you ever see anything like it? The way they stood their ground with those bayonets coming at them! As firm as a rock, and not a bit scared."

(The Mother is available at Revolution Books. Cloth edition, \$4.40)

## Haig's Mission:

Continued from page 18

to pull off:

"By persuading President Sadat to let 1,000 U.S. troops join a peacekeeping force in the Sinai Peninsula," the *Times* said, "Secretary of State Haig has assured the survival of the Camp David accord and reaffirmed American sponsorship of the Israeli-Egyptian entente. But he reaches Saudi Arabia this morning as a protector of Israel as well as a suitor for oil. It is time to insist that the Saudis end their scornful treatment of Camp David as part of a wider diplomatic bargain that justifies their purchase of ever-more sophisticated American weapons. In making their air force dependent upon American supplies and training, they are in fact contributing to American influence in the region and thus to the security of Egypt and Israel. The sooner they own up to that reality, and drop even the pretense of a 'holy war' against Israel, the smoother will be their American connection. It is hard to believe that the Saudis' diplomatic doubletalk still fools any Palestinians... (Haig) is eager to give the Saudis almost anything they want—missiles and fuel tanks to extend the reach of the promised F-15 fighter, and now the AWAC electronic

surveillance aircraft that can fly over the entire region. He wants Congress to approve these sales for the bonds they may create with the Saudi military and for the basing rights that may evolve for American forces."

"What Congress should also want in return," the *Times* continued, "is a Saudi diplomacy that legitimizes negotiation with Israel. The Saudis should be encouraged to continue to mediate regional disputes, as in their defense of Jordan against Syria last year. They have a role in the effort to restore effective government in Lebanon."

For once we are tempted to give the *Times* a truth-in-journalism award. What the *Times* laid out are the essential features of Haig's hoped for "strategic consensus" in the Middle East. Built around the Israel-Egypt axis (with Israel very much on top), the alliance is to include Jordan, the Saudis, Oman, the small Gulf states, Iraq—and they have by no means given up on grabbing back Iran. It entails the full arming of the lesser allies with sophisticated arms, provisions for the stationing of U.S. forces in their countries and a "rectification" of the situation in Lebanon. Such are U.S. plans to "enhance the security" of the Persian Gulf—or more accurately, "enhance" massive U.S. military deployment in the area. □

# Worldwide Crimes

Continued from page 11

icipation by the military forces of the state, which acted with Nazi-like 'ruthlessness', demonstrating qualities that U.S. specialists had feared they might lack [this refers to a previously quoted memorandum hoping that the Indonesian generals would display 'the ruthlessness that made it possible for the Nazis to suppress the Communist Party of Germany']. The U.S. liberals who sometimes offer such rationalizations would find them less appealing as an account of Czarist or Nazi pogroms against the Jews, which had a similar blend of popular hostility and top-level encouragement, planning and organization... With a little time lapse, George MacArthur, well-known Far Eastern correspondent of the *Los Angeles Times*, has now produced a complete role reversal between assailants and victims. In discussing the relations between Indonesia and China he states that 'the Indonesians broke relations in 1965, when the Mao-inspired Communist Party, now outlawed, attempted to seize power and subjected the country to a bloodbath.'

The book is filled with similar exposures. But Chomsky and Herman focus on two in particular, Kampuchea and East Timor. In the first, an heroic liberation struggle defeated a U.S. assault that was truly genocidal in its scope, its calculated nature and its savagery. In reaction, the U.S. initiated a media blitz claiming that the victors were madmen systematically slaughtering all their countrymen. In the second case, real genocide in fact was (and is) being practiced at the hand of the U.S. client regime of Indonesia. But at the same time that the spurious charges against Kampuchea filled every channel, there was a conspiracy of silence about East Timor nearly as complete in its own way as the campaign of slander against Kampuchea.

First, East Timor. East Timor is an island of 600,000 people, a former Portuguese colony near the Indonesian archipelago. Portugal announced independence for East Timor in early 1974. Several political parties formed, and in the summer of 1975 a brief civil war was fought between FRETILIN, a nationalist party, and UDT, a pro-Portuguese one, after UDT attempted a coup. FRETILIN won a decisive victory. From 2 to 3,000 people were killed in the conflict. In September, 1975 the Portuguese colonial administration left and FRETILIN effectively began to administer the country.

Beginning in October the Indonesians made small-scale sallies into East Timor. But on Dec. 7, 1975, a few hours after the departure of Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger from Indonesia, the Indonesian armed forces launched a major invasion. Since then, in a continuing war of liberation against the invaders in which FRETILIN controls big sections of the countryside and Indonesia holds the capital of Dili, there have been an estimated 100,000 Timorese killed, or roughly one-sixth of the population! They have been killed by U.S. arms, wielded by U.S.-trained troops with the personal sanction of two U.S. presidents at least (Walter Mondale made a personal trip to Indonesia during Carter's reign to promise more military aid) and with either the suppression or distortion of the U.S. media.

Quoting from Chomsky and Herman:

"A review of the scope of *New York Times* coverage of Timor also gives some understanding of how the Free Press functions. For the year 1975, when the Portuguese revolution and the fate of the Portuguese colonies was a matter of great concern in the West, the *New York Times* index has six full columns of citations to Timor. In 1976, when Indonesian troops were carrying out a major massacre, coverage dropped to less than half a column. For 1977, when the massacre advanced to a point that some feel amounts to genocide, there are five lines. These five lines, furthermore, refer to a story about refugees in Portugal. Actual

coverage of East Timor is a flat zero."

When coverage *did* occur, it went something like this:

"Robert Shaplen, the Asia correspondent of the *New Yorker*, commented briefly on East Timor in his 'Letter from Indonesia,' Dec. 12, 1977. According to his reconstruction of history, 'Indonesian troops intervened, somewhat crudely and clumsily, in December of 1975, in a war for independence which the East Timorese were ostensibly waging against Portugal.'"

Remember now, Portugal had been out of the country for nearly three months and the civil war between FRETILIN and UDT over for longer than that. There was no intervention, only an invasion. And "crude and clumsy" are cute words indeed to use for a massacre complete with American traditions like napalm and free-fire zones and mass killings of civilians.

Shaplen went on in the same vein, saying that "the so-called Fight for Freedom had turned into a civil war among five factions, one of which, the left-wing Fretilin, objected strenuously to the manner in which Indonesian troops moved in to take over the former colony." Shaplen then quotes "neutral observers" who estimate some "ten thousand East Timorese" deaths—neutral observers obviously being the U.S. State Dept., since everyone else at the time was estimating between 50 to 100,000.

Finally, take this example from the *Los Angeles Times*: "After the Portuguese colonial rulers departed in December, 1975, pro-Indonesian forces, later aided by regular Indonesian troops, defeated left-wing Fretilin independence guerrillas in an eight-month civil war."

Hardly any coverage at all, and what little there is is flip, wildly distorted and inaccurate in nearly every particular, and all designed to paint a picture of some sort of arbitration by Indonesia which has long since been settled.

Though apparently not so neatly settled. On Feb. 22 of this year the *New York Times* Sunday magazine featured a piece on East Timor by Henry Kamm, titled the "Silent Suffering of East Timor" (note the irony of the title—the suffering was not silent, but instead hushed up by... the *New York Times*!) This nasty little piece mentions the "interest" in American academic circles, dismisses as hyperbole and exaggeration any claim that the U.S. at all knew about the invasion in advance (a fact documented by Chomsky and Herman) and essentially seems written to say that "tragic as it was, East Timor is now part of Indonesia"—despite Kamm's admission that 600 guerrillas (*his* figures) are still attacking the Indonesian troops whenever they journey into the bush (Kamm blames this for "bringing down reprisals" on the East Timorese). Finally, Kamm reveals that during the period when he was winning Pulitzer prizes for his wild tales about "Cambodian massacres" he also found time to spend some time in East Timor, too, though it took him over five years to write about it.

(Why did the U.S. orchestrate this monstrous genocide? Indonesia is a strategic country and further, it turns out that the fastest and safest passage for U.S. nuclear submarines from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean must pass through the deep water straits north of Timor Island. If this passage were denied to the U.S., the submarine journey between Guam and the Indian Ocean Diego Garcia outpost would be 8 to 10 days longer.)

## Democratic Kampuchea

While Henry Kamm and his partners were suppressing the news of the invasion, atrocities and liberation struggle in East Timor, they were also fabricating one of history's biggest hoaxes—the campaign to slander and isolate the government of Democratic Kampuchea led by Pol Pot. And this is clearly laid out in the book.

At the height of the din, which lasted several years, the U.S. media proclaimed as *fact* almost daily that the Pol Pot government had murdered some 2 million people and was attempting to totally uproot and brainwash the whole society. George McGovern demanded

an invasion. The media coined the term "auto-genocide," claiming that the Kampuchean government was somehow senselessly trying to slaughter its own people, in the biggest "crime of the century." (One comical aspect pointed out by the authors is the way in which each report or editorial began by posing as some lone voice finally breaking a terrible silence and "standing up against the crowd"—all this in the middle of the biggest public relations hype since P.T. Barnum.)

Chomsky and Herman exhaustively check the sources of the most reputable and widely quoted of those who claimed that this strange program of auto-genocide was going on and they find out that—lo! the sources are almost universally English-speaking refugees held in Thai refugee camps, articles placed in obscure publications by the CIA proven to be bogus, or else actual quotes from honest sources that are taken entirely out of context and twisted beyond recognition. And that's it! So much for the standards of intellectual honesty and academic rigor so cherished in Western civilization!

On the other side, suppressed by the media, were numerous reports from Khmer-speaking Indochina scholars and journalists (such as Gareth Porter and G.C. Hildebrand's book, *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*), Scandinavian diplomats, Japanese and Yugoslav journalists, and even journalists for two major U.S. papers who managed to enter shortly before the final Vietnamese invasion. These sources, none of whom could be called supporters of Pol Pot, let alone communists, put out a basically similar general outline on the overall situation in Kampuchea:

First, that the Kampuchean people, coming out of a situation of incredible carnage (again, remember that the U.S. dropped more tonnage of bombs on Kampuchea than it did on Japan in all of World War II) were able to reorganize and avert what U.S. intelligence agencies had confidently predicted would be a certain famine in which one million would die (Phnomh Penh had an eight-day supply of rice left when it was liberated). Further, they rehabilitated the Kampuchean moonscape that had been pounded to dust by B-52s and defoliants and not only staved off famine but began to reconstruct society from the ground up on a more or less egalitarian and self-reliant basis. Before the Vietnamese invasion they were beginning to export rice again. All observers also agreed that there was extraordinarily high morale and dedication among the Kampuchean peasantry and that reports of grueling forced labor were phony. Finally, those who were slandered as beasts and "committees of auto-genocide" were able to rally fierce popular resistance against the invasion of the much better-armed and far larger Vietnamese army, defeating the first invasion and continuing today to wage people's war. As to the kill-

ings—Chomsky and Herman prove that they were nowhere near the claims, nor were they particularly out of line with reprisals against collaborators in even remotely similar historical situations (say the French against the Nazi-collaborators) and that what excesses did occur seem to have been concentrated in areas where the political base of the Khmer Rouge was shakiest.

All these howlings went on as if either the U.S. had no hand in creating near famine conditions in Kampuchea, or else that the current fabrications proved retrospective justification for the hundreds of thousands murdered by the U.S. aggression against Kampuchea! Making it worse, the bourgeoisie did manage to stage a spectacle of so-called leading anti-war activists of the '60s (Joan Baez, for one) denouncing "the crimes against human rights carried out in Indochina" during 1978 and '79, focusing on both Vietnam and Kampuchea. Meanwhile the Soviets, the Vietnamese and their sympathizers and agents in the U.S. movement, while obviously refusing to knock Vietnam, eagerly joined in the chorus against Kampuchea, using the same raggedy *Reader's Digest* article as their source in many cases! All the more reason why this book is so important. Chomsky and Herman have refused through all this to stop exposing the crimes of the U.S., while also refusing to become apologists for the Soviet Union, its imperialist designs, and its equally hypocritical and deceitful information machine.

There are, however, shortcomings in their work that should be addressed. One problem in particular does focus around their intentional ruling out of the question of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Again this is due not to any political sympathy with the Soviets (they make very clear their antipathy to the Soviet bloc), but to the view—with which we agree—that the main fire of exposure must be directed against one's own rulers.

But in failing to analyze or even take into account at all the effect on the entire world situation of the pressure on both imperialist blocs to re-divide the world, grab up hunks of each other's empire, and eventually—and not too far away, at that—go to world war, they end up almost painting a picture of two parallel empires existing indefinitely on the same planet, but not really enmeshed in inextricable and decisive contradiction with each other.

Take the main examples in the book. In East Timor, the genocide was not "forced" on the U.S., but rather planned and orchestrated very carefully by it. But why? Just for investment opportunities in Timor or Indonesia? Much more plausible is the question of the world-strategic value of the area, especially Indonesia, including the passage for atomic subs mentioned earlier, subs which are useful only in global war. While the authors list this

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# U.S. Lies

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point, it is not given much emphasis.

In fact there is a general tendency in this book to reduce imperialist interests to the immediate economic ones, without taking into account sufficiently the world-strategic interests involved in local conflicts. Clearly more than investment opportunities are involved in a country like Indonesia, or, say, Brazil, which play the role of sub-regional powers on behalf of U.S. imperialism against both revolutionary and Soviet influences. Obviously this error is closely related to the error of failing to take seriously enough as a shaping factor the fact of contention between the imperialists. Some apologists of Soviet imperialism go so far as to utilize "purely economic" misconceptions to "prove" the Soviets are not imperialists. "After all, where are all the profits?" they say. Of course the Soviets *do* reap profits from the export of capital (often disguised, like all good imperialists do, in the form of unequal trade agreements and loans). But the main point, for example, of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has never been Afghanistan's profitability, but its strategic significance in the worldwide contention with the U.S. The U.S. military involvement in Vietnam was never "profitable" in the narrow sense, even before the U.S. was defeated there. Again, Chomsky and Herman do not apologize for Soviet—or any—imperialism. But they do tend to miss the point that, especially in the 1980s, the value of any area of the world is not calculated simply in dollars and cents, but far more in strategic value and especially today in relation to imperialist contention and war preparations on a world scale. In the case of this book, it is less a question of economic pure and simple and more part of a general tendency to treat things a bit empirically—narrowly and in isolation from world trends, especially inter-imperialist war.

This weakness also stands out around the question of Kampuchea. In a very brief treatment of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the authors say that "The conflict had its roots in historical antagonisms exacerbated by imperial conquest (referring here to France and the U.S.—*RW*)... In the post-1975 period, the border conflict became the focus of these antagonisms, though the dispute ran far deeper." Chomsky and Herman then cite an authority who points to "differences so profound that each revolution stands as an implicit critique of the other." But rather than go into those differences, the authors merely mention them, and then rather even-handedly list factors that could justify each side being antagonistic to the other. (To their credit, they conclude by pointing out how the stubborn resistance to the Vietnamese invasion stands as a refutation in its own right of the supposed isolation of the Pol Pot government from the people it was allegedly so busy slaughtering.)

But what were these "profound differences"? Principally they came down around the choice exercised by the rulers of Vietnam to sell out to the Soviet Union, betray the revolution, and tie themselves economically and militarily to the Russians as a client state in the area, while the leading group in Kampuchea pursued a revolutionary nationalist policy of self-reliance. Quite frankly, the resistance to Vietnam of the Kampucheans under the Khmer Rouge's leadership is just as much resistance against an imperialist-sponsored invasion as is the armed struggle waged by FRETILIN against Indonesia.

Why then did the U.S. wage such an intense public opinion campaign if it would have the effect, as Chomsky and Herman point out, of isolating Kampuchea and thus making it easier for Vietnam to attack? This was analyzed in the January 1979 issue of *Revolution*, which exposed the efforts of the U.S. to use the threat of the Vietnamese to press for a more "moderate" (read: U.S.-influenced) government, and failing that to move in the wake of the Viet-

namese invasion to mount a counter-offensive—angling for increased political and military "cooperation" between the revisionist leaders of China and the pro-U.S. regimes in Southeast Asia. The article quotes Deng Xiaoping as openly advancing this idea—and only a month later proceeding to act on it by invading Vietnam (not coincidentally, right after Deng's visit to the U.S.).

The point in all this is that actual developments in the world, including the rapid acceleration of the contradiction between the U.S. and the peoples and nations it exploits and oppresses, can only be understood with an all-round analysis that gives proper weight to the critical role of inter-imperialist rivalry and the influence of that contradiction on every other. That shouldn't—and doesn't—add up to "letting the U.S. off the hook," but instead serves to reveal the underlying roots of the intensification of all the contradictions in the world today, and the real opportunities and necessities for the people of the world to deal serious, maybe unprecedented blows to the system of imperialism and to reaction everywhere.

Why don't Chomsky and Herman recognize these developments and possibilities? They are not using—and are not trying to use—Marxism to analyze the underlying contradictions and their unfolding through the struggle of opposites. Chomsky himself leans strongly toward anarchism as his political philosophy. This seems to create a dual tendency within him: on the one hand, to sympathize strongly with the revolutionary strivings and struggles of the masses, especially in the "third world"; and on the other, to see the results of these struggles as always falling short of his (anarchist) ideal. This, in turn, seems to lead him to see all the results of such struggles in only slightly varying shades of gray, and this, plus a strong sympathy for the struggles, leads to a reluctance to criticize things like the abortion of the revolution in Vietnam.

It is striking that the general stance and world view embodied in this book are virtually identical to that of Chom-

sky in his first book of political writings and exposure, *American Power and the New Mandarins* (1967) or of Herman in his 1970 book, *Atrocities in Vietnam: Myths and Realities*. This unchanging opposition to U.S. imperialism is in sharp contrast to others like Joan Baez and her ilk, or David Horowitz, another intellectual and author of several books exposing U.S. imperialism in the sixties, who recently held forth in *Mother Jones* magazine to the effect that, "Being against the U.S. role in Vietnam was one thing, but now that the U.S. really is up against the Soviet Union and 'our' country might be in danger, it's time to rally round the flag." Chomsky and Herman haven't moved forward to a thoroughly revolutionary understanding of the world, it's true, but their radical anti-imperialism is far, far preferable, not only to the open chauvinism of someone like Horowitz, but also to the social-chauvinism, the apologetics for U.S. imperialism smeared over with a "socialist," "Marxist," or "communist" veneer, which is to be found in such profusion today, from Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (which wants to put a "socialist" facade on the Democratic Party) to the Communist Workers Party, which increasingly wants to fly the red, white and blue and present itself as representing "true" patriotism. The contrast between such bilge and Chomsky and Herman's book is indeed sharp and immense.

In fact it is precisely this overall context of sharpening war preparations and their various manifestations in the superstructure of this society that makes this book an extremely valuable weapon in the hands of the revolutionary movement and the masses of people. It is impossible to do too much exposure of the crimes of the U.S. ruling class around the world, and very necessary to do much, much more. Chomsky and Herman's book is a tremendous aid in doing it.

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# Case Study

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perialist and domestic big capital.

Bourgeois reformist leaders of the revisionist or phony Marxist type, on the other hand, attempt to distort the historic role of the proletariat, to distort its ideology and to deceive it for the benefit of their plan for state capitalism. On the one hand, they strive to wipe out the revolutionary mission of the proletariat through false ideological and political concepts; to suppress its leading role; to prevent it from leading the people in the destruction of the bourgeois state and the real conquest of power. On the other hand, they work to promote certain reforms, to use their influence on the proletariat (and even the alliance of the proletariat with the small and middle bourgeoisie) to occupy with their upper bureaucracy the position of exploiters that was held by the big bourgeoisie and the imperialist monopolies. They propose to take over the economy and political power either by replacing some of these old exploiters or by temporarily associating themselves with them. It is this process of replacing domestic and imperialist big capital with a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie coming from their ranks, that they call "building socialism." Because of their reactionary nature, they must carry out this plan without destroying the basic institutions and laws of the bourgeois state. Consequently, the proletariat cannot agree to an alliance with the revisionist leaders, with these phony Marxists, it cannot consider them as "bourgeois reformists", for they want nothing less than to supplant the proletarian leadership and to falsely claim to be the ideological and political representatives of the proletariat so as to betray its interests and take the place of the big exploiters.

Moreover, at the present time, when false Marxists of this type are in power in a number of countries and have created one of the two superpowers, a social-imperialist bureaucratic bourgeoisie, their role as political swindlers has become more dangerous and effective throughout the world. They no longer represent only their local interests and ambitions to become a big bureaucratic state bourgeoisie, but also voracious interests of international domination and exploitation of the peoples of the world, the interests of the Soviet social-imperialist bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This makes them doubly dangerous and distinguishes them still more clearly from the traditional bourgeois reformist circles.

Obviously, in characterizing the phony communists, we are referring to the leading circles of the "C" P. In its rank and file there are many militants—and in Chile, they include many workers—who are duped by these leaders and who must be won over by and to a genuine proletarian leadership. In this sense, the fact that there are many misled workers in the ranks of the phony communist parties, a fact that has led some to label them "worker reformist" parties so as to justify an alliance with them, far from justifying this label and this alliance, only shows the urgency of exposing and fighting such leaders. The fact that they succeed in leading on and duping working class militants testifies precisely to their role of political swindlers and to the difference between them and the genuine, traditional bourgeois reformist trends.

This failure to understand the reactionary essence of revisionism led the radicalized section of the UP and MIR to "fight" the government and the leading group in the UP (both under the hegemony of the "C" P leadership) by criticizing secondary defects of their policy, such as their sectarianism, their tendency to compromise, their role as a brake on the struggle of the masses and so on; or by trying, without breaking with their leadership, to present them with *faits accomplis* so as to divert them from their scandalously opportunist course. These radicalized elements did not see that there was total incompatibility between the "C" P leadership's phony plan of "advance towards social-

ism", or rather, its plan for state capitalism, and the revolutionary mobilization of the people to win political power under the leadership of the proletariat. They did not understand that its phony strategy of "peaceful road to power", its veneration of the legality and institutions of the bourgeois state, its praise for and subordination to the reactionary Armed Forces, and its obsession with concluding an agreement with the CDP, that all this was inherent in and inseparable from its plan to replace one system of exploitation by another, by a system over which it dreamed to rule.

2. Another aspect of the errors that governed the behaviour of the radicalized group in the UP and of MIR was their false concept of unity. Failing to understand the essentially reactionary nature of the phony "communist" leaders, they did not understand the necessity of breaking with them and of creating a new pole of regroupment under revolutionary leadership. They forgot Lenin's teaching: "*The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism...*" They let themselves be taken in by a false unity, a unity which, in the last analysis, meant maintaining the revisionist domination over all these political forces by means of the blackmail of calling any attempt at independence "splittist". They did not see that if the "unity" is with an anti-proletarian and anti-popular line, then the more the masses are dragged into this "unity", the more there is a split with the real interests of the proletariat and the people. If the people as a whole follow it, then it is the people as a whole who have been cut off from their interests and linked to the interests of the bourgeoisie (whether the old bourgeoisie or the one that wants to replace it). They did not understand that the only correct unity with respect to the "C" P was unity with its misled rank and file in order to win them over to a correct line through an uncompromising struggle in principle and in practice against these opportunist leaders. This was precisely the tactic followed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks when they temporarily united in the Soviets with the Mensheviks who controlled the leading bodies. They did so in order to resolutely fight the Menshevik leadership and win over the masses to break with this leadership, bringing revolutionary, insurrectional politics to the Soviets.

The false concept of "unity", "unity" around the reactionary line of the "C" P leadership (which always won out in the end), gave rise to the false build-up of numbers that characterized the UP. These great numbers of people were united on the basis of the systematic paralysis of their struggles; on the basis of gigantic parades, which in face of the reactionary opposition were an innocuous display of numbers; on the basis of relegating the workers to the sole task of increasing production; for the purpose of further electoral contests; and finally, on the basis of a verbal repudiation of civil war, a blind confidence in the Armed Forces, and a rejection of any preparation against the coup d'état. What purpose did this "unity" serve? What did this build-up of numbers serve, except to open up the road in the longer term to the plans of the phony "communists"? A pathetic example of its uselessness (from the standpoint of the interests of the people) was the fact that on September 4, 1973, a week before the coup d'état, the UP organized the biggest demonstration in Chilean history, mobilizing about a million people. Just as it serves no purpose to give a sick person millions of units of an antibiotic that is unsuitable for him, it does not serve the interests of the people to build up numbers, to "unite", on the basis of a line and policy contrary to its interests.

Despite the blows they received, the radicalized trend in the UP and MIR did not understand that while it was blackmailing them in the name of "unity", the "C" P leadership actually implemented a brutal policy of splitting and liquidating any trend that deviated from its reactionary designs. It did not hesitate to go over the heads of its "allies" whenever this was convenient;

to provoke splits within these parties by means of infiltrators; to falsify the results of the CUT\* elections; to implacably oppose, and even violently repress, timid attempts to unite the masses around a line more militant and less opportunist than its own. Dealing in this manner with the radicalized wing of the UP, the "C" P leaders dragged it into a shameful "unity" with the reactionary opposition through the approval of the Arms Control Act and the negotiations on the government programme with the CDP.

This false concept of "unity" also led to blind hostility toward the forces (such as the RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile—RW]) which were developing a fundamentally correct position and were vigorously calling for the creation of a pole of mass regroupment based on a really revolutionary alternative. A regroupment of this sort, which of course involved breaking with the opportunist "C" P leadership, would have made it possible to offer a clear perspective of action to the rising mass struggle in order to effectively oppose the putschists and really advance the struggle for political power. Objectively, while the radicalized trend was the receptacle for a large number of elements opposed to the opportunist leadership, it stopped these elements halfway and prevented them from making an in-depth critique so as to reach a consistent revolutionary position. By giving critical support to the UP leadership and the government, it kept these elements attached to the revisionists' plan for state capitalism; at most, it offered as an "alternative" certain diversionary actions that did not represent a correct road. Thus this trend played the role of a buffer between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism, for the benefit—consciously or not—of the former....

4. Another error common to the radicalized current in the UP and to MIR was to pose the problem of conquering political power in an erroneous manner. Overshadowed or inhibited by the praise of the "C" P leaders for the Armed Forces, they did not understand that the conquest of political power necessarily involved organizing and arming the masses to destroy these Armed Forces. Closing their eyes to this fact, essential for a Marxist, they propagated the illusion that political power could be had by developing, in quantity and quality, a supposed parallel power—built in the shadow of the government—which they called the "people's power". What was this so-called "people's power"? It consisted of organizations uniting a part of the masses of workers, peasants, squatters and students, organizations relatively independent of the CUT and the trade union federations dominated by the "C" P bureaucracy. The concrete organizational forms were: the "Industrial Cordons" (assemblies of delegates from the trade unions in a district of high industrial concentration); the "Communal Commandos" (the Cordons, plus delegates from the shantytowns and the student centres in the district); and a few "Peasant Councils", which were formed democratically by the rank and file. The JAPs\*\* in each district were also considered an expression of the "people's power". The main features of these organizations were their links with the rank and file; their functional character, since they brought together the various struggles and demands of a sector of the population; their greater preoccupation with the problems of the masses (wages, supplies, price control, etc.); and the ideological and political influence held in them by trends that did not consider themselves interpreters of the official UP and government policy.

Using Trotskyist-type speculation to create the illusion that these were organizations "of political power", the

\* CUT—Central Unica de Trabajadores (United Workers' Federation). Trade union federation formed in 1953, with a membership of over one million during the Allende administration.

\*\* JAP—Juntas de Abastecimiento y Precios (Boards of Supply and Prices). Local bodies created by the UP government to combat speculation and facilitate distribution.

petty-bourgeois opponents of the dominant line in the UP tried to brandish the experience of pre-revolutionary Russia, where the Soviets constituted a power parallel to that of Kerensky's bourgeois government, or rather, in Lenin's definition, an "embryo of power". The only problem was that these theoreticians forgot that the Soviets were the product of hard insurrectional struggles by the masses, of the smashing of the tsarist police forces in certain cities, of the rallying of important contingents of the army to the side of the people, and of the absence of the bulk of the reactionary armed forces, which were engaged on distant fronts in the 1914 imperialist war. All this culminated in the overthrow of tsarism and the temporary appearance of two parallel powers: the bourgeois government and the Soviets. Even then, to transform these "embryos of power" that were the Soviets into real power, the Bolsheviks had to defeat the opportunist leadership within them and carry out armed insurrection to actually seize power from the hands of the bourgeoisie. Only the Mensheviks and the Trotskyists (there too) were content to unilaterally proclaim the Soviets a parallel power and to demand that the bourgeois government give them greater prerogatives. Thus they downplayed, and went so far as to fight against, the preparation and initiation of the insurrection, which for Lenin and the Bolsheviks were an urgent task.

In Chile, the prerogatives which these mass organizations exercised (partly with government tolerance), during the October 1972 employers' strike, such as the direct distribution of commodities to the trade unions and shantytowns, the surveillance of merchants and hoarders through the JAP's, the delivery of raw materials to the factories; and other prerogatives resulting directly from mass initiative, such as the confiscation of means of transportation immobilized by the strike, the reopening and management of striking commercial establishments, the distribution of food and raw materials, the formation of vigilante teams in the factories, etc.—all this further helped to generate the illusion that these organizations were a form of "people's power". However, most of these prerogatives were drastically suppressed by the government itself at the demand of the military cabinet formed following the agreement between the government and the opposition that was credited with ending the employers' strike. Following this agreement, most of the UP members who had participated in the Cordons and Commandos during the strike deserted them on the orders of their leaders and concentrated on preparing for the March 1973 parliamentary elections.

The truth is that most of the activities of the Cordons, Commandos and Peasant Councils were basically defensive. These organizations did not play the really important role that they might have taken on: that of transmitting a revolutionary line to the masses in order to mobilize them, unite them and prepare them to stand up—with all the means available—to the military coup d'état that everyone saw coming. Still less did they play the role of centres to guide and unite the people in order to conquer political power. The fact that they did not play any such role was in large part due precisely to the erroneous orientation we have discussed, contained in slogans such as "Create, create the people's power" which implied that political power—which even the UP government did not control—would be won by a mere build-up of numerical strength in these organizations, which would allow them to exercise certain prerogatives such as those we have listed and by virtue of these prerogatives to proclaim themselves as the "people's power". It was precisely the illusion that "this is power" that greatly helped to hide and obscure a fact it was vital and urgent the people understand: *that they did not have power*, and that those who did have it were hurriedly preparing to punish them ferociously and to take away everything they had won. Thinking about this today, after all that has happened since the coup d'état, there is no doubt that mere development of what was called the "people's power", conceived as a substitute for

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# Blood

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soon enough may anticipate substantial profits.

As we have repeatedly stressed in this newsletter, in commodity speculation it is vital to study both the demand and supply sides of the situation for any given commodity. The trick of commodity speculation lies not in knowing when prices are rising (anyone can read the papers and see that) but in knowing when to "get in"—generally when demand exceeds supply—and when to "get out"—before the movements of capital, including speculation, have created the conditions for the price to fall. This blue chip commodity—blood—then must be more seriously examined as to both the current and future structure of production and demand.

We will consider the demand side first. Demand should not be confused with "needs and desires". In the free enterprise system, demand means *buyers*—those with money in their hands (or credit), with a need *as well as* an ability to pay. This is quite fundamental, but is sometimes overlooked by the more naive commodity speculators who mistakenly expect demand to grow because "the commodity is something that everyone wants." At present, the demand for blood is rising rapidly in the advanced countries and not in the less developed countries precisely because it is in the former that we find some *real* demand while in the latter we find only desires, wants, and needs—uselessly unaccompanied by cold hard cash.

Even in the advanced countries it is important for the potential investor to recognize this difference between "need" and real demand if he is to scientifically scrutinize the commodity prospects. Ridgeway's investigation shows that:

"Every year the demand for blood increases at a far greater rate than population growth in Western countries—a result of new blood-based drugs, larger numbers of violent ac-

cidents on the road and in workplaces, 'improvements' in warfare weaponry, and new surgical techniques."

In general it can be anticipated that the demand will continue to expand. The speculator, however, must be wary and critical in this regard as well. While it can be expected that economic conditions in the automotive industry together with negative prospects for highway improvement will insure that vehicular travel will continue to become more bloody, the declining standard of living of the majority of those involved in such accidents leads us to seriously question just how much real demand can be expected to grow with the automotive casualty rate. Similar problems exist in the sectoral growth prospects for blood demand based upon industrial accidents. The declining profitability of industry and the increased pitch of competitive pressures are certain to continue the speedups and disregard for safety upon which this aspect of the rapid growth of the blood market has been based. It is important to recognize, however, that this has so rapidly increased the price of medical coverage that employers and our government are taking measures that will undermine real demand in this component of the blood market as well. Certainly the recent moves to cap Medicare benefits and soaring prices of group insurance coverage will work to delimit real demand.

The brightest prospects for the future growth of the blood supply trade are in the field of military contracts. This is bound to be an ever-increasing area of real demand. In the more immediate future, investors would be wise to orient their activities to gaining a foothold in the supply trade with the U.S. armed forces—especially in the Central American and Persian Gulf regions. In the longer run, prospects are even more exciting. But, investors who wait until the army procurements of blood are being measured by the ton will find that they have lost the chance to secure the necessary connections. This would be unfortunate, especially given the fact that military connections are so highly profitable.

With this brief overview of the real demand, let us turn to the supply side of the trade in blood. Though it is some-

what complex, prospects appear relatively good compared to other investment opportunities. As economic conditions deteriorate for the general populace, the conditions for blood supply improve. The World Health Organization (WHO) says that: "Poorer people who can, for health reasons, least afford to part with their blood, are encouraged to give blood for the benefit of the wealthier populations."

While such encouragement has been the basis of the commercial blood trade all along, more recent developments, such as the more rapid deterioration of living standards, have worked to significantly expand the ranks of potential donors. Within the U.S., this has increased the volume of business measurably, especially in the inner-cities. In the same way, conditions have, as Ridgeway points out, "created a strong market for blood from the Third World nations."

Because these supplies are becoming so great, as every experienced investor realizes, every attempt must be made to corner the most technically advanced sectors of the industry. In this respect it is important to analyze the more profitable new technological developments in the blood processing field. The most important of these thus far has been a technique known as plasmapheresis. Again, *Who Owns The Earth* supplies the necessary information. This technique allows the extraction of "...as much as five or more pints of blood a week from a single donor (the human body contains an average of only 10-12 pints of blood)." The book also points out:

"plasmapheresis began a decade ago in South and Central America. Today it has spread to North America, Europe, Asia and Africa—principally through the efforts of international pharmaceutical firms, who process much of this plasma to produce numerous high-priced drugs...."

Because of this wondrous technical development it is now possible to limit the competitive pressures previously imposed on the supply side by the ease of access into production. Blood industry profitability depends upon owning or securing the necessary connections with

the more technically advanced production sites. Because the technically advanced producers are able to cheaply furnish blood through plasmapheresis, it is driving competitors who are not privy to this technique or are not substantial enough to afford the initial capital investment out of the market. Already the increasing demand for blood is being filled "by a relatively small number of the poorest people in the developing countries" and also among the skid row population of the developed countries. Of course, new problems have arisen in light of this development. This has led to some complexity in the market structure which foretells profitability only for the more astute and discriminating investors who can understand and profit from these complexities.

One of the resultant problems of the growing portion of the supply dominated by plasmapheresis has been a decline in the quality of blood. We have already cited the WHO report that points out that the most profitable segment of the industry is based on donors who for health reasons can least afford to part with their blood. Even within the U.S., as one expert has pointed out, the plasmapheresis banks are "exploiting for its proteins a population which is least able to donate them—the poorly nourished skid row population." While the longer-term effects of plasmapheresis are not known, Ridgeway correctly points out that more immediate effects upon the donors include "anemia, dehydration, malnutrition, protein deficiency, and impairment of the body's natural defense mechanisms..." As these problems arose it appeared that it might have a negative impact upon profitability. As the economic conditions of the poorer populations upon which the trade is based continue to deteriorate in general and as the commercial blood trade has become more successful in locating the more competitively priced donors and utilizing plasmapheresis, the quality of the blood has deteriorated as well. Thus, writes Ridgeway, "The risk of mortality and morbidity was higher in 1970 than in the 1940s and early '50s. In 1973, 17,000 cases of serum hepatitis resulted from blood transfusions; 10% of these victims died." There have already been

# Case Study

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the real necessity of preparing to confront putschism and actually conquer political power, would, rather than preventing the coup d'état, as some still believe today, only have resulted in the death of a hundred to two hundred thousand people or more, instead of thirty or forty thousand....

5. Another basic error of the radicalized trend was not fully understanding the role of the imperialist superpowers in the Chilean problem. The struggle against U.S. imperialism, the main backer of the coup d'état, was relegated to a secondary position. The partisans of this trend accepted in its general lines the partial and limited anti-imperialist programme formulated by the UP, and, what is most serious, they made no contribution to correcting the government's error of confronting the U.S. government's offensive in a conciliatory manner, without vigorously mobilizing the masses. We have already seen the consequences of this capitulationist policy and the perspectives which would have been opened up by a firm anti-imperialist struggle.

Furthermore, failure to understand the goals pursued by Soviet social-imperialism in Chile, as well as the direct or indirect ideological influence of social-imperialism on the radicalized section of the UP and on MIR, were decisive factors in the failure of these groups to understand the reactionary nature of the plan social-imperialism was carrying out in Chile through the "C" P leadership. This influence expressed itself in their refusal to break with the opportunist leadership and in their submission to various forms of falsification of Marxism proper to these revisionists. This "neutralist" attitude (which the Soviets actually encouraged elements

they had not succeeded in bringing around to their positions to adopt) had already manifested itself in the reticence of these groups to take, and their opposition to taking, a stand in the great international debate between the Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists which was initiated by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China in the sixties.

It was particularly through the Cuban leaders that the Soviet bureaucracy exercised ideological and sometimes other kinds of influence on the "rebel" sections of the UP and on MIR. These leaders, especially Fidel Castro, gave their approval to the three basic aspects of the Chilean "C" P leaders' plan for state capitalism: their subordination to the social-imperialist bureaucratic bourgeoisie; their deception as to the possibility of conquering political power and advancing toward "socialism" by the "peaceful road"; and their farce of passing off a form of state capitalism (as in the USSR) as socialism. On the first point, not only do the facts show that the Cuban government went so far as to support the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but there are statements such as this one by Fidel Castro on May 1, 1972: "We have full and absolute confidence in the foreign policy of the USSR", or his earlier statement that he agreed with this policy "right down to details". With respect to the second point (the "peaceful road"), Fidel Castro declared in an interview he granted the "C" P-run newspaper *Puro Chile* on August 4, 1970: "Categorically, yes. At this particular moment in Chile, I believe it is possible to move toward socialism by the ballot, that is, by means of an election victory. Chile is one of those rare countries in Latin America where constitutional political struggle is carried out within the established order, and the only advantage of the right is that it has greater economic means. The struggle is within the consti-

tutional framework, and that is why I repeat: in this particular case, in Chile in 1970, socialism can win through an electoral victory."

Finally, with respect to the third point (that of considering what happened in Chile as "revolutionary"), Castro stated in the course of his visit to Chile during the UP administration that: "We have sometimes been asked in an academic tone whether we believe that what we are seeing here is a revolutionary process. And we have said unequivocally: yes." The number two man in the Cuban "C" P hierarchy, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, pulled the rug out from under any sympathizers of the Cuban process who upheld the necessity of

another road to seize political power, telling them: "For us, there is no revolutionary alternative outside the Popular Unity and its government."

Furthermore, it is known that Cuban influence on the radicalized sections of the UP and on MIR was not only ideological. It also took the form of very tangible pressure to get in line with the revisionist leadership, any time they showed inclinations toward independence. Thus the Cuban leaders filled to perfection the role assigned to them as servants of the reactionary line of the Soviet social-imperialist bureaucracy: to neutralize dissidents, and ultimately to bring them around to the line of the Soviet leaders.

## 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* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund  
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, IL 60654

problems with increasing incidences of malaria and syphilis due to blood transfusions. All of these problems are magnified by the current economic difficulties.

The fact that this deterioration in the quality of the commodity was taking place in the light of the increasing profitability of the industry does not concern us—such is the affair of snivelers. What does concern us, gentlemen, is the fact that the deterioration of quality was beginning to have an adverse effect on the price per unit. While the appearance of this problem deluded some investors to relinquish their assets in fear of a price crash, it provided opportunities for those more calculating in their judgments.

Thus far, in fact, that old Yankee ingenuity has been able to overcome this obstacle. Several means have been developed that enable the industry to continue use of the most lucrative supply sources and methods while paying attention to quality control. The best quality control efforts, that is those most compatible with profit, are those that enable the industry to supply higher quality blood to prime contractors through either the ability to check and grade blood as to its potential for infection, or to develop inexpensive counteractants that can be mixed into existing supplies. Several means of testing these methods exist which can be employed at very modest prices. Ridgeway points out that "...in one test some mentally retarded children at Willowbrook State School in New York were injected with plasma containing hepatitis antigens to determine the incidence of infection among children." And for those who are too bitten by publicity to use retarded children for quality control research, there are other means, which Ridgeway goes on to illustrate:

"In 1969, an investigation of Southern Food and Drug Research, Inc., (an intermediate blood contractor to 37 major U.S. drug firms) revealed that potentially fatal new compounds were carelessly tested on inmates of a state prison, resulting in several deaths and the permanent disabling of many prisoners."

Thus, two of our public goals can be served through the same means—that

is, effective means of controlling the quality of "third world" and "skid row" blood can be sought out while decreasing the tax burden imposed upon us by feeding so many prisoners, mentally retarded children, and other institutional burdens. Capitalism is really a remarkable system if you possess the resources and know how to stay on top. (That, incidentally, is why you, Mr. Investor need our newsletter.)

Quality control has not been the only problem affecting the market. In the supply sources located in the less developed countries there continue to be political problems. For example, according to Ridgeway "...in South India where some 40,000 people maintain themselves by selling their blood, regular plasmapheresis donors have formed a trade union in an attempt to minimize their health risks and maximize the payments they receive." This suggests that investors should consider not only diversifying their holdings between cities in various countries, but also decentralization within each country. While economies of scale must be maintained, they must be counterbalanced where possible by consideration of the problems that arise where such large groups of donors are unnecessarily brought together in one place. There are far too many locations in these countries where people cannot find other employment than selling their blood to justify concentration in only a few cities. Plasmapheresis can be profitably conducted at a variety of smaller installations. Further, by working at decentralization the industry can make a real contribution to the development of these countries by providing gainful employment to those who would otherwise lie idle, unable to feed themselves. This contribution to humanity can be made in a way that should work to increase the industry's profitability and will prove beneficial to our country as well.

Now we don't mean to downplay the very serious political problems that confront us, rather to suggest some means to attempt to counteract them. Frequently, it is true, people in these countries don't understand the benefits of free enterprise and go into a frenzy. Sometimes this results in pressures developing that force some impinge-

ment upon our operations. In some cases, some of our allied governments in these countries are tempted to alleviate the pressure by picking on some unfortunate line of investment. Means, tried and true, exist to counteract this. Here one example is sufficient: "When Haiti cancelled its profitable 10 year bleeding concession to Hemo-Caribbean, Inc., the company urged Congress, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Bank to suspend financial assistance to Haiti until the blood flow was resumed." (Ridgeway). Since so many of these governments are dependent upon the U.S. and its financial institutions for their very existence, such tactics, as has been repeatedly demonstrated, are often successful in bringing things back into line and restoring our beneficent operations.

In other cases, (which, regrettably, we must frankly report are on the rise) these frenzied populations topple whole governments and attempt to completely remove our country's beneficent participation in their economies. This is truly unfortunate since we need many more relationships with more countries like these if we are to bring prosperity back to America. Insofar as these more completely hopeless cases arise where our operations are precluded by either terrible revolutions or our displacement in these countries by Soviet enterprise, all an investment counselor can say is diversify, diversify, diversify! After all gentlemen, the U.S. itself is far from immune to such apocalyptic developments in these times. (We must apologize to our readers, incidentally, for the fact that, contrary to the advertisement carried last month, this issue of the newsletter does not contain a prognosis of blood futures during a general insurrection. Thus far our research department has not completed its detailed case study of events in Miami last May upon which our projections will be based.)

One final area remains to be discussed—the problem of regulation. At times this problem has appeared quite ominous for the blood industry and has caused the market to become jittery. In 1975, for various reasons, the WHO published a report calling on member states to "stem the extensive and increasing activities of private firms in

trying to establish commercial blood collection and plasmapheresis projects in developing countries". Then, as before, the industry's response was typified by the statement of P. Carlinger of Pioneer Blood Services, Inc., that non-commercial blood systems represent a "shiftless, socialistic approach" that would undermine the "great pharmaceutical companies." Thus far this approach has been adequate for the industry's purposes. Richard M. Titmuss summed up the situation in his book *The Gift Relationship* when he wrote: "Governmental systems of licensing, inspection and quality validation appear to be helpless to control private markets in blood and blood products."

Recently, as everyone knows, the general trend has strongly favored deregulation of industry in general. In the coming period, however, investors in blood should be aware that there may be some renewed pressures to regulate that particular industry—at least insofar as it pertains to a common war effort. While this should not be expected to alter the basic price structure or conditions of extraction, it may have some significance in increasing the types of quality control efforts that were described earlier. We recommend a somewhat flexible posture in regard to these regulative overtures, combing some degree of self-regulation and some concessions where military contracts are concerned. Given the current and projected price structure in this industry, there is some room for concession. In particular the profitability of military contracts is quite high since: "...the Department of Defense has to provide two servicemen donors to get one unit of blood from a commercial blood bank." (Ridgeway) Given the high profitability of military sales and the foreseeable rise in demand, it is incumbent on the industry to make some concessions to the common effort. After all gentlemen, we will be waging war to advance our country. As terribly as profitability has been declining since the early 1970s, some further sacrifices will be required of profitability in order to strive to reestablish a more prosperous international environment for our own free enterprise system. □

## Pontiac

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"No," Robinson replied weakly, "you're going to prove I was mistaken." It seems that Robinson, in his eagerness to railroad as many Pontiac Brothers as possible, was also mistaken about McConnell's presence at this alleged meeting. Robinson's dramatic attempt to paint McConnell as a ruthless gang leader backfired in his face when it was revealed that McConnell did not even arrive at Pontiac until April 12, 1978, more than a month after the supposed meeting took place.

Angelo's shaky performance was followed by a cast of equally degenerate characters. Several of them are known drug addicts who have proven to be particularly pliant tools in the hands of the state. Edgar Richmond, an ex-inmate, testified on March 26 that he spent \$2,670 given to him by the state since his release on drugs. Prosecutor Thomas Breen later claimed that the payments, made in \$10 and \$20 amounts on 35 different occasions, were for carfare. Richmond stripped off his shirt to show the jury a network of scars and needle marks, but claimed that as of two weeks ago he no longer takes drugs. When defense attorney Leo Holt asked Richmond if he was using the money to purchase T's and blues (a heroin substitute of two prescription drugs sold illegally), Richmond replied, "Yep, real strong."

Robert Powell, another ex-inmate, testified on April 2 that he "used to be a drug addict." Records from the Illinois Dept. of Law Enforcement (IDLE) show that Powell has been paid the fantastic sum of more than \$8,000 in the seven month period from August, 1980 to February, 1981. The money is ear-

marked for "living expenses." When questioned by attorney Leo Holt, Powell admitted that his drug use is not so far in the distant past. In fact, he was admitted to a hospital in Los Angeles where he now resides on March 4, 1981 for an overdose of alcohol and valium, a tranquilizer. Ex-inmate George Conner testified on April 2 that he has been paid \$6,000—also for "living expenses." And these huge sums of money are only what the IDLE has officially recorded in their accounts.

The state's generosity toward its key prisoner-witnesses has not stopped with supplying them with drug money. Edgar Richmond, like many other inmate-witnesses, was released early from prison thanks to a sentence reduction arranged for him by the prosecutors in exchange for his co-operation. Richmond testified that he was released after serving only 16 months of a 4-12 year sentence. Another key witness, Jimmy Brackett, was released after serving 15 months of a 4-8 year sentence. Gil Baggett, who has served nine years of a 15-30 year murder sentence, was also well-rewarded for playing ball with the state. In return for his co-operation he received three months' reduction on his sentence, a transfer to a medium-security federal prison, and the promise of a parole recommendation.

Baggett's testimony, like the others, is completely contradictory. During the cross-examination he was confronted with five inconsistent statements he had made to state agents and defense attorneys. He did not even identify any of the Pontiac 16 until nearly two years after the rebellion when the by-now-familiar attack of moral conscience compelled him to tell the "truth." The trial has also seen a number of amazing recoveries from long spells of amnesia. Robert Powell, for instance, during his stint on the witness stand, was able to suddenly recollect that he had seen David McConnell stomp on a guard

when this fact had never been mentioned in his three previous statements to IDLE following the rebellion.

This pathetic procession of inmate witnesses shows that the state is hell-bent on framing up the Pontiac Brothers. It also serves as a reminder that the bourgeoisie will never run out

of lackeys, pimps and cutthroats to serve as its bribed tools of reaction. But the cowardly groveling of these only serves to highlight the courageous stand of the Pontiac Brothers even more in fighting back against this railroad and defying the death penalty threat being dangled over their heads. □

## Chicago

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from the beefed-up police force patrolling the projects to the seizure of weapons and the eviction of tenants has all been covered in the name of a holy crusade against "gang violence."

A wave of outrage—at Cabrini, and throughout Chicago generally—has met these attacks. One small indication of this was the uncharacteristically militant posture struck by that hopeless lackey, Jesse Jackson, who was forced to condemn the occupation. The more the anger has surfaced, the harder the media has worked to portray the image of a kind and compassionate Jane Byrne, even taking the desperate step of printing her daily "Cabrini-Green Diary." The most frequent target of her concern, is of course, the children. Recently, a ridiculous display of letters from Cabrini second-graders was splashed all over the media warning the mayor that it was "too dangerous" to move into the projects. Responded Byrne: "I can't see this violence going on for another generation... Our hopes are to save the next generation, and that's why we're here." The mayor's concern for any generation of Black people has been clearly demonstrated

from the beginning. The cops celebrated her initial arrival by arresting 13 Black youth. Seven others, who had the misfortune to be standing near Byrne's building when she made her grand entrance, were charged with disorderly conduct for "loitering in a menacing fashion" near her doorway. The cops are stepping up not only their stop-and-frisk harassment but the number of arrests as well. Youth are being busted on pretexts of "curfew violation" or "loitering" to create an atmosphere of police terror that can be arbitrarily enforced against anyone who so much as looks sideways. Byrne commented that thanks to the work of the pigs, she can now "sit in the front and have lemonade at Cabrini."

While Byrne recently announced that she may reside only another week in the projects, she has promised that the police will stay. In fact, she announced that she will shift \$1 million in federal funds for beefed-up cop patrols at Cabrini-Green. Interestingly enough she has insisted that the patrols be in place by May 1st.

Only two days before her proclamation on the "next generation," the city had proceeded to throw 23 families out into the street "next generation" and all. Delores Otis and her four kids are typical of those evicted with less than 24 hours notice. For having "unauthor-

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## correspondence on May 1st

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loud. When pay day came around I went back to the revolutionary center to not only pay for what I had gotten but to get more, and that's when I heard about Damián García, a member of the RCP who was murdered by pig agents while building for Revolutionary May Day by selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. People were telling me how him and two other brave revolutionaries climbed to the top of the Alamo and trashed the parasitic flag of Texas and in its place raised high the blood red flag of revolution. They began to speak more about May Day and how the rulers of this country hate that day, fear that day. We talked about the international effect Damian's actions had and how these actions had inspired millions throughout the world.

That night when I went home I started thinking about May Day and that red flag over the Alamo. Why was it that the rulers of this country and throughout the world fear this day; what's so special about May Day, and the red flag being raised on that day? I didn't find the answer until May Day itself came around. All that next week I started to notice more and more the signs of May Day: painted on a wall in the downtown area was "Welcome May Day Brigade,"

painted on another wall was "Revolutionary May Day, May 1st, 1980." The May Day poster began to pop up everywhere. I started talking to my friends at work that maybe we shouldn't go to work that day because this was the day that workers and oppressed people all around the world stand up and take it to the streets, the day we march straight up for revolution. I would tell my brothers, my sisters, cousins, aunts, uncles, my neighbors, every where I went I took the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper and told my friends about May Day and how as far back as the Roman Empire the slaves would rise up, and where they did, they would raise the red flag.

And this is what May 1st is all about, a day when slaves rise up and declare that a day will come when we will not only rise up for one day but a day when we will rise up and liberate ourselves from the chains and prisons of capitalism. But as May Day got closer, I started thinking wait a minute. I just got out of prison, I'm still on parole, if I get busted I'll go back to prison. Who will take care of my family if that happens? And then the night before May Day it got real sharp for me: in the morning would I dare raise the red flag of revolu-

tion, would I dare step to the front and take history into my hands, would I be part of that class-conscious force who on that day would mount the political stage and dare to make history, would I rise to the occasion and stand with the people of Iran, Chile, Turkey, Afghanistan? Throughout the world, May Day, International Workers Day, would be celebrated on May 1st, not in some dinner hall or by a company picnic. No, May Day would be held in the street. No, May Day would be held in the streets for the world to see that here in the belly of the beast is a class-conscious force of "proletarians so radical they want to fight all oppression, not only their own but oppression everywhere that imperialism stretches its claws." And yes, I would be a part of that class-conscious force. What was it that stopped my wavering? The struggle I was having had a good deal to do with it, but the main thing that made me want to go and stand up was this section in "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" where Lenin says: "It is not enough to take sides on the question of political slogans; we must take sides on the question of an armed uprising. Those who are opposed to armed uprising, those who do not prepare for it, must be ruthlessly cast out of the ranks of supporters of the revolution and sent back to the ranks of its enemies, of the traitors or cowards. For the day is approaching when the force of events and conditions of the struggle will compel us to separate enemies from friends according to this principle." Well, after reading that, I would be there on May

Day.

That morning on the way up to the march site I was nervous as all hell, May Day was here. Who would be there, what would it be like? A hundred things kept running through my head. Finally when we reached the rallying point I saw what May Day would look like. There was white people, Black people, Chicanos, Mexicans, Asians, Iranians, nationalities from all around the world were here. And then across the street were the armed enforcers and political pigs of this mad dog system. At one point the Klan tried to enter the rallying site but was driven back by security. I remember at one point during the march the pigs tried to stop us (around a thousand of us) from marching any further. As the legal team and the bourgeois scum were going through "legal" negotiations, the flatbed truck at the front of the march kept inching its way closer and closer to the barricade of the pigs. The footsteps of the marchers behind the truck grew louder and louder almost like the sound roaring of thunder. Fists clenched so tight you could see the knuckles turn almost white were not only raised but began to pound, to hammer at the empty air, the chants grew louder and louder, "Your Pigs in Blue Are Nothing New, Your Red, White and Blue We Spit On You." People's outrage began to boil. We were going to march on May 1st and sure enough these reactionary dogs were forced to step aside and let the ranks of revolution march bravely by chanting, "Wake Up, Break Out, Into Your Hands Take History." □

## Chicago

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ized persons" living in her apartment—i.e., her homeless mother and two sisters—Delores was tossed out. The Chicago Housing Authority refused to accept her rent for months and then evicted her out for "non-payment."

After this incident managed to get media coverage, Byrne quickly called news executives together to chastise them for portraying the homeless as "martyrs." "The evictions aren't sad," she said. "If people don't pay their rent, that's continuing the ghetto and they should not be allowed to stay in public housing."

Byrne has been coming up with new plans and schemes every day that add up to mass evictions. On April 2, the day after her move into the projects, Byrne held a press conference to announce an immediate freeze on new tenants moving in. She also suggested that some of the most rundown and decayed buildings might be "put in mothballs" and that condominium conversion be considered for Cabrini. Uncoincidentally, on the very same day, the head of one of the nation's largest firms dealing with condo conversions proposed that Cabrini be turned into condominiums. The remark from Invesco Chairman Nicholas Gouletas seemingly came out of the blue as he testified before a Senate Subcommittee hearing investigating him for corruption—but that's another story. He suggested that converting Cabrini, and then—get this—selling the units to the tenants would bring "the pride of home ownership" to the neighborhood. But *who's* neighborhood, Nick?

This plan was immediately denounced as "crazy" by the major newspapers, a tactic aimed at dispelling widespread knowledge that this is exactly what's slated for Cabrini. There have been serious attempts to carry out such a scheme ever since the Chicago 21 Plan, the city's blueprint for the future of the downtown area, was introduced in 1973. The plan suggested conversion along the lines proposed by Gouletas. In 1976, a community newspaper reported that two real estate developers attempted to buy the property to convert it into luxury apartments. At the time the CHA's executive director admitted this would be feasible because "the buildings are in real good shape." The main obstacle to the "redevelopment" of Cabrini, as stated bluntly by Chicago real estate tycoon Arthur

Rubloff, was that "you would create a riot, of course."

Possible revolt of the thousands of Black tenants at Cabrini-Green is the only reason that the city has not moved sooner on mass evictions. This fear was succinctly summed up last year in the wake of the Miami rebellion in an editorial printed in Chicago's Black (and shameless) daily newspaper, *The Defender*. "The prevailing situation at Cabrini-Green, if not checked soon by a sincere mobilization of Chicagoland leaders with relevant, long-run solutions, can set off an explosion that will be felt nationwide. Cabrini-Green is a time bomb..." the *Defender* warned.

The fact that mass evictions are planned for Cabrini-Green in one form or another, is no secret. The only question is how to do it without triggering mass resistance. A 1968 report by the Chicago Department of Human Services on the ghetto rebellions following the killing of Martin Luther King warned Chicago authorities that, among other things, "the citizens must be disarmed." Getting the guns out of the hands of the residents is exactly what the authorities are attempting to do, but this is a problem that they have not fully resolved. Again, under the "gang violence" crackdown cover, Byrne first bragged about her plan to send in 50 federal agents for an apartment by apartment sweep through the projects, but now she has decided to move more cautiously. Rather than risking a confrontation, the authorities are tapping their network of spies and informers within the projects, asking them for information on who has guns. Police Supt. Brzezczek is also considering plans for a drive to persuade gun owners to turn in their weapons "for their own safety."

But the police are not waiting around for such voluntary action. According to project tenants, the cops have started going to the homes of anyone with a police record and kicking down their doors to search apartments for weapons. Jane Byrne's move into Cabrini was the green light to begin these raids. At least two middle-aged women have received 30-day eviction notices because their sons had BB-guns in the apartments. The evictions are based on a CHA regulation, recently dredged up to assist with mass evictions, that *no one* in public housing may store a firearm in their house.

Meanwhile, a massive campaign to clean up Cabrini has begun. The mayor is "making improvements for the residents" and has also ordered studies on the cost of repairing faulty elevators and on the possibility of clearing out the rats and roaches. This, of course,

is nothing but an attempt to study feasibility of converting Cabrini into luxury apartments. By the same token, other major projects proposed by Byrne such as building a sports complex near Cabrini, cleaning out the sewer system and improving garbage collection are hardly for the benefit of the Black residents of Cabrini.

In other repressive measures instituted since Byrne blew into Cabrini, further steps have been taken toward clearing small businesses out of the area. Two weeks ago, seven area taverns were shut down after being issued heavy violations. Five food stores were issued citations after surprise visits by inspectors which could force them to close down. These stores have been the only commercial outlets around Cabrini. Closing them down will mean as much as a nine block walk; it also means running a gauntlet of cops. The whole thing is another deliberate attempt to harass and intimidate Cabrini tenants.

The disgusting irony of Cabrini-Green is that the very housing project Black people are now being driven from was intentionally created by the federal government itself as a version of the South African bantustan. Cabrini, completed in 1962, was built as nothing more than the modern-day slave-quarters for Black people displaced from other areas of Chicago for the influx of new immigrants coming up from the South in search of work. Black people were herded into these prison-like highrises and purposefully segregated from the rest of the population where, it was hoped, they could be more easily exploited and controlled.

But when housing projects like Cabrini-Green and ghettos across the country erupted into storm centers of rebellion during the late 1960s, suddenly the authorities on all levels grew alarmed at the existence of such politically explosive concentrations of Black people in the inner city. Correctly perceived were threats to the financial and political hearts of major cities. This had profound implications, and the bourgeoisie developed a conscious strategy aimed at politically and militarily dealing with future upheavals. Plans, alluded to as early as the publication of the infamous Kerner Commission Report, amount to driving out the volatile Black and Latino populations around the central cities, replace or "rehabilitate" broken down dwellings with high-priced housing and then use this as bait to lure in mainly white, middle-class residents. The central areas would then be ringed with a stable middle-class buffer zone. In Chicago, this strategy was formalized

with the Chicago 21 plan.

Nearly every neighborhood adjacent to the central area—the Loop—is undergoing redevelopment, some faster than others, accompanied by the gradual turnover of the population from Black and Latino to mainly white. One of the first areas selected as a pilot program for forcible eviction in 1974 was the community of West Town, site of a rebellion by Puerto Ricans back in 1966. While this area is made up largely of single-family dwellings, there are many programs underway today to uproot people from Cabrini. In a one-year period from 1975-76, 400 arson fires aimed at burning people out of West Town raged through the community. After another major rebellion hit the community in 1977, efforts were redoubled to drive Latinos out of West Town. This time, the all-too-familiar pattern of gang warfare was used as a tool to accomplish this. First the grisly headlines of shootings and murders hit the headlines day after day, setting the stage for the detachment of 100 extra cops into the community to harass people and crack heads. Meanwhile, as the combination of gang activity (much of it police inspired) and police repression terrorized more and more people out of the neighborhood, the city made further strides with its redevelopment plans.

While there is no public blueprint for how the attacks on Cabrini will unfold in the future, the media has been floating out various proposals, including leveling the projects all together. After praising Byrne's cleanup campaign, a recent *Sun-Times* editorial stated, "But there's a deeper policy question at stake...Should highrise ghettos like Cabrini... exist at all?" There have been repeated references to Pruitt-Igoe, a St. Louis housing project dynamited in the '70s because it was badly deteriorated and vacant. The ploy of moving out residents in order to "protect them" from unsafe and rundown conditions may very well be used in this situation.

The sharpening political situation generally has dictated that the authorities move on Cabrini now. But this is far from a simple task. "I have a feeling something is gonna happen around here," said a resident who has lived at Cabrini all his life. "They're talkin' about cuttin' off food stamps, they're takin' away CETA jobs. A lot of these families have nothin' to live on but food stamps. I was in the Marine Corps for two years, and when I came back here it seemed just like the '60s. This place is neglected, people are getting kicked in the ass, people are getting angry." □

# Tribunals

Continued from page 13

gressive organizations to endorse and participate in the development of this tribunal. A statement of endorsement has been circulated among many of these forces, gaining signatures from a wide variety of people from all walks of life—including a prisoner on death row, other political prisoners, veterans, professors, attorneys, feminists, clergymen, foreign born, etc. A few days after the statement was released, a Vietnamese man walked into Revolution Books in Los Angeles with a copy of the letter translated into Vietnamese. In one community where many of the people have recently arrived from Latin America, meetings are being held to plan out testimony for the hearings. Several people have postponed research and fact-finding trips to other countries in order to participate in the hearings, while others have agreed to schedule their speaking engagements and other activities around the proposed dates of the tribunal. As a revolutionary professor, who is very active on a number of fronts, told the *RW*: "There are a whole lot of people in... (his area of the country) that are becoming active around El Salvador, including many from the anti-nuclear movement and women's groups. I want to show them that El Salvador is not an isolated thing. There was Guatemala and Honduras back in the '50s, the Dominican Republic a little later, Vietnam, the CIA in Iran... within the core of the revolutionary group we have here, people are pretty excited about this thing."

This excitement was noticeable from the moment the RCP put out the call for this tribunal in the February 6, 1981 issue of the *RW* and it has been growing ever since. At the kickoff meetings held in mid-March in both Los Angeles and New York, a number of people commented that a common response among progressive people to the call for the Tribunal was, "It's about time." Many people were anxious to hold hearings in their areas; people from one area had drawn up a lengthy proposal including an analysis of all the possible participants and favorable social forces, in a determined effort to get the hearings located in their town. The plan for the tribunal that was eventually agreed upon involved a series of hearings, beginning in the San Francisco Bay Area for the Northwest where they will run from April 22-25, a week off for May First and then hearings continuing for the Southwest in Los Angeles with further hearings scheduled for the Midwest and Chicago, the South in Atlanta, and finally New York City—the internationally recognized center of the U.S. imperialists. Local committees in each of these areas will plan the hearings, encouraging broad participation on the different panels involving people with direct experience of U.S. imperialist war crimes as well as researchers, historians and other experts on particular aspects and/or geographical areas of U.S. domination. A national panel of prominent "judges" will travel to each of the hearings, collect the testimony and at the end, issue their findings. According to tribunal organizers, the judges will "be chosen primarily on the basis of their having shown their active stand with the struggles of the people internationally and having the respect of the masses of people."

The plan being developed for the San Francisco Bay Area tribunal reveals both the decisive role of the masses and the broad participation of progressive forces that the tribunals will combine. There will be three major areas of emphasis—Central America and Iran (with a focus on El Salvador and its relation to Iran), the Pacific Rim (with the focus on Vietnam, also Korea and the Philippines, in the context of U.S. imperialist actions in the Pacific theatre from World War 2 to the present) and Nuclear Weapons (including the development and use of nuclear weapons from Hiroshima to the neutron bomb, their relation to other weapons of the U.S. imperialist war machine and to the development of

nuclear power). In all these panels, direct testimony from those who have first-hand experience and expert testimony from those who have researched and studied the questions will be encouraged. And while these are tentatively scheduled for the major panels, there will also be other sessions which will include testimony on a broad range of topics—including some that will be more fully developed in future hearings.

Carl Dix—one of the Ft. Lewis 6 in 1970, who refused military orders to Vietnam and who spent much of his 19 months in the military prison at Leavenworth in solitary confinement for continuing to oppose the war and attempting to put out an underground newspaper—told the *RW* that holding and publicizing the tribunal broadly was a question of battling the bourgeoisie. "Basically, we have plans on three fronts to carry this on. One, we are going to fight to bring people here to testify from other countries, which the U.S. government will undoubtedly try to stop. Two, we are challenging the spokesmen and planners for U.S. imperialism's war crimes, such as the hostages who missed their chance for such mass hearings in Iran, as well as others who are less well-known and perhaps less publicized criminals, to come and defend their operations before the masses. Three, we are going to build and promote the hearings as widely as possible while they are occur-

ing, and go for the widest possible dissemination of their findings. We are planning on publishing these findings in as many languages as possible."

In this as in all aspects of the mass proletarian war crimes tribunal, relying on the masses to step forward is key to achieving victory. While plans are going full steam ahead to make it happen, there is much more that needs to be done and much more participation required to really enable the tribunal to give the imperialists the kind of nightmares they so richly deserve. Further involvement in all aspects of the hearings is urgently needed—including especially fund raising to pay for transportation for scheduled panelists and for the publication and dissemination of their findings. More testimony from both direct experience and/or extensive research is also needed. To participate in the tribunal, people should contact the National Office at 2625 E. Third Street, Long Beach, California 90814 (213) 439-4985 or in the San Francisco Bay Area, P.O. Box 4668, Berkeley, California 94704, or call Stasia at (415) 444-7664, between 9-5 on weekdays.

A glimpse of the potential of the tribunals was shown in an unannounced rally at UC Berkeley on April 7. While several hundred listened intently in Sproul Plaza, a woman veteran who had spent 7 years in the military and who now works with the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center told

why she was participating in the tribunal. She said she had grown up in poverty and had seen the military as a way out. She began climbing up in rank while she worked in a hospital at the end of the Vietnam war, and thought she was really making it. "They really try to get us to buy this sugar-coated shit and I was eating it up. But I began to realize that I was climbing on the backs of thousands of people who were getting slaughtered... I woke up and that's what we've all got to do." After the rally, a number of students came over to discuss and debate the possibilities of the tribunal. One student who was a member of an El Salvador support committee, urged the tribunal organizers to come to his committee's next meeting and present the tribunal for them to participate in. Another suggested that they come back to the campus the following week and give the students a "preview" of the tribunal as a way of generating more interest. At this point and seeing how things were going, a couple of paid feds began harassing the students and tribunal organizers. But a middle-aged man stepped forward saying, "You know, these provocateurs here are professionals." He was already well-acquainted with their type of operation. "You see," he explained, "I have been exiled for two years from Brazil, and it is U.S. imperialism that has made me an exile." □

## What Is The Proletariat

Continued from page 15

On page 414 we find a discussion of the rights labour enjoys but no discussion of labour's right to run the state, the various enterprises, education, and culture. Actually this is labour's greatest right under socialism, the most fundamental right, without which there is no right to work, to an education, to vacation, etc.

Mao Tsetung, "Reading Notes on the Soviet Text," in *Mao Tsetung A Critique of Soviet Economics*, Monthly Review Press, 1977, p. 61

This Socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

Marx, "The Class Struggle in France 1848-1850," *Marx and Engels, Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 282

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," *F.I.P.*, p. 59

... Chang Hsi-jo criticized us for "craving greatness and success, being impatient for quick results, scorning the past and putting blind faith in the future".

This is just what the proletariat is like! Any class "craves greatness and success". Should we rather "crave pettiness and failure"? King Yu valued every moment of time. We too

must treasure every minute. Confucius said: "Three days without seeing my lord makes me worried." He also said: "I never sit long enough to warm my mat." Mo-tzu's "stove was not used long enough to be blackened". They were both men who were hungry for success and quick results. We too follow this rule. Irrigation, rectification, anti-rightism, 600 million people engaged in a great movement. Isn't this "craving for greatness and success"? In setting average advanced norms for workers, aren't we "being impatient for quick results"? Unless we despise the old system and the old reactionary productive relationships, what do we think we are doing? If we do not have faith in socialism and communism, what do we think we are doing?

Mao Tsetung, March, 1958, "Talks at Chengtu: Against Blind Faith in Learning," Schram, *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, pp. 120-21

According to dialectics, as surely as a man must die, the socialist system as a historical phenomenon will come to an end some day, to be negated by the communist system. If it is asserted that the socialist system and its relations of production and superstructure will not die out, what kind of Marxism would that be? Wouldn't it be the same as a religious creed or theology that preaches an everlasting God?

Mao Tsetung, 1957, "Talk at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees," *Selected Works*, Vol. V., p. 377

\* Lenin argued that the term "Social-Democracy" was a "soiled shirt" and should be discarded. "We must call ourselves the *Communist Party*—just as Marx and Engels called themselves... The name 'Social-Democracy' is *scientifically incorrect*..."

V.I. Lenin, "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, *F.I.P.*, pp. 388-89

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