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Superpowers' Mideast Maneuvers

U.S. Seeks Anti-Soviet "Stability" in Lebanon Crisis

Five years after the civil war of 1975-76, the turbulent crisis in Lebanon has once again erupted. Lebanon is a flash point for numerous and key contradictions in the Middle East, and the current protracted confrontation has witnessed the intensification of all of them. Most of all, this complex web-work of interacting crisis is spurring ahead the increasingly sharp and overt positional maneuvering of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists in preparation for war.

The latest stage in the development of the crisis was ushered in late in April, when Israeli jet fighters (made in USA) shot down two Syrian helicopters (made in USSR) over central Lebanon.

Both Israel and Syria maintain an extensive military presence in Lebanon. Israel customarily runs daily strafing and bombing missions against Palestinian bases in southern Lebanon, with the full endorsement of the United States. Israel also has pursued a policy of extensive military cooperation with the reactionary Maronite Christian Phalangists, who have been engaged recently in increasingly bitter fighting with the left-wing Moslem National Front, and have been attempting to consolidate positions in east central Lebanon as Christian strongholds.

Syria has had a major military presence in Lebanon since 1976, when it intervened in the raging civil war between the Phalangists, who were backed by Israel, and leftist Moslems, who were fighting in alliance with broad sectors of the Palestinian resistance move-

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Imperialism vs. the Navajo People

Showdown Brewing at Big Mountain

Big Mountain, Arizona—The nervous shuffling of papers can be heard from Washington, D.C. to the headquarters of the Navajo Tribal Council at Window Rock. Frantic phone calls from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) office in Phoenix to the headquarters of the Hopi Tribal Council in New Oraibi are clogging up the few telephone lines in the Four Corners area of Arizona. Counterinsurgency police—known as Indian SWAT teams and "special operations" squads—are desperately being whipped into "professional" shape in Brigham City, Utah and Parker, Arizona, while the Navajo Tribal Police and the BIA's Hopi Police alternate between swagger and sweet talk in their futile attempts to deal with the "troubled situation." Behind the scenes, corporate planners for Peabody Coal, Mobil Oil (and Uranium), Gulf, Kerr-McGee and many more of their ilk are crying out, "What's the hold up?" as

they are once again forced to tear up and revise their carefully conceived schedules. The source of all this frustration—and reaction—is a number of Dineh (Navajos) and growing legions of supporters and fellow participants in the struggle who remain determined to continue on the road of all-out resistance against the theft of Indian land and especially driven by the smell of the vast mineral resources for energy development at a time when they desperately need them—have hit a big snag in their war against the Navajos; that snag is the people of Big Mountain.

The name "Big Mountain" has become a battle cry—and a symbol of resistance—to Native Americans and all those who are outraged by the continual and escalating oppression they have suffered at the bloody hands of the U.S. ruling class. Sitting in the heart of

the Joint Use Area (JUA), an area of land which borders the Hopi and Navajo reservations and which has been used peacefully by both peoples for centuries, Big Mountain is a crucial part of the government's plan to divide up the land between the two puppet Tribal Councils, "relocate" the over 9,000 Navajos and over 100 Hopis who live on the "wrong" side of the dividing line, and clear the way for the profitable development of 64 billion tons of coal, enough uranium to supply the U.S. government for 30 years, bountiful supplies of natural gas, etc. To achieve this end, the government has created a so-called "Hopi-Navajo land dispute."

Behind the "Dispute"

The bourgeois media has already picked up on this tack—the latest example being a May 20 ABC World News Tonight report propagandizing that the land "has been the subject of a major

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UN Vote U.S. Peddles Killer Formula for Infant Care

Last week a committee of the United Nations World Health Organization approved a proposed code that would ban the worldwide promotion and advertising of infant formulas that discourage breast feeding. The code was overwhelmingly passed by a vote of 93 to 3. Two of the three countries that voted against it, Chad and Bangladesh, stated that they did not oppose the code itself but cast negative votes to protest the early cutoff of debate apparently because they wanted even stronger measures. That left only one country that had openly opposed any limitation on the peddling of infant formula—you guessed it, the United States. According to the U.S. representative to the UN, Gerald Helman, the U.S. strongly supports breast feeding but objects to prescribing "a rigid set of rules applicable to companies, health workers and the health care system in all parts of the world."

Indeed, the pious concern of the U.S. imperialists for the health of people all over the world is really quite touching and also quite well known—particularly around the question of supplying infant formula to the developing countries. When infant formula sales dropped after the post WWII "baby boom" in the U.S., the American-based companies like Abbott, Bristol Meyers and American Home Products that manufacture this stuff quickly expanded their operations into Africa, Asia and Latin America, where they developed a thriving multi-million dollar business. Industry representatives regularly descend like vultures on hospitals, clinics and maternity wards in these countries, pushing infant

formula like dope. A vast array of glowing literature falsely proclaiming the benefits of expensive breastmilk substitutes and adorned with pictures depicting rosy-cheeked mothers with smiling healthy babies is passed out, along with plenty of free samples. Once a mother starts using the formula, her milk dries up and she and her child are "hooked" for the duration, whether she can afford it or not.

While there are legitimate uses for infant formula (such as when a mother's breast milk is insufficient) and it apparently is not so hazardous in the richer, more well-off nations, the detrimental effects of unnecessarily using breast milk substitutes in the less developed countries have been extensively documented and are widely known—so widely known, in fact, that there has been an international boycott of Nestle's, the Swiss-based kingpin of the infant formula industry, for the last four years, in opposition to its criminal activities in marketing its formula worldwide. Lacking the various nutrients and antibodies providing immune protection that come with breast milk, formula-fed babies are more highly susceptible to infection, chronic diarrhea, malnutrition and a host of fatal diseases. And in the developing nations—long stunted, impoverished and maintained in an enforced state of backwardness by the imperialists—this susceptibility is, of course, greatly magnified. The high rate of illiteracy means that women who use the formula are less likely to be able to prepare it properly according to the instructions on the label; formula must be mixed with impure water; it is difficult to

sterilize the bottles; mothers are often forced to dilute the formula to make it go further, etc., etc.

Along with this, there is the fact that these mothers are generally malnourished themselves living as they do under conditions of imperialist domination and that their breast milk may therefore be lacking in adequate nourishment for their child anyway. This leaves them all the more vulnerable to the unfounded claims of companies like Nestle that: "Pelargon babies enjoy a steady, healthy growth and a resistance to infection close to that of breast fed babies..." *It is estimated that infant formula is responsible for literally millions of cases each year of early infant malnutrition and death from infection, starvation and a variety of diseases in these countries.* It is no mystery why the infant formula companies are known throughout the world as "the baby killers."

But this popular appellation does not greatly concern the International Council of Infant Food Industries, which represents the 14 western and Japanese conglomerates that have carved up 85% of the market for baby foods in the developing countries. What does concern them is that the proposed WHO code is too "inflexible"—even though it is *purely a cosmetic move* that would not prohibit them from selling infant formula anywhere they please, only from advertising it in such a way as to "interfere" with breast feeding. But even this ridiculous pretense of "regulation" is not feeble enough for the American infant formula companies who have been particularly well-organized in their efforts to oppose it.

Last January, former Secretary of State William Rogers, now a paid lobbyist for American Home Products, spoke to the incoming Reagan administration about supporting the industry's position. Subsequently,

Reagan nominated Ernest Lefever (who is, we might add, appropriately named) as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights after he publicly admitted accepting \$25,000 from Nestle's and was in the midst of coordinating a private campaign against various church groups that have been opposing the infant formula companies. Then in March, executives of Bristol Meyers, Abbot/Ross Labs and American Home Products began a two week series of visits to federal officials and members of Congress to urge that the U.S. oppose adoption of the code—no doubt handing out further copious sums of money in the process.

So now the U.S. can claim the distinguished honor of being the only one in the world who, as a matter of principle, refused to even pretend that they are concerned about limiting the vampire-like activities of the infant formula companies that prey on the children of the dispossessed nations. This stand was so blatant that even two top officials of the notorious Agency for International Development, which coordinates the efforts of the U.S. imperialists to plunder the oppressed nations announced they were resigning in protest while cries of indignation went up from a host of "liberal" imperialist spokesmen like Teddy Kennedy, concerned with the damage this will do to the U.S. image in the international community. But the U.S. vote stands. After all, what's a few million more dead kids each year in those "other" countries where the imperialists have plundered and killed for decades anyway, compared to American principles and the millions of bucks they might stand to lose? Such is the insane and inevitable logic of capitalism and its underlying laws which dictate the extraction of profits, even if from the mouths of babes. □

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"Reagan-omics"

On the campaign trail Ronald Reagan hammered at a basic theme—a resurgent America reclaiming its lost strength and pride. If only the indomitable American spirit were released from the soft-hearted and misguided policies of previous administrations, the country could be put back to work and greatness. It was a vision with all the resonance of a Brim de-caffinated coffee commercial and the grandeur of a Norman Rockwell painting, save for the tanks and missiles placed prominently in the foreground. Yet, if the inspirational tone were somewhat flat, the persistent message of a "new beginning," i.e., one and all sacrificing so that America could lord it over the world uncontested, did correspond to the real needs of a ruling class besieged by crisis, imperialist rivalry and revolution.

Also, over the past several years—and not unrelated to these kinds of sermons—academic economics underwent what has been called a Keynesian counter-revolution. Keynes it should be injected here was quite the

counter-revolutionary himself. At the core of Keynesian economics is the notion that, left to itself, investment will not proceed at satisfactory levels. What is needed is some stimulus from the outside to arouse the investment interest of the capitalists. Key to this Keynesian economics practiced and preached since the World War 2 era, were massive government expenditures underwritten by deficit finance which would pull the economy forward through the multiplication of demand and production. A new conventional wisdom has now taken hold: big government was now the problem instead of the panacea; austerity and lean budgets, not expansive growth policies, were the road forward; a sense of "individual responsibility" and productiveness must replace the "indolence" fostered by the welfare state.

The new wisdom was as unscientific as that which it has supposedly replaced, in fact it's even more blatantly idiotic. But it, too, reflected a basic change in the objective situation facing the bourgeoisie: the conditions of inter-

national expansion which made possible various necessary programs and bribes had eroded greatly and this expenditure was in fact more of a drag on profitability while stimulative growth programs became dangerously destabilizing. Milton Friedman, who in the 1960s exclaimed pragmatically, "We are all Keynesians," was now awarded the Nobel Prize in the '70s and top billing in the *New York Times* for his conservative monetarism. The liberals subsequently became the champions of a more cosmetically benign belt-tightening, and all agreed that America's defenses were in need of serious repair. And in case we didn't know what we were supposed to think, the opinion polls told us that we too felt that inflation was the number one problem and America was badly weakened militarily. In this article we want to review the rationale, implications and contradictions of these developments.

The decade of the '70s was a turbulent one for the U.S. bloc. The most serious post-war downturn, on the heels of monetary upheavals, ripped through the imperialist and dependent countries. The recovery that followed was spotty and fragmentary and highly inflationary. Nowhere did any durable expansion take place. The economic situation throughout the U.S. bloc is sickly to say the least. Current signs show just how desperate things are. Industrial production fell in each of the five major capitalist countries in the last half of last year. England has recorded unprecedented unemployment rates and the number of people seeking work in the European Common Market has increased 20% in one year. West Germany, long the pillar of financial and monetary stability, has seen its mark take a nose-dive and inflation take off. As for the United States, a little more than a year ago it suffered a recession after a year of sluggish growth. The decline was particularly sharp in auto and housing; in fact the recession was

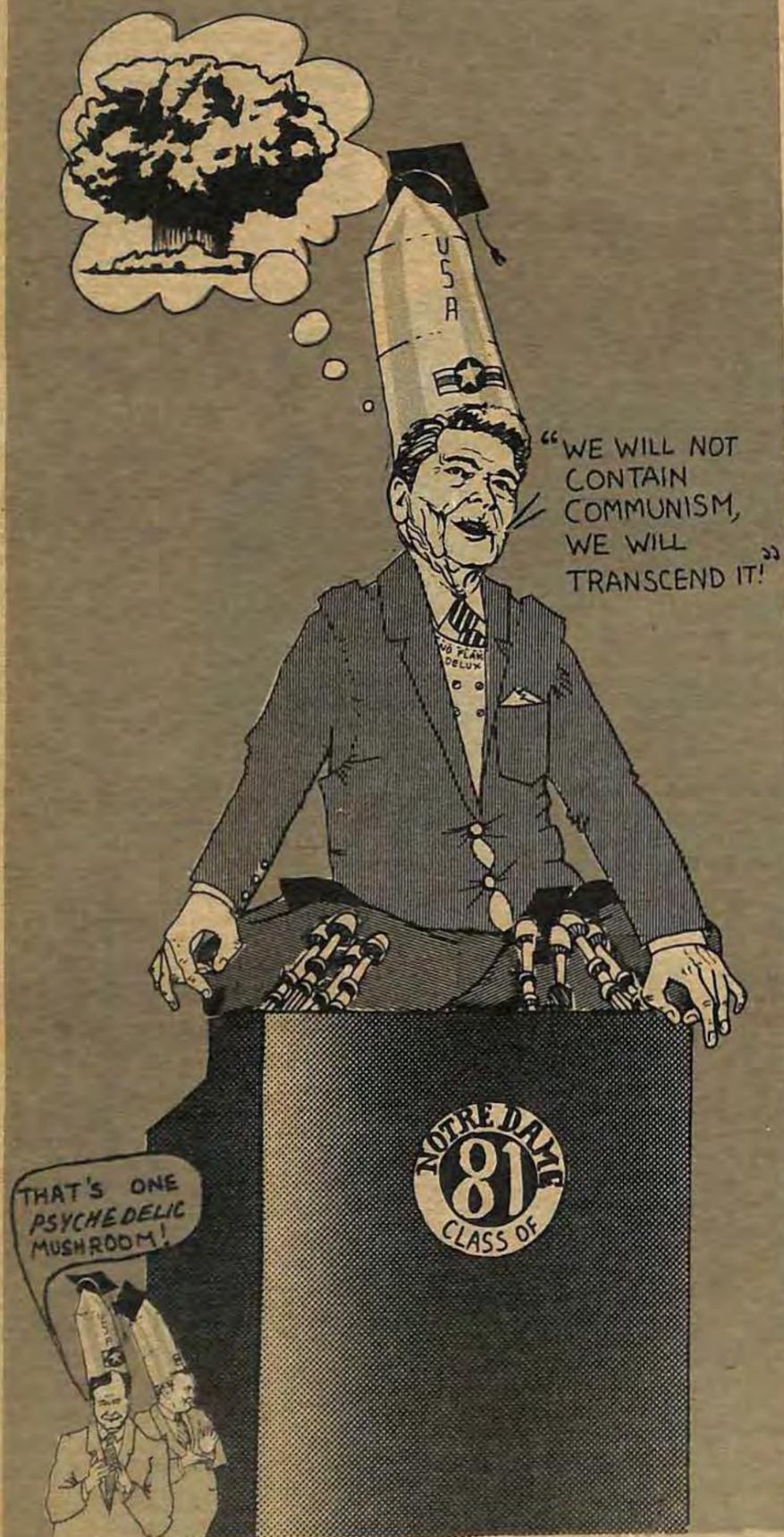
the steepest, though perhaps the shortest, since World War II. Recovery was powered by a large increase in government spending and loose monetary policy through the last half of 1980. GNP shot up during the first quarter of this year, yet demand for autos and housing remains weak while inflation and interest rates are soaring again. Many within the financial community predict a possible second synchronized recession (since that of 1974-75) throughout the bloc in 1982, perhaps accompanied by serious financial crisis. Against a backdrop of deepening crisis and intensifying superpower rivalry, the U.S. imperialists have sought to broadly effect what Paul Volcker, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, called in reference to the monetary system, a "controlled disintegration." Specifically, they have pursued a strategy of bolstering their defense capabilities while attempting to deal with and rationalize the effects of the crisis in a way that is least disruptive to the unity of the Western imperialist bloc and the stability of the monetary order, both of which however are undermined as the crisis and counter-measures to offset it develop further.

Amid much fanfare, President Reagan unveiled an economic recovery program in late February. Its main planks are massive spending cuts, a tax package which lowers individual tax rates and lets business take bigger deductions for capital equipment, trimming of the federal payrolls, tighter control of monetary growth, continued deregulation and historic increases in the defense budget. What has been revealed, on the one hand, is the very deep and profound unity within the ruling class over the need to streamline the government, attack the inflationary consequences of large budget deficits, and rapid remilitarization. On the other hand, the absence of a visible recovery program (strikingly missing are any

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Warheads Go To Notre Dame

Reagan's Transcendental Meditation



The Gipper Loses One At Notre Dame

South Bend, Indiana. It was Reagan's first venture outside Washington, D.C. since his shooting on March 30. He appeared at Notre Dame University where he was featured as the keynote speaker for commencement exercises on May 17. Notre Dame—where Catholic conservatism and knock-'em-dead football blend to make it one of the foremost symbols of All-American patriotism among universities nationwide. The media summed it up as a great triumph for national unity with TV cameras panning slowly over the applauding crowd of 15,000. Lavish praise was heaped on Reagan's speech, described as "a stubbornly visionary, unabashed celebration of patriotism."

But as much as the media tried to ignore it, this glowing picture of national unity was punctured by 2,000 demonstrators. Organized by the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador, Catholic, Protestant and other religious activists joined with youth and college students to demonstrate against the Reagan visit in a protest very similar to the recent May 3 march in Washington, D.C. The central theme of the action was opposition to U.S. crimes in El Salvador.

In the weeks before the commencement, debate over Reagan's appearance penetrated even the idyllic and isolated campus of Notre Dame. The university boasts as one of its graduates none other than Jose Napoleon Duarte, head of the U.S.-created Salvadoran fascist junta. This is the man that Notre Dame President Father Theodore Hesburgh still insists on calling "a good Christian." This was too much for many to swallow, and struggle erupted on the campus among hundreds of students over whether or not the Reagan visit should be supported. The pro-Reagan

forces engaged in such lofty methods of debate as pelting their opponents with eggs and even throwing smoke bombs to disperse heated arguments where hundreds gathered at one time.

When the day of commencement arrived, Reagan delivered nothing less than a battle cry to rally the troops. Using the soggy analogy of a young football player whose death spurs his team on to victory, Reagan appealed to the graduates to look beyond their own narrow interests and to sacrifice for the greater glory of U.S. imperialism. His maudlin tale was drawn from the 1940 movie "Knut Rockne—All American" based on the life of Notre Dame coach Rockne in which Reagan starred as college football player George Gipp. Gipp had died of pneumonia soon after playing his last football game at Notre Dame, and in the movie Rockne rallied his club and spurred them to victory by claiming that Gipp had asked on his deathbed that his team "win one for the Gipper."

Transferring the moral of the story from the football field to the battlefield in a lightning-quick leap, Reagan asked his audience, "Is there anything wrong with young people feeling something so deeply that they are willing to give their lives for it? We may soon be faced with this choice, and not on the playing field," he concluded in a call about as subtle as a bugle blast.

Reagan's performance was capped with the highest award Notre Dame has to offer—an honorary degree. 150 of the graduates and a handful of faculty wore white armbands and white mortarboards as a silent symbol of their protest over the honor. Another threadbare spot rubbed into the fabric of national unity—right in the hallowed halls of Notre Dame.

South Africa's "New" Relationship with U.S.

From Back-Door Mistress to Blushing Bride

On May 14 South African foreign minister Roelof (Pik) Botha arrived in the U.S. for two days of unprecedented "officially sanctioned" visits with Secretary of State Haig and President Reagan. Quoted in the South African newspaper *Die Beeld* as possibly becoming "one of the most important discussions in which South Africa has taken part since the Second World War," Botha's two days of "friendly and cooperative meetings" marked the culmination of the process of transforming the reactionary apartheid regime in South Africa from the back-door mistress of U.S. imperialism into a blushing bride in a publicly celebrated marriage of convenience and necessity. While the relationship between South Africa and U.S. imperialism has always been close, in the recent past it has been shrouded in the fog of political necessity, apparent standoffishness combined with covert but wholehearted support.

The process of ditching the fog of standoffishness and openly and flagrantly embracing the South African regime started to become evident earlier this year. In January, South Africa, both looking out for the best possible deal for itself and also sensing a shift in the ranks of U.S. imperialism, canned the highly touted Namibia negotiations, stating that the call for a ceasefire was premature and that South Africa was no longer confident in the ability of the United Nations to remain "impartial" as it supervised the transition to "independence in Namibia." During these negotiations and immediately afterwards, South Africa unleashed a series of heavy raids into Angola and Mozambique, including one raid over two hundred miles inside Angolan territory and another on Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique. None of this solicited more than an "unfortunate" or "no

comment" from the U.S. imperialists. In early March, during a televised interview with U.S. imperialism's official newscaster, Walter Cronkite, Reagan called for the open support of the "friendly" nation of South Africa.

Never one to miss a cue, South Africa quickly dispatched five of its top military officials, including Lt. General P.W. Van der Wespderhuizen, the South African chief of military intelligence to Washington. Over a period of six days these "gentlemen" met "informally and unofficially" with State Dept. officials and Congressmen, officials of the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Council, and finally with the U.S. UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. After six days of high level meetings and speaking engagements someone at the State Dept. "accidentally discovered" who these South African gentlemen were and asked them to leave. In what was undoubtedly a purposeful and feeble excuse, the U.S. government claimed that they had absolutely no idea who these people were, that they had "misrepresented themselves on their visa application." The utter absurdity of this excuse is highlighted by the fact that one of the visitors, Admiral Willen du Plessis, was the defense attaché at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C. before he was deported in April of 1979. In addition to this, the March 15 morning newspapers prominently ran out the presence and proper identification of the South African military officials.

Jeane Kirkpatrick claims that when she met with these people later on that same afternoon she had absolutely no idea who they were. Obviously their uniforms and decorations threw Miss Kirkpatrick off balance—she must have thought they were the doormen from the Pretoria Hilton.

Following hot on the heels of the South African military officials, Dirk Mudge and other leaders of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (South African puppet party in Namibia) were warmly received in official Washington circles, so much so that on his departure, Mudge could only ecstatically reply that he had received nothing but "good vibrations" from U.S. officials.

A few weeks later the U.S. imperialists announced that the first phase of their Africa policy review was completed. On April 6, Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State Designate for African Affairs and the former Africa expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, was dispatched on a ten-nation African tour. He is the one who helped author the infamous "Tar Baby Option" paper with Henry Kissinger (the National Security memorandum that stated that "white rule" was a permanent fixture in southern Africa). Crocker's tour included visits to Nigeria, the "front line" states including Angola and Mozambique, South Africa and finally a consultation visit with the so-called "Contact group of five" (the imperialist workteam

around Namibia, consisting of the U.S., France, Britain, West Germany and Canada which authored the UN plan for "Namibian independence"). The substance of Crocker's visit has been reported to have been laying out the "new" U.S. policy in Africa, particularly with regard to U.S. relations to South Africa and the question of the settlement with Namibia.

Within a few weeks of Crocker's return, South African Foreign Minister Botha was officially received and welcomed at the State Dept. and the White House. Coming off these meetings, U.S. imperialism and the South Africans announced that there was a new spirit of cooperation and climate of hopefulness in matters concerning southern Africa. According to U.S. spokesmen, it's time to recognize that there is "a limit on the U.S. capacity to use negative pressure" in relation to South Africa and the region as a whole. In other words, "It's time to shed the baggage, get rid of the obstacles created by the useless anachronism of public disapproval of South Africa and get down to the real business at hand."

Securing the Area for War

This new face for U.S. policy in southern Africa is embodied in what has euphemistically been labeled "constructive engagement"—the policy sired and developed by none other than Chester Crocker himself. In the winter 1980/81 issue of *Foreign Affairs* Chester Crocker describes "constructive engagement" as a multi-faceted, active, flexible and realistic strategy for achieving U.S. goals in southern Africa and combatting any Soviet gains or influences in the area. As the bottom line, Crocker states that: "Constructive engagement in the region as a whole is the

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Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals To Open in Los Angeles, May 29, 30, 31

The second in the series of five hearings on the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals will be held in Los Angeles for three days, the weekend of May 29. The hearings will be held at:

Teatro Fiesta
2131 West Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

At the following times:

Friday, May 29—7 p.m. to 10 p.m.
Saturday, May 30—10 a.m. to 10 p.m.
Sunday, May 31—10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

For further information write to:

War Crimes Tribunal P.O. Box 582 6520 Selma Avenue Los Angeles, California 90028

The two principal areas of testimony in these hearings will be:

- * Central America, South America and Mexico
- * Internal expansion of U.S. imperialism, past and present, focusing on the oppressed nationalities.
- * In addition there will be testimony from veterans and testimony on the question of scientific research for U.S. imperialism.

The tribunal encourages all those who are unable to participate directly to send written or taped testimony, photos and films to the hearings.

or call: (213) 439-4985

Rebel Swiss Youth Defy Cops, "Faschos"

Basel, Switzerland. Here in this industrial city located on the West German border, the autonomous youth movement and city authorities have continued to lock horns since the "disruptions" that occurred on May 1. As we reported in the May 8 *RW*, the Basel youth together with groups of revolutionary immigrant workers and students from Turkey, Spain and Italy put May Day back in its rightful place as part of the worldwide struggle of the oppressed and exploited by completely wrecking the programmed reformist events of the day.

For months before, and especially since the mid-February occupation of an old deserted factory near the main train station by youth—young workers and apprentices, as well as students and unemployed youth—who call themselves the "Movement of the Discontented," the local authorities had been badmouthing the youth and their center in the press, branding it "a breeding ground for criminality"—for such acts as organizing takeovers of various abandoned buildings to deal with the almost total lack of any low-rent housing in the city. In the wake of these "riots" at their May Day festivities—and squealing loudly about the \$1 million Swiss franc damage (over \$500,000)—the bourgeoisie moved to take revenge.

On May 5, nearly two hundred police in riot gear stormed the youth center, arresting 141 youth and confiscating various materials, claiming to have found 60 molotov cocktails. The center then was officially closed—with all doors and windows sealed with concrete and bricks (this despite the fact that the private owners of the building had never put in for a court injunction against the center).

The 141 arrested youth had to undergo hours of humiliating treatment; many were not allowed to leave their cells to use the toilets for over 13 hours, with the police telling them, "You can shit in the cell corners, that's what you did in the youth center, didn't you?" Others were paraded all over the city from one jail to another with threats and harassments by the various pigs whose hands they had to pass through.

On top of all this, many youth who were out in the streets after the center was stormed reported that gangs working together with the police attacked with knives and bicycle chains. This was not the first encounter with these "faschos" as they are now called by the movement. On the weekend following May Day they had attacked the youth center using various weapons including molotov cocktails in an attempt to scare the autonomous youth out. One squat-



Riot police outside of autonomous youth center in Basel, Switzerland. In the wake of the massive disruption of the authorities' May Day events this year, Basel cops, working with small gangs of "faschos," viciously attacked the center and the youth to close it down.

ter said, "We tried to talk with the attackers, which at first was successful since many of them came from the same social background as the people in the autonomous youth center." But the youth gangs were not working on their own.

After leaving once, the "faschos" returned only to be repulsed a second time with force as the autonomous

youth barricaded themselves into the center and defended it with stones and molotov cocktails. In the battle that ensued, 4 pistols were taken away from the faschos. And it had now become quite clear that they were being paid and directed by the police themselves—a fledgling Swiss version of the Turkish Grey Wolves. One of the

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Nathaniel Lane Acquitted, Faces New Trial

Demonstration Marks Anniversary of Miami Rebellion

In sweltering 90-degree heat, 100 demonstrators followed by a caravan of 60 cars took to the streets of Liberty City May 17th in commemoration of the May rebellion last year in Miami. The march swelled upwards to 350 by the time it reached the rally site 6 miles away. Thousands of people came out of their homes along the route, many cheering with clenched fists held high, while chants of "McDuffie's Dead, Cops Go Free, That's What the Rich Call Democracy" rose up from the crowd. Many joined in to march for several blocks before turning home. Newspapers and leaflets circulated broadly and the atmosphere was politically charged. The demonstrators were of many nationalities, as Iranian students, Haitian refugees, both young and old whites, and several small groups of Latinos joined the predominant group of Blacks from Liberty City. Several family members of Blacks who had been killed by police and vigilantes last May joined in the demonstration.

For weeks, efforts had been made to keep people away from this march. Word was sent out through Black churches that people should keep clear. Black "leaders" were paraded all over the place attacking the march. One outstanding bootlicker, Black sociologist Marvin Dunn, even outdid his usual spitshine job for the authorities, being quoted widely, "I thought it was an ill-advised idea... it is very difficult to anticipate and control what can happen in a very volatile atmosphere." He went on to spread the rumors that "We don't know these people," the march organizers from the Citizens Coalition for Racial Justice (CCRJ), even though he himself had spoken on the same platform with several of them exactly one year earlier in front of the Dade County Metro Justice Building. That angry crowd last year had surged beyond his "leadership," racing inside the building to trash and capture it.

A massive force of cops was called in to action for this march. Leading and tailing the demonstration were carloads

of police. Ten to 20 helmeted pigs stood at each intersection. Not far out of sight were even larger numbers of these troops, some in armored "rescue" trucks.

Only two weeks earlier, Liberty City residents and many other people all over the city had been in a very festive mood at the outcome of the trial of Nathaniel Lane, a 19-year-old Black youth facing the death penalty for three counts of first degree murder, a railroad stemming from the deaths of three whites during the rebellion last year. The brief trial was followed by one and a half days of jury deliberation that found Lane innocent of two charges and gave him a mistrial on the third. The prosecutor had stormed out of the courtroom in a fit of rage at this verdict as the people cheered in joy. The state had been badly exposed last February in

their outrageous frameup of three other Black youths (Samuel Lightsey, and Leonard and Lawrence Capers) who were convicted and given maximum sentences for the deaths of the same whites. This time the state's little game did not go so well. A Black woman juror told the press that she could not convict any Black men, and she was only one of several jurors who remained absolutely firm in this stand. Apparently the state's star witness in both cases, Doris Jones, blew it even worse this time around. Not only did her bionic vision fall short (in her testimony she said she could identify Lane in the pitch black parking lot among a crowd of 100) but she also admitted to having been busted in a drug raid shortly before the rebellion, which the police dropped in exchange for her testimony against Lane. The foul smell of the

state's case was too much for the jury. Of course, the state immediately announced a July date for retrial on the remaining murder rap, and unleashed a barrage of public opinion garbage aimed at regaining the upper hand. One radio talk show host, also a lawyer, can still be heard harping about this "intolerable" situation, and begging the state to get a better jury this time around. Clearly, the case is not closed.

The Lane trial had helped set the stage for the May 17th demonstration. When one of the Black "leaders" who had called on people to stay away, showed up himself to "monitor" the march, he came with a somewhat disrespectful American flag hanging upside down out of his car window, but not disrespectful enough for a group of Black youth who rushed over to agitate. "You ought to burn that, man..." □

"No Evidence"

Killer Cops Walk in New Orleans

As we go to press, the *RW* has learned that the Orleans Parish grand jury in New Orleans has returned a "no bill" in all but one of the charges against 13 policemen stemming from the cops' shooting spree last November that left four dead and dozens beaten and harassed. 12 of these killer cops will face no charges and no trial. It is possible that one cop may have to go before another grand jury for investigation of the charge against him for murdering a woman while she hid in the bathtub, but it is likely that he will also be no-billed.

The grand jury began hearing these cases soon after the incidents last November. A cop had been found dead, November 8, in the all-Black Fischer-Algiers housing project. Dozens of police had rampaged through the project for a full week following this. On November 11, one Black resident, Raymond Ferdinand, was murdered by a cop who stopped him for a traffic violation. Two days

later, a dawn police raid on two houses left three more Black people, Reginald Miles, James Billy, and Sherry Singleton, brutally murdered by the pigs.

The grand jury verdict means that they did not "find enough evidence" to bring these cops to trial. Evidence from 88 witnesses was heard in the months-long process before this decision was reached. This included testimony from Ferdinand's girlfriend of the severe beating she got following his murder. There was also testimony from two Black men who were beaten six different times by police and had plastic bags tied around their heads until they submitted to signing statements implicating Miles and Billy in the death of the cop. Before the grand jury, both of these witnesses denied ever seeing anyone shoot the cop. The grand jury also heard testimony from a Black cop who had personally helped to beat these same witnesses at least twice and knew of other beatings to

get them to sign a statement so a warrant could be issued. These warrants became the death certificates for the three murdered Blacks. The grand jury also heard former police chief Parsons (who resigned shortly after the murders) testify that he "gave in" to the idea of a raid "in order not to hurt the morale of the policemen on the case."

There has been a storm of outrage and struggle in New Orleans since the police murders last November. The authorities did not take the grand jury verdict lightly, openly boasting in their news media that "thorough preparations have been made for handling possible disorders." There has been a news blackout following this verdict. But the *RW* received a call from a relative of someone in the Orleans Parish Jail who said that a rebellion had broken out in the jail when word came down of the grand jury decision. □

Two years ago in an article on the band Prairie Fire's opening appearance in concert in San Francisco, we wrote in the *Revolutionary Worker* "Rock 'n Revolt Is Born!"—"something entirely different," even, than rock and roll. (RW No. 2, May 11, 1979)

When a punk band in Cleveland, Ohio read about this, they thought that perhaps this was the tag given to the U.S. version of the "punk" music phenomenon that had arisen in Britain and that the same type of thing was beginning to happen in the Bay Area.

Not so. This was not the case with the erroneous concept "Rock 'n Revolt," which had to do instead with a wrong political line. What we have learned and summed up since then needs to be gone into, because the errors, while ours, have a lot in common with what has passed far more broadly as "revolutionary thinking" concerning culture. This also has its roots in arenas other than culture; it is as old as is revisionism and economism (whether of the openly rightist or "left" variant) in the movement of the working class and not only here but worldwide.

Some now rather strange-seeming indications of this appear on further reading of the article mentioned above. It is stated that because one group had been playing "...picket lines, parties and demonstrations...the cultural battlefield was virtually left open to the ruling class." And more, "On Friday night, at San Francisco's Temple Beautiful, the situation came to a sudden and important halt as Prairie Fire exploded into battle...launching a real 'new wave'—of culture as a revolutionary weapon against the capitalists." What stands out rather plainly here is that this manages to negate and/or attack outright, in one fell swoop of the pen, such revolutionary and progressive contributions to the class struggle in the cultural arena as Jimi Hendrix, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Nina Simone, Charlie Mingus, the Clash and Gil Scott-Heron, to mention only a few.

At the time, our Party, as part of its general struggle against revisionism, was shedding some old economism and old philistinism and there was an effort on several fronts to take up responsibilities for leadership in the field of culture. But the problem was this "Rock 'n Revolt" line was a step in the wrong direction, objectively contradicting other, far better things and replacing old with "new" ("left") economism and old with new philistinism. This was not the way for the Party to lead, and in particular to critically learn from the practice of revolutionary and progressive artists in order to carry out its responsibilities in the cultural arena.

"Rock 'n Revolt" Summed Up

"Left" Economism

in Theory and Practice

A serious and honest analysis of history will show that forms of music (and theater, etc.) are not really created by individuals, but by the masses of people. Forms of music are the product, historically speaking, of major quantitative or qualitative changes in the social relations, changes in the relationship of classes, including politically or in relations among nations or nationalities.

Rock and roll, for example, was not invented by Chuck Berry. It was unknown musicians on the streets, former Black sharecroppers, former white sharecroppers and the sons and daughters of former European (mainly) peasants all transformed into proletarians in the cities of this country, North and South, who merged cultures on the streets and created rock and roll. Chuck Berry was a leading practical innovator and popularizer of this historic development in the arts. In essence the story is the same for all forms of music, including reggae, jazz, etc., with only the particular contradictions and "leaders" being different.

In an interview with the *Revolutionary Worker* (September 28, 1979), Joe Strummer of the Clash gave a very profound analysis of how Punk music developed in Britain. "Well, back in '76 in London this group started out, the Sex Pistols, and they set the scene on its head. Because in London it was really dead. It was all full of groups that were playing the big places. It cost a lot of money to get in and a whole section of youth found themselves without any, you know, they didn't look up to the rock and roll 'heroes.' Everybody just sort of went 'That's a pile of shit' and 'we're going to do it our own way,' and that's how it started. And within 3 months there was about a thousand groups pumping away in London and it kind of exploded from there."

It is this type of thing which both fuels and sustains new things in art.

New forms of art are being and constantly will be created and in this way. It is a sad (or should we say disgusting?) fact that "typical communism" has had a sorry record of opposing as "decadent trash" just about all of the recent mass popular forms that have arisen, like rock & roll, jazz and lately punk.

In criticizing bourgeois formalism, communists have gone looking for the pure proletarian form, and since there is no such thing, bourgeois formalism comes in through the back door. This bourgeois formalism, masquerading or misunderstood as Marxism, has the added feature of the intractability of dogma that winds up, in the name of for Chrissakes, the revolution, opposing everything new and arising.

It has been so bad that in the early 1960s the CPUSA could openly put forward the view that folk music was the proletarian form essentially because peasants had created it when capitalism had not yet developed the capacity to turn art into a mass marketable commodity.

There is nothing inherently revolutionary or reactionary about, for example, a 1/4/5 progression or variations on that structure. It is rather what nourishes such forms and what sustains them that determines their social role at any given time, and this has all to do with the various class forces in motion.

Say what you will, there is the jazz of Charlie Mingus and the jazz of Chet Atkins. There is the rock & roll of Bruce Springsteen and the rock & roll of Iggy Pop. There is the punk rock of the Sex Pistols and the punk rock of the Ramones and the Police. They all are (or were) playing jazz, rock & roll and punk. The content of the music (which includes lyrics and instruments) of the former is progressive or revolutionary. The content of the music of the latter is backward or reactionary straight up!

This has everything to do with the ideas of the artists and of the social forces they represent on the stage. "Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary artists." Mao Tsetung said that and it's true. And it applies equally well if you substitute the word "reactionary," etc., for "revolutionary."

Then why do the masses tend to see "forms" as revolutionary or vice versa, in and of themselves? It is most often the case that at their inception, new mass forms of art tend to be the product of rebellion and as such reflect the cultural needs of, and attract the most advanced elements of, society. When the artists who are progressive and revolutionary are dominating in a given socially and historically created form, the masses tend to see that form itself as revolutionary and progressive, or vice versa. This was the case when, for example, Jimi Hendrix dominated rock & roll for a few years.

If there is an inherent quality to a form of music, it is that it is "of the times." There is, for example, nothing inherently reactionary about Country and Western music. But it is currently the cultural flagpole around which the defenders of "America's Glorious Past" are now rallying with all their John Wayne "might." As typified by Nashville, Country and Western as form is old, outdated and unreal, it being rooted in the times of the rural past of the white southern sharecropper.

This being the case, it would, except for the fact that imperialism makes a practice of digging up dead and rotted images, like the cowboy, from the past for the sole purpose of poisoning the living, die a natural death as a mass form, or be transformed in the way Joe Ely is, for example, transforming it today.

It must be admitted that there is no such thing as the "pure proletarian form." Mao Tsetung put it this way, "Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism."

This being the case, why then did such an article (and several more) appear in our Party's newspaper and why did many fail to criticize it and even seriously advocate it? The only answer worth a tinker's damn is that there are very real contradictions and that revisionism and economism has shown itself entirely incapable of solving the theoretical and practical questions these give rise to in the revolution. The criticism of "40 years of revisionism" is no "academic task" for our Party, nor something we can call on others to do, but not ourselves.

It Takes You 'Over the Line'?

Specifically, in that same article mentioned before, the statement is made: "This kind of music makes you want to step over the line and get involved in the revolution for real." Along with this, in promo and in other ways, such slogans were advocated as, "If Prairie Fire was on the radio every day, there'd be a revolution in the U.S. within a year!" and "To put it more mildly—the people are a powderkeg and Prairie Fire's a spark!"

It will never happen! It is true that hearing a song, like "Guns of Brixton" or some development or the other in the cultural arena, like the murder of Jimi Hendrix, or the stand of an artist, like Frederico Garcia Lorca, or WHAT-EVER like that, can be the "straw that broke the camel's back." But it's just that...the straw and not the whole bale of hay.

What makes for the qualitative leap to revolutionary activity on the part of individuals, groups, or even an advanced section of a class is not an absolute and it is not a gimmick either. One thing can be said with certainty. It has something to do with the theoretical or practical understanding that "the whole political system is worthless" (Lenin said that) and that furthermore, there is an alternative, a possibility of fundamentally changing things.

There is a widely held view among artists, including progressive and revolutionary-minded ones, that it is art, especially music and film, that changes the consciousness of the people and that things like repeated political exposures and propaganda and theory and communist parties, etc., are not all that necessary.

In an interview in *The Musician*, June 1981, Joe Strummer of the Clash (as long as we are quoting him on points of agreement, why can't we quote him on points of disagreement as well?) articulated this view:

MUSICIAN...One of the main things you two have in common is the belief that music can actually change society. How can that happen?

STRUMMER: Because music goes directly to the head and heart of a hu-

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

Joint Communiqué of
Ceylon Communist Party
Groupe Marxist-Léniniste du Sénégal
Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo Leninismo
Mao Tse Tung Kredsen (Denmark)
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Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Union Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic)

The Clash's SANDINISTA!



PHOTO: SANDINISTA! ALBUM COVER

As the floods of God
Wash away Sin City
They say it was written
In the pages of the Lord
But I was looking
For that great jazz note
That destroyed
The walls of Jericho

With these words, ("The Sound of the Sinners," *Sandinista!*) the Clash articulate the elusive search that has preoccupied several generations of musical rebels. And with their latest release, *Sandinista!*, the outlines of that mythical jazz note come into clearer view. While this or any other music won't bring down the walls of today's Babylon on its own, it's indispensable to the assault; it would be a dull-witted army indeed that would have it any other way.

While the Clash are not the only ones in music today stoking such fires on the barricades, from their inception they have set a pace and a standard that has hurled them to the front lines in this arena. So it is that *Sandinista!*, their most ambitious project to date, has also precipitated the most furious controversy yet.

At storm's center, *Sandinista!* states its case with unflappable assurance. A three-record, 36 track affair, it is broad in its embrace as the world is wide. Combining a compelling global sweep with provocative and poignant zoom-lens observation, *Sandinista!* is a multifaceted jewel of richly textured surfaces and razor edges as sharp as ever.

One of the album's most striking features is its diversity of musical style and idiom; one of the tracks is entitled "If Music Could Talk," and throughout *Sandinista!*'s course, the music speaks in striking colors—reggae, disco-funk, soul and R&B, jazz, waltz, rock, dub, rockabilly and more are explored, synthesized, and riotously celebrated. Such a wide-open approach is in itself not exactly new in rock music, where all too often grandiose designs go hand in hand with the most vacuous diletantism. We're talking about boredom, brethren. But the Clash hit home with the synthesis pulled off on *Sandinista!*, and there are reasons why they succeed where others have failed.

Where so many groups have explored the terrain of world music, so often

such efforts bring to mind a musical Exxon corporation, ripping off yet another aspect of the world's resources in the interests of beating out the competition. In contrast, the Clash's innovations are neither shallow exercises in form, nor the facile appropriation of sources in staking a claim to one's own "unique" angle (read "gimmick"). The band's opposition to imperialism—particularly imperialist subjugation of nations and oppressed nationalities—has helped spur an artistic synthesis of a different type altogether.

We don't know what the Clash think of Mao Tsetung, but their work suggests that there must be some agreement, at least objectively, as to Mao's insistence that the primary task of revolutionary writers and artists is to understand the people and know them well. On *Sandinista!* the Clash explore and find within musical expression the world over a common language of release from and resistance to oppression. And while the album is many things, evocative of many moods, containing a wide range of perceptions and perspectives, it is this quality—as an international festival of the oppressed ex-

pressed in song and music—that shines through most. In a world where the imperialist powers are on the ropes, making all manner of feverish war preparations, *Sandinista!* stands as a testimonial to liberation and internationalism in a manner both timely and enduring.

The album begins with that most universal of rude awakenings—"The Magnificent Seven" kicks off with a bleary-eyed wage-slave who, abruptly aroused and finding himself "back in this awful place," goes on to a workday consumed by pent-up yearnings for release, and a litany of cheap diversions offering fast relief but no cure. *Sandinista!* contains in its remainder any number of subsequent rude awakenings, including reckonings with World War 3 and "the terror of the scientific sun." Yet the tone throughout is not of apocalyptic doom, but rather one of infectious anticipation. The insistent themes of war, imperialism and national oppression outline and underscore an urgent sense of necessity; yet even more *Sandinista!* indicates an exhilarating freedom to be found in

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Bremen, West Germany. More than 3,500 demonstrators took to the streets of Bremen on May 6th, the first anniversary of the 1980 street battles here. One year ago militant youth turned a 25th birthday party for West Germany's entry into NATO into a virtual battleground—a sign of the times ahead for the West German imperialists.

At that time, the West German rulers had planned a full-scale military extravaganza in the soccer stadium in Bremen, at which 1,200 new recruits were to be mass inducted into their army. As chants rang out against NATO and the national anthem from sections of the crowd inside, flares were fired across the stadium walls into the ceremonies from the crowd of more than 7,000 outside who had come to oppose this pompous cannonfodder initiation. Armed with paving stones and a flood of rebellious anger, helmeted youth wearing handkerchiefs over their faces repulsed riot police lines several times, overturning and setting ablaze army vans and attempting to storm the stadium itself.

Bremen, which was meant to be a ceremonial opening salvo in the West German imperialists' public opinion campaign for war preparations and national unity, became a nightmare that shook the imperialists awake worldwide to the fact that large sections of their youth were not going along with their war program. And to the growing number of forces that have stepped forward over the past year in West Germany—where the new anti-military and anti-war movement has jumped off dramatically against more and more blatant war moves, ranging from the series of mass inductions held throughout West Germany, to the Autumn Forge exercises of NATO last fall, to the rapid buildup of arms and nuclear missiles—Bremen 1980 has taken on a symbolic value as well, a sort of opening shot of the new and higher level of struggle.

So this year, Bremen police were out in force on May 6th, stacked several deep in front of the army buildings that the march route passed by. The demonstration moved from the train station down to these army quarters, where a short rally was held, and then on down to the central marketplace where the main rally took place. Police in riot gear lined all the pedestrian shopping areas, trying to separate the demonstration from the people there and to try to prevent any "damage" of the kind that is becoming so widespread in West German cities these days. However, after the rally broke up, several hundred youth marched back through the city, selectively trashing banks and large department store windows.

The march and rally were the culmination of a whole "action week" organized by various forces, including the "Group of Those Arrested on May 6th," the "War Against War" group in Bremen, as well as an anti-military women's group. The political focus of the week's activities was the persecution of the youth arrested last year, "internal and external arms buildup" and the danger of world war; evening programs were held on topics from "Political Justice in the Weimar Republic and in West Germany Today" to "Women Against War—and How."

The demonstration itself was one of the largest in Bremen since the May 6th events last year, drawing out many of the most active revolutionary forces on the basis of more clearly demarcated politics. The organizers of the action—particularly the War Against War group—were a major force in leading the militant section of last year's mass demonstration which broke off towards the stadium, targeting the war preparations of the West German imperialists, their "own" rulers. They also played an important role last fall in building for the protests against the Autumn Forge maneuvers in Hildesheim, in targeting the imperialists of both blocs, east and west as equally warmongering powers.

The turnout for the actions this year to uphold May 6, 1980 was especially significant given the fact that the large organized opportunist forces, who dominate (and try to keep a lid on) many mass protests in Germany today, boycotted this year's events. Both the JUSOs (the Young Socialists of the rul-



1 year ago in Bremen—
barricades in the streets.

One Year Since Battle of Bremen Imperialist War Preparations Battered in Germany

ing party) and the revisionist DKP youth (pro-Soviet German Communist Party) boycotted the demonstration. Last year the JUSOs caught flack in the bourgeois press in the aftermath of the Bremen demonstrations because they had originally applied for the permit. No doubt the Party leaders, including perhaps Social-Democratic Chancellor Schmidt, issued some severe warnings about being linked to any repeat performances which went beyond the bounds of loyal opposition to unrespectable rebellion against them. For their part, the pro-Soviet youth who at present form another major contender for leadership of the opposition are working overtime to channel the growing anti-war sentiments into a narrow social-pacifist denunciation of the U.S. imperialists' littering of West Germany with missile sites and, like the JUSOs, trying to avoid the broader questions of rival imperialist blocs squaring off for

world war and the prospects for revolution. Thus, they too apparently wanted no part of the more radical Bremen scene this year. Undoubtedly the opportunists will seek new ways to both leech off and attack this spontaneous movement among the West German youth but their boycott was cause for little grief. For it is precisely such forces as those who took to the streets in Bremen, taking a militant offensive against the West German imperialists and exposing the two war blocs headed by the U.S. and the USSR, which bring out the true potential among large sections of youth for a revolutionary movement in West Germany.

While the Bremen demonstrations this year represented the more advanced sentiments among many youth and others who are active today in the anti-military movement, several recent anti-war protests, aimed particularly at the stationing of U.S. Pershing missiles in

West Germany, have drawn large numbers from among broad forces. And although these protests are for the most part organized by the JUSOs, the revisionists, and the "Greens" (ecology and anti-nuke movement), many new people are joining in these actions and many activists from other battles are taking up the question of world-war. As a recent issue of the London *Economist* lamented, "thousands who used to demonstrate against nuclear power stations are now carrying banners against NATO's policy on medium-range nuclear missiles."

On both May 8th, which is "Armed Forces Day"—when the Allied imperialists accepted the surrender of their German rivals in World War II—and on the following Saturday, May 16th, large demonstrations were held in Frankfurt, Hamburg, West Berlin, as well as in a number of smaller cities near missile sites. In the Ruhr industrial area for example, in the town of Mönchengladbach, on May 16, 15,000 people came out in the rain to demonstrate at the British Pershing missile base there. It was called by over 200 groups under banners targeting U.S.-NATO plans to station a second-generation of Pershing and Cruise missiles in West Germany starting in 1983, and calling for an atomic free area in all of Europe and for the destruction of all atomic weapons. Some forces there hit both the NATO and Warsaw Pact military buildings.

In West Berlin, upwards of 40,000 turned out around similar demands on May 8th. And although demonstrations were banned in that city one week later during the annual parade of NATO troops through the streets of the western section—that was carved up by the British, French and American imperialists after World War II—300-500 people showed up to jeer alongside the march route, shouting slogans against NATO and holding up the "fuck you" sign everywhere as the troops passed by.

CORRECTION

In the May 8 issue of the *RW* in the article, "West Europe: Youth, Immigrants Put Flaming Red Back in May Day," there were several factual errors. The West German bourgeoisie's version of "May Day" should have been described as a day for "bier und wurst" (beer and sausage); the strike at the Hoersch works in Dortmund referred to is in the steel industry (not electrical), where there are heavy layoffs and plant closings coming down; and Otto Vetter, "West Germany's George Meany" did not speak in Stuttgart, but rather at the official May 1 rally in Duisberg, where he echoed Chancellor Schmidt's support for basing new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Germany.



(Above) Anti-militarist demonstrators at the official government-sponsored May 1st rally in Hamburg, West Germany carry a model of a Pershing rocket and are dressed up as various social figures: 1) Politician (far-left): "I vote them through"; 2) Priest (3rd from left): "I bless them"; 3) Soldier (far right): "I put them into action." Demonstrations against the stationing of NATO missiles, particularly the plans for even more U.S. Pershing rockets in West Germany, took place in several cities over the weekends of May 8 and 16.



Radio Interview with Bob Avakian "Human Nature" and a Drink of Water

Over the past few issues, we have been running the transcripts of several radio interviews from France given by Bob Avakian during the last week of April. The following interview was on April 28 on WBBM, the major news station in Chicago. The announcer is Sherman Kaplan.

S.K.: Chances are, if you have travelled Chicago's expressways, you have seen graffiti on many of the overpasses, graffiti that will refer to workers' revolutions or May 1st demonstrations, graffiti that often has been placed there by members of the Revolutionary Communist Party. The Revolutionary Communist Party is essentially a Maoist group, a group of communists who have no use for the Soviet Union and certainly no use for the people in power in Peking, and less use for the Western democracies, including the United States. On our newslines this afternoon is Bob Avakian, who is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and Mr. Avakian is in Paris, France, where he has been seeking political asylum, so far without success.

Bob Avakian, why have the French rejected your application for political asylum?

B.A.: Well, the reason given was that there was no demonstration of the fact that the "difficulties," as they put it, that I'm having with the government of the United States have a political character in the sense of the Geneva Convention under which I applied. In other words, basically the argument that I'm running up against is what you just said, that "the U.S. is a democracy and after all political repression couldn't exist there." Frankly I think that many of the listeners and other people who are by no means communists know very well that there is plenty of political repression in the U.S. after the whole experience of the Black Panther Party, after the whole experience of Kent State, and with what all the U.S. government and the ruling class of the country does from El Salvador to Chile to the Philippines to Vietnam for that matter—people are plenty aware that democracy in the U.S. is a sick joke and a sham, and it's really a dictatorship over particularly the proletarians who slave their lives away in the U.S. and over the majority of people in fact...

S.K.: Forgive me, sir, for saying so, Mr. Avakian, but that sounds like so much rhetoric or revolutionary jargon.

B.A.: It's not rhetoric—I'm not sitting here in Paris having had to leave the country because of political persecution on the basis of rhetoric. I've been subjected to political persecution and ridiculous framed-up charges which still hang over my head back there, with 241 years of possible penalties for taking part in a demonstration. As you say, we have no use for Deng Xiaoping because they're exactly of the same nature as the people that rule the U.S.; they're just as capitalist despite their communist pretensions at times, and not even so much that any more...

S.K.: Mr. Avakian, Mr. Avakian, let's go back to the genesis of all this.

B.A.: ...we had a demonstration and the police attacked it and now I'm being charged with 25 felonies on ridiculous charges that thousands of people denounced in an ad in the *Washington Post* recently, including many people who are progressive, who see many crimes committed by the United States government even throughout the world, who recognize the farce of what happened in Miami (the police getting off

scot free which happens so often) but who are not even communists but still recognize the truth of political persecution in the U.S.

S.K.: All right. This whole problem stems from a demonstration the RCP staged at the time that Deng Xiaoping visited Washington, and that was in 1979, was it not?

B.A.: Well that's part of the problem, but we've had a member of our Party killed, and you mentioned May 1st, which is going to be a very important demonstration and not only a demonstration but mass actions by people from Cabrini Green to Atlanta to all over the country, breaking loose, breaking free and joining with people all over the world toward the goal of world revolution. Last year in building for that, a member of our Party, Damián Garcia, was murdered by police agents in Los Angeles. Since that time, since last year, there have been over a thousand arrests of members of and supporters of our Party. This is only a part of the picture. Greensboro, where people were shot down—as you well remember, I'm sure—by Klansmen and Nazis on national TV: it was played over and over again, and they were acquitted. This is all part of the picture of repression, where police agents were involved in that, too. It was carried out by the government and by people like the Klan and Nazis working with them.

S.K.: What specifically does the RCP advocate? You're talking about world revolution. What does that mean?

B.A.: That means that the present system of imperialism which exists in the United States—it's not a slogan, it's not rhetoric, it's concrete reality when people live on less than \$200 a year income in a place like El Salvador and they rise up and they find not only the companies but the military and everything else of the U.S. trying to come down and crush them, killing more than 10,000 of them. It's the same thing as what happened in Miami, it's the same thing as what happened in Brixton, near London, it's a handful of people exploiting and keeping the people in a literally enslaved condition, where they can only live if they work for these others, and where the tremendous amounts of wealth are taken and controlled, manipulated and used in a way to further enslave the people all over the world, and which right now we see two rival bands of cutthroats—that's what we're talking about, imperialists—headed by one, the Soviet Union, the other the U.S., preparing to plunge the world into a nuclear war. Now I don't say that for rhetoric. People ought to think very seriously and look from Afghanistan to El Salvador to Poland to the Philippines and see what in fact is shaping up with these two rival bands of cutthroats. And that's what we need revolution, not only in the U.S. but throughout the world, to put a stop to.

S.K.: Mr. Avakian, is there any place in the world today that has the kind of system that the RCP advocates?

B.A.: No, there isn't, but we were very inspired as were hundreds of millions of people throughout the world by China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. But as you alluded to, that's been reversed—temporarily, we should say—with the coup that was pulled off in fact by Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng, and people like that. So we have to learn those lessons; we have to learn the lessons of the revolutionary movement of the '60s; we have to break free on May 1st and we have to carry the revolutionary movement forward,

learning from the past and picking up from the cause carried forward by people who fell before us. That's our outlook. But we know that this system is headed—a system that will plunge hundreds of millions of people into nuclear war to try to preserve itself and see which band of cutthroats, the Soviet kind or the U.S. kind can come out on top, is a system that deserves to be swept away.

S.K.: By violent means?

B.A.: I think that you can answer the question yourself. Do you believe that the people who have amassed so much wealth at the suffering of so many people for so long are going to peacefully step aside? You've seen what they've done to the Panthers; you've seen what they've done all over the world; you've seen more than 10,000 people killed in El Salvador; you saw what the CIA

pulled off in Chile and the result of that; you saw Vietnam. Of course they are going to force the people—and they already have and will—when they rise up, they're going to force it to be an armed struggle, and of course the people will have to win on the battlefield.

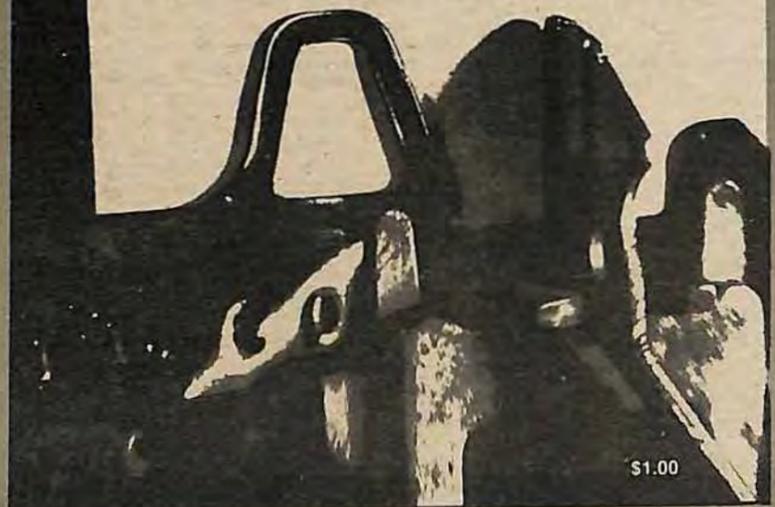
S.K.: Are you not looking for a theoretical perfection in human nature that doesn't exist in human nature?

B.A.: No, we're looking for a system that doesn't force people against their will and against the very socialization...I mean, we live in a very socialized society, as is proven by the fact that the instruments we're talking over are made socially by people working together. And we're able to communicate. As you said before we went on the air, "the satellite is working." This massive means of communication

Continued on page 20

Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black
Nationalist
with
Communistic
Inclinations"



A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

—Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

—Now available as a new pamphlet

ORDER FROM: RCP Publications P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Below is further testimony on political repression and Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France.

TESTIMONY ON

Greensboro—Morningside Area Residents

Testimony Supporting Bob Avakian's Demand for Refugee Status

We want to make a statement about so-called American justice and democracy.

We live in the Morningside area of Greensboro, North Carolina. This is where five anti-Klan demonstrators were massacred by members of the Ku Klux Klan and members of the American Nazi Party.

As the massacre happened, there were many witnesses of all types of occupations. From housewives to TV reporters, and lots of middle-class working people. With the facts fresh in their minds, I think everyone was forming the same opinions. This should be an "open and shut case" of murder. But it turned out just the opposite.

As we have said, the North Carolina State Prosecutor should have had an easy case. But it was just a long drawn out injustice ploy.

Here are the facts to prove what we say. These facts were found by the State's own investigation.

1. There was an undercover Federal agent present at the K.K.K. meeting where the massacre was planned. But he was not called to be a witness in the trial.
2. An informer to the police in the K.K.K. went to the police department three days before the massacre to find out the march route which was supposed to be held at Winsor Center but was changed at the last minute.
3. The police knew about the arrival of the Klan and Nazi Party before they entered the Greensboro City limits. They followed them until they knew where the Klan and Nazis' destination would be.
4. There was later no investigation of any sort of conspiracy.
5. The police were two blocks away from the demonstration when the killings happened. At all other demonstrations, the police are always present at the scene.

6. At the trial, an all-white jury selected by the State and the defense let the murderers go free. The state did not present any evidence that would show how the police knew in advance of the massacre.

These are some of the facts that show the so-called "country of the Free." This shows how five anti-Klan demonstrators had the right to hold an anti-Klan rally and speak their minds. It also shows how because of their opinions they were killed. While the men (KKK and Nazis) who came to this rally with enough weapons to arm a small army got off with "self-defense."

The way this system of American "Democracy" works is: if you don't go against the Rich Man, who by the way holds the power in this country right now, he will let you exist (if you can call it that). There are no rights, you will be harassed, arrested and even murdered for your beliefs, if you go against the Rich Man.

Bob Avakian is a revolutionary who is being harassed and persecuted for his beliefs. His demand for refugee status must and should be granted.

(Signed by 14 residents of the Area)

A Chicano's Story

I am a 30-year-old Chicano. For the last fourteen years I have consciously fought this system and oppression. I was at the Chicano Moratorium in L.A. in 1969 and other demonstrations. I have had quite a bit of experience in fighting the police, especially the Los Angeles police. I have received several beatings from the police. I have had three stitches in my upper lip. I have been maced. I have been threatened by police with guns drawn for being a Chicano. But the blood has spilled both ways in those encounters.

Chicano means walking down the streets of Los Angeles and knowing you are a target. Being Chicano means going out at midnight for cigarettes and feeling it may be the last time. If you meet the police you will either go to the hospital or go to jail by a 50-50 chance.

If you walk with your friends in Hollywood or Beverly Hills, with your head held high, you will be suspected as a criminal instead of a domestic help, gardener or maid. At the same time, we welcome those attacks because the Mexican-American war, the oppression and resistance, has never ended. Resistance is the fruit of the oppression of Mexican people.

One Mexican asked me in Spanish why I distribute the *RW*. He said I was tall and had a fair complexion—I could make it in the U.S. I told him I distribute the *RW* and raise the red flag because of my experiences of being an oppressed nationality in the U.S.

In 1954, my father was stabbed to death. My brother, mother and I lived in a dirt-floor house in L.A. My mother married again. My stepfather told his son who wanted to be a cop, "If you become a cop, don't ever come into this house."

In my mother's struggle to survive before remarrying she twice went to the hospital for malnutrition.

My uncle was a World War II hero; there is a plaque honoring him in my barrio in L.A. My mother found him outside one morning, dead from exposure, with a wine bottle in his hand. All my great uncles were heroin addicts. My great-grandparents had come from Mexico with dreams of a better life; instead, this system made their children heroin addicts.

I came to Seattle with the illusion of getting away from oppression, like many others. I found it easier to live in L.A. When I first arrived I remember seeing a group of cops beating up a young black prostitute. I saw tremendous degradation of Native Americans through alcoholism, forced to live on the streets, to suffer the insults of white people treating them as clowns.

It was in Seattle I first met the RCP. They were in front of the courthouse, selling newspapers. I got into talking about the Chicano Moratorium. I had some nationalist feelings. The RCP brought out revolutionary feelings in me, particularly internationalism and May Day. I am very proud to stand

with the RCP and uphold the red flag. This stand has had an impact on my friends. They are beginning to see the red flag means internationalism.

Around May 1, 1980, I was at Todd Shipyards to struggle about May 1st and I got hit.

On May 1, 1981, I struggled to raise the red flag at the Pike Market. The battle continued May 2. I saw a Mexican who I never saw before with a bundle of *RW*'s. He was a well dressed man. He had a patch that said "Chicano" with a green ribbon for Atlanta. He told me that in his small town in Mexico, "Atlanta" is a battle cry. ("Atlanta, es un grito!") A little later, I saw one *RW* seller attacked by a reactionary. I jumped in to fight for the red flag. I rolled on the ground with the reactionary. A few fools started kicking me. The police said "That's enough" to the fools. Then they pulled the reactionary off me and let him go. The police then started beating and choking me with their sticks. I was then arrested and handcuffed for "assault on a police officer."

One Nicaraguan brother came forward that day at the market and raised the red flag. An Italian and a Belgian were there in tears when they saw the red flag, as was an Iranian woman, not in sorrow but in joy. That's why I'm here as a revolutionary. That is why I raise the red flag. May 1st is a breath of life that people breathe internationally.

¡LEVANTAR LA BANDERA ROJA!
Raise the red flag!

Affidavit, Houston, Texas (Given November 18, 1980 in a suit)

Joseph Sullivan, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. My name is Joseph Sullivan. I live within Harris County, Texas. I am a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Whenever possible, I sell copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper on the public streets and sidewalks. I do this to financially support the press of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and to spread the message of our political philosophy. I am a Plaintiff in this lawsuit.

2. In the past, I have been arrested on various municipal charges while selling the newspaper. In the last eight months, I have been arrested seven times and charged with fifteen offenses arising out of the sale of the newspaper. Of these fifteen charges, eleven charges were dismissed, two charges resulted in convictions, I forfeited my bond one time, and one charge of criminal trespass is still pending.

3. The facts of the arrests are as follows. On April 3, 1980, I was arrested at Irvington Courts, a housing project on the northside of Houston. I was selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper when I was arrested and charged with littering under a statute which had been repealed, and with disorderly conduct under Article 42.01(a)(1) of the Texas Penal Code. The cause numbers were 0816970 and 0816975 respectively. Both charges were dismissed.

4. On April 5, 1980, I was again arrested on Houston's northside, this time in front of the Fiesta Mart at 3140 Fulton Street. I was with a group of people who had marched from the corner of Fulton and Quitman along Fulton Street, selling the newspaper and carrying red flags. At the Fiesta Mart, I sold the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper to pedestrians and began picking up the stuff to leave. I was then arrested, threatened with comments like "Communists don't belong in this country at all," and "We'll see how many times you're in here before May 1st." I was charged with Impeding Passage under a municipal ordinance in Cause No. 0817603, and Littering, again under a repealed statute, in Cause No. 0817604. Both charges were dismissed.

5. On April 7, 1980, I was arrested on the campus of Texas Southern University

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 Tsetung 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 right away. 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).

POLITICAL PERSECUTION

ty. I was selling the newspaper and red flags, and I was speaking into a bullhorn for which I had a permit. T.S.U. security guards ordered me to leave the campus. As I was leaving, I was arrested for Criminal Trespass under Article 30.05 of the Texas Penal Code, and for Disorderly Conduct by Abusive Language under Article 42.01(a)(1) of the Texas Penal Code. The charge numbers were 0817875 and 0817876, respectively. Both charges were dismissed.

6. On April 21, 1980, I was selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper to workers coming in on the 7:00 a.m. shift change at Hughes Tool. After the workers went into the plant, we went to a nearby coffee shop for a break. As we were driving away from the shop, the police stopped the car, ordered us out, and began a general search of the car. When I objected to the detention and search, I was arrested and charged with the municipal ordinance number 34-11, Interfering with an Arrest, and with Criminal Trespass under Article 30.05 of the Texas Penal Code. In the Interfering with Arrest charge, Cause No. 0820611, I was convicted. I am appealing that conviction. The trespass charge, Cause No. 0820638, was dismissed.

During the arrest, I was threatened repeatedly by the police.

7. On April 24, 1980, I was again arrested at the Texas Southern University campus. This time I was singing the Internationale, the anthem of the working class, with a group of other people. I was arrested for Criminal Trespass under Article 30.05 of the Texas Penal Code, and for Disorderly Conduct, under Article 42.06(a)(1) of the Texas Penal Code. The arresting officer threatened to "blow my motherfucking head off." While in the City jail, the arresting officer physically abused me. The charges, Cause No. 082177 for the Criminal Trespass, and Cause No. 082178 for the Disorderly Conduct, were dismissed.

8. On May 9, 1980, I was arrested on charges of Impeding Traffic, in violation of Municipal Ordinance No. 41-9(a). The facts of that arrest are as follows. I was selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper at the intersection of Scott Street and the access road to the Gulf Freeway. I was in the lot of an abandoned gas station talking to passersby and attempting to sell the newspaper when a police car came to where I was standing, and arrested me without explanation. I was later convicted of the charge in Cause No. 0824094, and fined \$15.00.

9. On June 6, 1980, I was arrested on municipal charges of "Interfering with Police," in violation of Municipal Ordinance No. 34-11. I was in a Winchell's Donut Shop at 75th and Lawndale making a phone call, when a friend came and told me that two persons associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party had just been arrested. I left the shop, and was attempting to cross the street when two park police officers ordered me to stop. My friend was carrying a bullhorn, which they began to confiscate. I told them she had a valid City of Houston permit for it. I was then arrested. On the way downtown, one of the police officers asked my name. I said "Sullivan." He replied, "Hey, we got Joe Sullivan!" The Cause Number was 0829312, and rather than stand trial, I forfeited my bond on the charge.

10. On July 24, 1980, I went to Rockefeller's Nightclub on Houston Street in Houston, Texas. I was aware that four people had been arrested there earlier in the evening after selling the newspaper. A companion and I sold the newspaper for a few minutes, when we were told by the police that we had to get off the sidewalk. We then paid admission to see the show. Inside the club, the management of the club attempted to detain me after the show, but I refused to be detained and left. Outside, I sold the

newspaper for a few minutes in a nearby parking lot when several police officers came and arrested two companions and myself. I was charged with Giving a False Name, in violation of the Texas Penal Code 38.02, and with Trespass, in violation of the Texas Penal Code 30.05, in Cause Numbers 0838296 and 0838297, respectively. Both charges were later dismissed.

11. I have been arrested on municipal charges of Criminal Trespass, in violation of Texas Penal Code Article 30.05, arising out of an incident concerning the distribution of literature in a concert, which occurred on November 3, 1980. I was physically abused during this arrest, and the police referred to me as "Joseph Stalin." I am scheduled to go on trial on these charges on November 20, 1980.

12. I am aware of the arrests and convictions of Travis Morales and others on the charges of Obstructing a Passage, as defined by Articles 42.03 and 42.04 of the Texas Penal Code. Because of their arrests and convictions, and because of my prior arrests and convictions on similar municipal charges, I am aware that I am in danger of being arrested, convicted, and imprisoned, everytime I sell the *Revolutionary Worker* on public streets and sidewalks. This history of arrests has forced me to develop an alternative, almost clandestine, strategy for distributing the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, so that I may avoid arrest and imprisonment.

13. I believe that my activities at all times have been covered by the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America. I am asking for relief from this Court so that I may continue to sell the *Revolutionary*

Worker on public streets and sidewalks without fear of arrest and imprisonment for Obstructing a Passageway, in violation of Articles 42.03 and 42.04 of the Texas Penal Code.

14. I have personal knowledge of the foregoing allegations, and I am competent to testify as to matters stated herein. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is known to me to be true and correct. I would so testify if I appeared in court as witness at the trial of the matter.

Joseph Sullivan

Latino Activist

That I have been an attorney who has worked primarily with individuals accused of crimes by the state due to their political activity. I was the Attorney for Carlos Montes who was a leader of the Brown Berets, a Chicano Community activist group, during the 1960s who was harassed by the police for over ten years. Carlos was the Minister of Information and in that role he was responsible for putting out the group's newspaper which exposed police brutality in the Latino Community as well as educating the masses as to how to organize communities to fight daily oppression. He was accused of setting a hotel fire whose origin was later shown to have been in the immediate vicinity of an undercover police agent. Carlos was threatened with death by the police on numerous occasions, the last threat causing him to run for ten years. Upon his return in 1978 he was again arrested but at this time completely exonerated as the police plot to incarcerate him and their threats against his life were exposed in court. More recently Antonio

Bustamante, an activist with La Raza Legal Alliance, a group of Latino Legal Workers, has been the driving force behind the efforts to prosecute the Hannigan Brothers.

The Hannigan Brothers were wealthy family members from Arizona accused of torturing undocumented workers who had wandered onto their lands. Mr. Bustamante's tireless efforts in seeking justice for the undocumented workers were rewarded with systematic attacks from the press, law enforcement agencies and attempts at having court injunctions imposed restricting his freedom of speech. These attacks were fruitless as he continued to publicize and educate people about the injustice in the case resulting ultimately in the Hannigans going to trial. These two experiences demonstrate once again that the State is most concerned with those individuals, who disseminate ideas which cause people to think and at the same time exposes the state's true function in our society. Bob Avakian's seeking of political refugee status in France is important by the fact that alternative was even considered. France has a history of being the forum for international political discussion; Bob Avakian's ability to educate and clarify political issues for the masses of people is his greatest strength and thus his main danger to the State. He is their prime target because he moves people to Question the State and he gives direction to their goal for changing society. In France Bob Avakian can continue to perform the tasks he has performed in the past and follow the footsteps of those people in the past who served the same function and were all too often martyred.

Continued on page 22

NEW TAPE:

"Wherever people rise up in rebellion, raise up the red flag! That's the flag that the imperialists in this country and throughout the world hate, the thing, the symbol that they most fear to see raised in the hands of the oppressed because it means that we're rising up with our heads up; we're rising up with our eyes really cast to the far horizon; we're becoming politically conscious; we know what our interests are, that they lie with the international proletariat in its struggle for communism throughout the world..."

30 Minute Cassette \$2.50
Available from the Revolutionary Communist Party (See addresses on p. 3)

Bob Avakian Speaks on May First, 1981



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



Poland Focus of Imperialist Contention

Revisionist May Days and Other Retrograde Trends

While this year the U.S. press did its level best to black out any news of revolutionary May Day internationally, it did manage to turn the spotlight on some of the revisionist May Day spectacles in the countries that make up the Soviet war bloc. Part of this was, of course, the usual cynical attempt to pawn off these voracious twisted versions of May 1st in all their revisionist splendor as "the official holiday" of the so-called "communist" countries—and in the process to get in some cheap exposure of their imperialist rivals. Thus the *New York Times* noted of the day's activities in Moscow's Red Square: "May Day, like so many official Soviet holidays and public events, has become increasingly standardized and ritualized in post-war years... Most manifestations of spontaneity have been carefully deleted from mass celebrations... Access to Red Square was by printed invitation only... cordons of policemen and security officials checked documents on all streets to the center..." May Day, indeed—by invitation only.

More to the point, however, was the fact that given the rapid acceleration of world events these revisionist May Days could not help but reflect the intensifying contention that is propelling the U.S. and Soviet blocs toward war and as such they were deemed worthy of certain attention. The Soviets, for example, left no doubt that contention is on the order of the day even while slyly playing down the usual display of military weaponry. Instead this year they concentrated on a typical imperialist attempt to convince people that they are "peace-loving" with such slogans as "No to the Aggressive Nuclear Strategy of the United States!" and "No to Medium-Range Nuclear Missiles in Europe!" Since the Soviets already have their SS-20 medium-range missiles in place in Europe (all for "defensive" purposes, of course), this "peace-mongering" could be seen for what it was—a rather unsubtle attempt to exploit certain contradictions that exist in the U.S.'s NATO bloc, specifically over the question of further placement of nukes in Western Europe. If there were any doubts about the actual Eastern bloc intentions, these were dispelled during the East German May Day festivities where the question of war preparations was considerably more bald-faced. Here, with the Soviets' "peace-dove" act providing a perfect foil, a vast parade of robot army units and contingents of militarized youth chanted "The peace must be armed!"

Pope's Assassin

Dressing Up a Rightist in Leftist Garb

What's the real story behind the would-be assassin of the Pope? In the past week the media in the U.S. and Western Europe have done an amazing, if not completely successful job in an effort to turn him from a fascist hit man into a vague figure—probably a communist militant, but in any case, a suitable example of their image of "international terrorist." All the better to attack the left and avoid the embarrassment of his being one of the imperialists' own.

These maneuvers began right after the arrest of Mehmet Ali Agca, a member of the so-called Grey Wolves, a paramilitary wing of Turkey's fascist National Action Party (MHP). As we reported in the *RW* last week, Agca was not merely a lowly "soldier" of this group. He was a commander of its Aegean Sea section. He was freed from a maximum security military prison by military officers, who supplied him with a uniform. And he had access to considerable amounts of money as he traveled across Europe.

Yet within a few hours of his arrest stories in the U.S. press began talking

Indeed, a common element to all the Eastern bloc May Day spectacles was the double-edged theme regurgitated throughout to the effect that "We will defend the socialist brotherhood of nations." This was, on the one hand, clearly a general call for all the revisionist governments to rally firmly to the cause of the Soviet war bloc and to more feverishly gear up to defend and extend their social-imperialist empire on a world scale. But at the same time, this emphasis revealed that all these revisionist rulers are glancing nervously at Poland in particular. Recent events there have vividly revealed how deeply the Soviets and their junior partners are in trouble, buffeted by the worldwide crisis of the imperialist system, with the repercussions from the upheavals of the Polish masses already beginning to be felt throughout the whole Eastern bloc. (For example, at the recent Czech party congress, the official trade union leader, Karel Hoffman, complained that events in Poland had "touched off broad discussion" among the workers in Czechoslovakia.) And of course the revisionists are not the only ones eyeing these developments. It was hardly coincidental that the U.S. media focused heavily on May Day in Poland in a rather undisguised effort to make some political headway by exploiting the Soviet bloc's "Polish troubles" for their own imperialist purposes and driving further wedges into the Soviet imperialists' camp.

If anything, the stark contrast between the different activities in the first three days of May in Poland, organized separately by the revisionist rulers and the leaders of Solidarity, were an indication of the powerful political jockeying between the two superpowers. Both of these forces in Poland promoted their respective imperialist affinities, each resorting freely to historical innuendo to get their points across. For their part, determined to make clear that Poland will remain in the "socialist brotherhood" (that is, a reliable member of the Soviets' imperialist war bloc), party leader Stanislaw Kania and Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelsky solemnly led the official May Day procession to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier where they used the occasion to rail on about the "fallen heroes" of the liberation in World War 2 and how Poland will never allow the fascists to overrun them again. Since everyone knows that it was the Soviet Union (while it was still socialist) which played the major role in defeating the Nazis in Poland, this was a none-too-Aesopian reference

to the fact that the Soviets may find it necessary to "liberate" Poland once again.

The U.S. press was, however, quick to gloat that only 90,000 people turned out for these official May Day ceremonies nationwide and that Solidarity's boycott of the proceedings was largely responsible for this, with Lech Walesa announcing beforehand, "I suggest, ladies and gentlemen, that everyone just take a little rest this May Day." The *New York Times* fairly revelled in the fact that "This year the Communist Party and the government canceled the mandatory manifestation of popular support and decided instead to mark the holiest of communist holidays in a spirit that *Tribuna Ludu*, the main party newspaper, described as 'thrifty but dignified.'" After all, they caustically noted, "It is a little hard to pretend that the country is marching ahead stoutly under the guidance of the Communist Party." As the Polish party leaders came down off their pedestals and marched in the streets in a pathetic effort to prove they were "at one with the people," the *Times* rubbed a little more salt in the Soviets' wounds, remarking that this occurred "to the amazement of bystanders who recalled the rigid protocol in recent years, when party leaders stood on the reviewing stands, untouchable and aloof."

While in fact the sight of these puffed up party bosses shuffling sheepishly through the crowd was mainly a testament to the powerful effects of the recent upheavals, for the U.S. rulers it was clearly also a welcome sign that they are making headway through the various pro-western elements in the leadership of Solidarity, who have been largely in control of this struggle.

A further indication of this was the success of Solidarity leaders in mobilizing people for separate celebrations in Poland on May 3 to mark the 190th anniversary of the Polish constitution of 1791. Unlike the official May Day celebrations, these were—as the western press widely trumpeted—attended by millions of Poles as well as well as by reluctant Polish party and government officials. These retrograde ceremonies, infused with plenty of religious garb by the Catholic Church (reportedly 300,000 were led in chants of "We want God" at one ceremony in Jasna Gora), were a calculated dig at the Soviets. They were also appropriate in more ways than one to the uneasy "partnership" being forced by Solidarity leaders out of Poland's revisionist rulers.

The symbolism here was not to be

missed. The Polish Constitution of 1791—somewhat inspired by the American Constitution—represented the aspirations of the rising Polish bourgeoisie and sought to extend the rights traditionally reserved only for the feudal gentry to the burghers (nascent Polish capitalists) by giving them a share of representation in the Polish Diet (parliament) and the right to own property. But bourgeois rule was not yet to triumph and this constitution was quite shortlived as two years later in 1793 the Great Russian armies of Catherine II invaded and partitioned the country. By 1795, independent Poland had been wiped off the face of the map of Europe, redivided once again by the feudal states of Czarist Russia, Prussia and Austria with the lion's share going to Russia, which would rule Poland for over a century.

First off, there is the obvious historical analogy to Poland's present "democratic renewal" in face of the threat of a Soviet invasion today, all with the strong flavor of bourgeois Polish nationalism with which the Constitution of 1791 is traditionally associated. If there was any doubt about what was meant by all this furor over an ancient document at the ceremony in Wroclaw, one Catholic archbishop directly compared the Constitution of 1791 with the changes and reforms wrought by last August's strikes in Gdansk. "After the constitution there was brutal intervention by Russian bayonets," he said. "We have hopes that this time nothing similar will happen."

Polish officials were compelled to show up for these affairs mainly because the large turnout made their attendance obligatory. In this light there was a considerable ironic twist to the statement made by Polish President Henryk Jablonski at the Constitution Day program in Warsaw: "We, the present generation of the builders of socialism, we are the continuers of the deed begun 190 years ago." While these revisionists were undoubtedly less than thrilled at having to associate themselves with this "deed"—particularly considering the calculated anti-Soviet tone of all this constitutional hoopla—in another sense this statement was quite appropriate since they are indeed the continuers of bourgeois rule, although wedded to the Soviet variety and to the Soviet war bloc as the most viable way in which to pursue their own interests as capitalist exploiters when push comes to shove on a world scale.

But while all this bourgeois hogwash

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broad minded Maoist."

It is hardly surprising that the U.S. and its allies would take the tact of trying to label Agca a "newborn communist." It fits very nicely into their anti-left terrorism campaign. But also, the stories coming out about Agca's connections with the fascist network in Western Europe were getting a little bit uncomfortable for them. After all, these groups recruit a large percentage of their membership from the police and military forces in Europe (which might explain why the Italian police seem so anxious to promote the idea that the guy who tried to kill the pope was a leftist). They are used quite extensively by the governments and ruling classes of Western Europe, similar to the way the KKK and the Nazis are used by the ruling class in this country: to galvanize reactionary opinion and attack revolutionaries. In short, these fascist groups operate under the sometimes closed, but always approving eyes of the bourgeois governments. It wouldn't do to make this too obvious. Although it could be argued that the boldly ludicrous way they have

swept all the facts away to pin this Grey Wolf as a leftist is itself a not too subtle message that these right-wing paramilitary groups are under their protection and control. Turkey's junta has also tried to come off as "Mr. Clean," implying other governments were responsible for him.

The West German response was the most ridiculous. It is a well known fact that the Bonn government has promoted the activities of the Grey Wolves in that country, using them to beat and terrorize revolutionary and progressive forces among the 1 million workers from Turkey who live there. The major newspaper in Frankfurt early on reported that Agca is suspected of murdering two Turkish workers in West Germany shortly after he arrived there in 1979. But the West German government can't seem to find any record that he was ever even in the country. "None of his passports" were stamped with a West German entry visa, we are told—"couldn't have been here." Really! □

San Francisco

Another Round Fought in Mission District

On the day after May Day in San Francisco, even as hundreds of *Revolutionary Worker* newspapers still covered Mission Street following the battle from the day before, even as people from all over this city came and gathered at the trashed army recruiting station to debate and "just feel good about it" as one person put it, even as the pigs brought a paddywagon, cycles and reinforcements to bust the red flag still proudly flying from the light pole, Mayor Feinstein and "community leaders" in the Mission left to figure out just what the hell to do about Cinco de Mayo, the traditional 5th of May Mexican national day.

A Saturday, May 2nd press conference had been set up long before, as a platform for the Mayor to announce the big Cinco de Mayo parade upon her return to Washington, D.C. A classy move. But at the press conference the first item was the May Day demonstration, and some heavy fire including charges of attempted murder, directed at the Party. Then a boring item about the city budget. What about the parade?

A few hours later, the city announced that Cinco de Mayo had been cancelled; and two weeks later a "Latin American fiesta parade" hastily thrown together in its place. But this was not to be just a reheated substitute: the "fiesta" was planned as a hard slap in the face to those in the Mission being drawn into revolutionary politics and especially the many beginning to look to and take up the red flag.

Along the parade route, the army recruiting station had posted a huge American flag in its newly replaced window with the inscription: "These colors never run." The big MacDonald's at 24th and Mission, the heart of the community, had put chicken wire over its windows.

In the parade itself there were the usual high school bands and a cable car float, what stood out was the patriotic and warlike atmosphere. Every contingent except one (that of Casa El Salvador) displayed the imperialist colors; there were army and navy drill teams, ROTC contingents galore, a Salvadoran anti-communist contingent, and—the county sheriffs on horseback! The emcee for the afternoon and leading the parade in a car, was none other than Judge Garcia, the judge who had barely a week before presided over the first hearings of those arrested in the May Day Mission battle.

Notably gone from the march were the contingents, and the atmosphere of previous Cinco de Mayos, especially recently—the images of Zapata and

Pancho Villa, the shouts and feeling of revolution, and the more political contingents and ethnic clubs which have increasingly lent the day the force of the revolutionary struggle of oppressed nations. All this, and especially, the spectre of May Day and revolutionary internationalism taking a leap here was why the real Cinco de Mayo had been cancelled, and in its place, this "fiesta"—a direct call to the reactionary social base of the bourgeoisie, and a direct challenge to the masses—"Here is the real Mission, see these people just love it!" As the parade approached 22nd and Mission, a group of 8 people entered the march as a "contingent" with a banner: "Long Live May Day! Pick Up the Red Flag!" *RW* sellers moved along beside the contingent and agitation boomed out, exposing the double-edged nature of this decidedly militaristic fiesta, of the May Day trials, and the need for revolutionary internationalism right in the face of all this.

Suddenly, between 22nd and 23rd, someone jumped out and set aflame one of the red, white and blue rags. An uproar exploded on both stretches of sidewalk along the route: Clapping, cheering, raised fists, people holding up newly acquired bundles of the *RW*, and a smaller and upset sounding number of catcalls. Certain groups of reactionaries lost no time in responding; they jumped sellers on the sidewalks, fist-fights breaking out in several places; they even managed to "agitate" a little: "Go Back to Russia," and so on.

One woman in particular stepped out of the crowd to take it on. She rolled up a Mexican flag until only the red was showing, then advanced to physically protect the sellers. And she exposed the reactionaries: "You like the American flag—that means you like all this about war and the military!"

Now the pigs attacked—three motorcycle cops circled around the contingent, drawing a tightening noose with their bikes—but the contingent

formed into a snakelike pattern and broke the little encirclement. A second wave of TAC Squad on bikes then tried running into people with their motorcycles. Finally, baton-wielding TAC Squad drove the contingent onto the sidewalk.

On the sidewalk, the agitation and *RW* selling stepped up—"The tinsel and decoration has been ripped away. This is no fiesta, but an attack on May Day and the masses." Instead of Mariachis and phony smiles, two roads, two different futures, now lay starkly in front of hundreds watching the developing confrontation. And the revolutionary line was perceptively gathering forces. Sellers, agitators and banners had been forced into the Plaza at the 24th Street Rapid Transit station; surrounding this, and deliberately placing themselves between the revolutionaries and the 30 to 40 pigs, were about 50 workers and youth, some of whom had broken out of Mission High

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Police contingent makes sure people in the Mission enjoy "their parade"—or else.

Slap in the Face to the Chicano People

Hostage Flagwaver Gets Rubén Salazar Award

It was pulled off under the cover of darkness, but it wasn't a midnight raid by the U.S. Marines. It was done without any prior public announcement, but it wasn't your typical secret mission. And while both secrecy and the Marines were involved, the deal going down on Sunday, May 17, was the sneaking of Sgt. James Lopez into an awards banquet at the Bonaventure Hotel in downtown L.A.

Sgt. James Lopez, readers will remember, earned his pat on the head from the imperialists for his "heroism," as one of the hostages in Iran, for writing on his wall, in Spanish, "Viva la Roja, Blanco y Azul" (Long live the Red, White and Blue). Since that time, Lopez, a Chicano, has been paraded around as a grovelling all-American boy for his masters. And now, in this L.A. hotel, at

a \$150-a-plate dinner in his honor, organized by the California Chicano News Media Association (CCNMA), he was to receive the Rubén Salazar Award!

Rubén Salazar, like Lopez in Iran, witnessed the brutal terror inflicted by U.S. imperialism on the peoples around the world. But Salazar took a different road. As a reporter for the *L.A. Times*, Salazar was in Santo Domingo in 1965 when U.S. Marines invaded the Dominican Republic to brutally suppress an uprising there. He saw too the ravaged carcasses that places like Mexico and Vietnam had become in the jaws of the U.S. jackal. His views of the U.S. began to change. Back in L.A., he witnessed daily, the vicious national oppression that descended upon the Chicano population there. Especially sharp was the police terror—a terror

that saw 13 Chicanos murdered at one L.A. Sheriff's station in the year before Salazar himself was assassinated. All this had a tremendous impact on him and he began to expose the oppression of Chicano people in the U.S.

It was during the massive resistance to the war in Vietnam, the 1970 Chicano Moratorium in L.A., that Rubén Salazar was murdered by L.A. sheriffs, who stormed into a bar where he sat and cold-bloodedly fired a tear-gas cannister at him point blank. They had finally carried out their threats, delivered only three weeks earlier, when they told him he would not go on living unless he gave up the book he was writing on the role of the Los Angeles police in brutalizing the Chicano people. Giving James Lopez the Rubén Salazar Award is like giving green ribbons to the Klan.

The imperialists undoubtedly don't like the fact that a Rubén Salazar Award even exists. It reminds people of the Chicano Moratorium and the resistance of the Chicano people against national oppression and the war in Vietnam. It reminds people of the fact that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and of a man who was murdered for writing a book exposing the hired guns. But if such an award exists, then the imperialists probably couldn't think of a better way to use it themselves than to give it to Lopez—lending legitimacy to their willing servant who is widely hated among the masses so that he can better carry out the task of recruiting Chicano youth to act as cannonfodder for the upcoming exploits of U.S. imperialism.

No wonder this award was given under cover of darkness. □

CORRESPONDENCE ON MAY 1st



May 1st in West Germany—thousands sponsored May 1st rallies with rev

Youth Disrupt CIA Bible Front

Walking down the sidewalk right across the street from Disneyland in the heart of John Wayne country, suddenly I heard someone yelling about El Salvador and revolution. I looked and there were one Black and two white guys in a panel truck. My buddy went over to see what was up and they pulled into the gas station to tell us. They had just come from disrupting the Wycliffe Foundation's convention in the Anaheim Convention Center. The Wycliffe Foundation are the infamous "Bible translators," one of whom was the guy, Bitterman, kidnapped by the M-19 guerrillas in Colombia and exposed as a CIA agent; the whole Foundation also was exposed as a CIA front.

The three guys said the pigs had kicked them out and told them not to come back. The pigs had asked them if they were with the RCP. One guy had taken a Bible and was tearing out pages, handing them out and telling people, "Here, have some bullshit." One guy had a sack-type mask with M-19 written on it. He was up in the second level with his mask on and the May Day poster, yelling, "Read Marx, read Lenin!" They said they had gotten free tickets from the Christian Alliance at their school. They knew what this group was and came to take it on. They asked, "Who are you with?" and we told them, the RCP—then they came over and hugged us. They gave us some tickets and told us to go disrupt it further. We didn't get their names because we thought they must be in contact with the Party already since they had May Day posters. That's one lesson—don't assume that everyone that is being affected to take internationalist actions by the line of the Party is directly in contact with it. This roving band of rebel youth is an example of what a revolutionary, internationalist line is capable of unleashing on the bourgeoisie.

—a co-conspirator

Later, the RW got in touch with the youth who disrupted the convention. This was a statement they wrote:

"Due to the domination of the major media by monopoly capital, the need for alternative media becomes a necessity. The commodity nature of packaged information, such as the major media produces for consumption, makes it difficult for the working class to integrate the information in a way that makes sense in their lives and validates their collective struggle. The Student Alternative Media Collective was formed to resist media domination by taking it to the streets. Guerrilla theater, poster art, and different forms.

"On Saturday, May 9, we planned a demonstration at the Wycliffe Bible Translators at the Anaheim Convention Center. Wycliffe is the sister organization of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a known CIA front via the U.S. Agency for International Development. Wycliffe contracts to host countries... the capitalists, these cultural imperialists, comfortably kill Indians and convert their cultures into objects for museums. Looking for answers, just initially, for run of the mill questions, we picked up what little literature they had and got it set on fire.

"While Billy Graham spoke, we distributed the word of the Lord, torn-out pages of the Bible. We carried to the highest bleachers of the Convention Center the May Day poster. We were thrown out by five Anaheim cops and a dozen ushers. Who could have believed this was happening right across the street from Disneyland?"

"We were prevented from presenting a letter from Chester Bitterman's father by an irate usher who crumpled it up and threw it at us. Chester Bitterman, WBT missionary, was slain last month in Colombia by M-19, a revolutionary guerrilla band that sought to expel Wycliffe for being stooges for the CIA and U.S. monopoly vested interests."

Cincinnati Bus Drivers

On the morning of May 1, three Cincinnati school bus drivers wore red T-shirts, May Day buttons and green ribbons in to work. Two were long-time RW co-conspirators, one a Black brother who had just recently started reading the RW. One other long-time co-conspirator took off work that day and went with a May Day team to a base area.

Also that morning, about half a dozen of the more backward drivers took a stand behind the red, white and blue. American flag pins were on their shirts, and a big U.S. flag was placed in the drivers' waiting room, where the older and more conservative drivers tend to hang out. As one red T-shirted driver went toward the waiting room, a driver who had become notorious for his "all-American" racist and sexist slurs approached the brother, fists clenched, teeth gnashing, and challenged him to a fight right on the bus lot. It ended in a stand-off. "He told me I needed to go back to Russia," the brother said, "I told him he needed to go to El Salvador and get slapped around by the people there... maybe that would knock some sense into his hard head."

Controversy over the red vs. the red, white and blue seethed among the drivers all morning. Around 1:30 in the afternoon, the revolutionary forces won a victory in the May 1st battle. In the face of the white chauvinism, physical threats and male chauvinism of that bus lot, in the face of the owner of the company raising an American flag himself right on the lot, in the face of threats of retaliation by the owner (stemming from the fact that one driver had worn a May Day T-shirt two weeks earlier that had prompted complaints from the backward and a promise by the owner to buy and make them wear uniforms every day), and in the face of economist trends attempting to downplay political struggle over May 1st, three more drivers stepped forward. Two young Black drivers defiantly pinned on May Day buttons, and a white woman driver put on a red bandana. All three had bought and read the RW at one time or another.

A larger section of drivers who would take no May First action per se said they would stand behind those who did on the basis that they should have the right to do it and in opposition to the backward drivers' racist and sexist attacks, which had risen to a fever pitch.

One young woman driver ran up to the driver who had been threatened earlier and asked if he was OK. "I heard X (the rabid reactionary) threatened you... Well, he just told me he'd beat the shit out of me, and I told him, 'Fine. Let's go off the bus lot and I'll beat the shit out of you.'" A few days previously, this creep had painted a Nazi swastika on her house in the middle of the night. Her stand was, "We can't let this guy get away with this intimidation."

She also took on his slanderous attack claiming that she was a "nazi" because she was friends with communists! Not only does this lumping together of fascists and communists expose this backward fool as an utter hack of imperialism—this being one of the oldest bits of bourgeois double think around, but it serves to draw the line even more sharply because this guy, who sounds for all the world like the stereotype of a nazi himself, has shrouded himself in the red, white and blue—thus making it quite clear just what this patriotism is all about.

An older white "senior" driver who was against U.S. imperialism in El Salvador, but had told the revolutionary drivers he "wasn't for revolution or communism," united with them on the basis of "free speech," as he said. While his senior driver friends were opposing the advanced forces all day with their American flags, he talked with the "red shirts" about political issues all day long in plain view of his "friends," an American flag conspicuously absent from his chest.

On his bus run that afternoon, one of

the red T-shirted drivers talked to the Black and white elementary school kids on his bus about May 1st and what he knew about battles raging over the red flag in different sections of Cincinnati. A number of kids listened eagerly. As the last kid, a fifth grader, got out of the bus in the West End, a May 1st base area, he gave the driver the fist salute.

When he got back to the lot, the driver was called into the office. The owner fired him, claiming that a parent had called up and complained about him talking to their kid about revolution. Strangely enough, the kid rode a particular route where the driver had rarely talked politics to the kids.

The bus company owner was so uptight at the red flag being raised that he not only fired the brother "for violating an unwritten company rule," but told him he would be arrested for trespassing if he ever set foot on the bus lot again. The brother took a few minutes while cleaning out his locker to tell the other drivers what had happened, and then stopped on the lot to talk to two others in their car. A young Black driver ran up and told them he had just heard the owner calling the police, and they left the lot just in time as the cruiser was pulling up.

A number of drivers held a meeting two nights later to discuss how to fight the firing, calling out "May Day" and "revolution," and it was decided among other things to do further investigation into the circumstances of the firing, and that the brother fired would issue an open letter to the drivers in leaflet form that week. This was circulated and talked about widely the next week. It read in part:

"When a number of drivers came to work on May 1st wearing red and buttons proclaiming, 'Take History Into Our Hands, May Day 1981,' they were acting in common with workers and other oppressed people around the world... When Joe fired me, he was acting not just for himself but for all the rich and powerful; he was reacting not to my bringing 'politics' into my job (with all the American flags on some drivers' buses, tell me there was no political discussion going on!), but out of his class' necessity to suppress certain 'politics' by any means necessary... They say I shouldn't have talked to the children about the reality of life in the USA. I shouldn't have talked to them about the possibility of changing things, about the possibility of revolution. Better they should get told—as they do every day—that things are basically OK, and if you can't be happy it's your fault. (So what if the U.S. has a high and growing rate of youth who would rather take their own life than live under this system.) Better they should get told that the murder, the terror in the world is just part of 'human nature' and you've got to accept it. Better that they should have their heads filled with patriotic garbage about 'the land of the free and the home of the brave' to get properly prepared to go off and blow someone away just like them to benefit their oppressors. Besides, even a little bit of the truth is a dangerous thing. But not dangerous to the kids. Dangerous to those who need to control how they think."

The Monday after May 1st, a Black driver who had not worn one on May 1st itself wore a red T-shirt in to work in defiance of the red, white and blue, and coming off the controversy that had raged that Friday. The company was clearly on the defensive; the owners raced around the lot periodically, nervously questioning people talking to each other if they were having "political discussion." That week a "communications committee" (the boss and some of his driver friends) met and came out with an edict which a flunkey driver loudly proclaimed in the lot: No T-shirts or buttons of any kind could be worn, except those bearing the name of the bus company or an American flag. When several drivers asked why the American flag would be allowed, the owner claimed it was "not a political symbol." Laughter broke out. For

through the course of the May 1st battle, the red, white and blue had been exposed as a political symbol of everything rotten and reactionary, as the red had been raised and the true road forward had been fought for, and continued to be right there on the bus lot, in unity with the proletariat and oppressed worldwide.

More Mission May Day

Brothers, Sisters,

For me it was fantastic what happened on May Day. Because from what I could see it opened the door to a more clear consciousness. It seems to me when the enemy does not attack you it's because you represent no threat to him. The brutal attacks showed clearly what a threat May Day constitutes, a danger to the stability that they have maintained. For me this is an advantage to us.

May Day is a day, a symbolic day for the working class struggle. The magnitude of struggle represents the development of the revolutionary consciousness. May Day manifested that the struggle in this so-called belly of the monster is gaining such force that it brought forth a show of desperate brutality by the police forces. Broader participation of the people was held back by fear of the state, perhaps, by the fact that many people don't have papers, or because their understanding of the movement was not deep enough.

I became aware of the battle taking place in the Mission when I noticed a police helicopter over the barrio. By the time I arrived at the scene the demonstration was broken up. I could see these anti-riot police, these criminal police well armed with this advantage against people not so well armed. I think some people were shocked at what happened, from what I heard—that this happened in a country which seems democratic, a country where the rights of the people, the rights of expression is supposedly so sacred. The so-called freedom, the supposed rights to demonstrate your beliefs was stripped naked. And this was a big impact, a big progress. The so-called terrible communists were attacked while carrying flags by the criminal thugs in uniform with clubs, who attacked even defenceless people. The people can see with their own eyes what the democracy and liberty of this system really means. This so-called model society after all needs bayonets to defend itself. What this shows is that all this democracy and



Thousands of immigrant workers and German youth disrupted traditional, reformist revolutionary internationalism.

To me, my country is the world. In whatever part of the world one feels the weight of oppression, of repression and exploitation one must fight. I am not Salvadoran. I belong to the world. In whatever part of the world where one sees injustice one must oppose it. I am conscious of this because I have observed that the same problems exist everywhere. I don't belong to El Salvador but to the world. You don't belong to the U.S., but to the world, brothers and sisters. We don't have a "place" if we are talking about a specific area of geography, "my borders are here, my flag is red white and blue"... no! Our flag is the universal one of all humanity: Chinese, red, Black, Latino, gringo, no matter. We all belong to the world. Some people don't like the word revolutionary or are afraid of it because they don't understand what it means. But revolution means the radical change of this socio-economic system. Of course the forms of struggles in different areas are different.

A proletarian from El Salvador living in San Francisco

Liberating San Antonio Park

Two more pig cars slowly oozed along the edge of the park.

Jesus turned to his partner Daniel, tapping him lightly on the arm.

"Something's going to happen, man..." he said, watching the pigs as they watched him.

Jesus had noticed that the pig patrols, always in evidence in the suppressed Oakland community of Black and Latino proletarians, had visibly stepped up since the morning after May Day. It wasn't hard to figure out why. This was San Antonio Park, where May Day had been revived by the Revolutionary Union in 1971, and where May Day rallies have been held every year since then. A large number of people, including a number of co-conspirators, have come to look forward to the day. In 1979, when the city of Oakland had denied permits for the May Day march, hundreds from this area had signed a petition demanding that the permit be granted, and a few went to the City

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freedom is a fantasy, a myth, a deception, it doesn't exist. This is a fantastic thing for the people, I think for Latin American people who get used to the rut of just working like beasts for their little paychecks. Even if they are \$200 or \$300—say it's \$300. But what is the real price one pays for this, what exploitation stands behind this little check?

The impact of this demonstration was very big. Precisely because internationalism is the aspiration of the oppressed of all countries to establish a common rule in which the power will be truly in the hands of the people. Internationalism signifies that all the people of the world suffer under the same exploitation. It means that you are conscious,

I am conscious, that the same characteristics of exploitation exists and the same forms of struggle exists for a better system. Internationalism comes from the facts, from the realities, the situations that the people find themselves in. The time is coming and we are observing this throughout the world that the change is coming.

Leaflet by Dominican Marxist-Leninists

"The Historic Revolutionary Significance of May Day"

The following is a leaflet distributed in the Dominican Republic on May Day by the Unión Comunista Revolucionaria, one of the signers of the Joint Communiqué, "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of all Countries."

MAY DAY MANIFESTO

Ninety-five years ago, the U.S. working class achieved victory in the struggle for the eight-hour day through fiery struggles against capitalism, which provoked open repression resulting in the murder of several proletarian leaders, GEORGE ENGEL, SAMUEL FIELDS, ADOLPH FISCHER, LOUIS LINGG, OSCAR NEEBE, A. R. PARSONS, MICHAEL SCHWAB AND AUGUST SPIES.

On that 1st of May in 1886 it became internationally the day of the working class worldwide, whose historic significance must move the proletariat throughout the world to prepare to make revolution and to seize and hold the dictatorship of the proletariat wherever revolution triumphs against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Even though there are many countries where the working class has not achieved the reduction of the work day to eight hours, today this achievement is less crucial in comparison to the great tasks that lie before the proletariat, so that the Marxist-Leninists must not limit themselves to this demand, because this would be practicing bourgeois reformism and would be putting a stamp of conciliation to imperialism and all the ruling class on the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Also, the present historic conjuncture—we would say in almost every con-

junction—the true Marxist-Leninists must inculcate the working class with the historic revolutionary significance of May Day and not march at the tail end of the proletariat "bowing to spontaneity" and lowering the political struggle to the level of the economic struggle of the working class, to winning demands that keep the capitalists' system unalterable.

Traditionally in our country, May Day is celebrated as a day with no historic significance, in which all the "left" accepts the tasks called for by the unions. This position is not favorable to the conscious struggle of the proletariat. Authentic Marxist-Leninists do not have to reduce the struggle for the overthrow of the domination of imperialism to a struggle for purely reformist demands.

This May Day, the Dominican working class must place it in its rightful position, grasping that the struggle is not to simply win readjustments in salary or a supposed trade-union freedom imperialist-style, but that a Marxist-Leninist Party is needed to direct the struggle of the proletariat on the road of armed struggle, without conciliating with the exploiters nor the opportunists that make up the so-called "left," who are interested in nothing but a few deputies in the coming 1982 elections.

The UCR is opposed to the opportunist practice of the entire Dominican "left" of separating the movement of the working class from the communist movement. This practice which today is widespread throughout the revolutionary movement, has resulted in the unions leading the working-class movement while the leading role of the party

has been forgotten, which is what draws together the best elements of the proletariat and what enables and organizes the working class to seize political power, overthrowing the imperialists by force and building a new society.

Instead of the working class being fundamentally concerned with demanding higher wages—which the UCR does not consider unimportant, but does not consider fundamental—it has to understand the leading role that it must play in the revolutionary struggle; it must understand its historic role and fuse with the Marxist-Leninists in one single party to prepare for proletarian revolution and achieve a definite triumph against imperialism.

We must reject the reformist politics of the whole "left," from the parties that comprise the so-called "unity of the left" that do nothing but prattle about socialism and march at the tail end of the proletariat, to the pro-Chinese PDT and PACOREDO, who echo the imperialists with their third-worldist politics. By the same token, it is necessary to combat the pro-Albanians like PCT who now defend all the bureaucratic syndicalist steps implemented by the CGT.

We call on the Dominican working class to continue fighting the criminal plans initiated by yankee imperialism and the government headed up by the landlord, Antonio Guzmán, causing the death of the student Angela Guzmán, the reporter Marcelino Vega and the newspaper seller Manuel de Jesús Ciprián Valdez.

Now, as the war blocs headed up by the U.S. and the social-imperialist Russia accelerate their murderous imperialist war preparations and as Central

America advances in its struggle against imperialism, as the present situation of rebellion in El Salvador demonstrates, the international proletariat, of which the Dominican proletariat is part, must prepare itself on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to make revolutionary war so as to paralyze the imperialists' plans with the working class seizing power through armed struggle of the masses and applying the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is one and only one revolutionary homage that the Marxist-Leninists and the international working class must pay the Chicago martyrs that were murdered on May 1st in 1886; that is, to practice internationalism just as Lenin teaches it: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly 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."

**DRIVE FORWARD THE BUILDING OF A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY!
LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY MAY DAY!
WORK TO SPEED THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AGAINST IMPERIALISM!
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!**

Leadership Committee of the UCR

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only basis for Western credibility in Salisbury and Maputo. Our credibility in Moscow and Havana depends on adopting a strong line against the principle of introducing external combat forces into the region—a message best communicated by greater reliability in U.S. performance worldwide. There can be no presumed communist right to exploit and militarize regional tensions, particularly in this region where important Western economic, resource and strategic interests are exposed."

In a rare moment of lucidity, Crocker has almost gotten to the heart of the current brouhaha in the U.S. imperialist circles around southern Africa. The new face of U.S. policy in southern Africa has not been the result of some awesome strengthening of U.S. imperialism, nor the natural outcome of an innate attraction for South Africa on the part of the Reagan administration that is somehow more reactionary than any previous U.S. administration. Rather, "constructive engagement" and everything it entails is a direct and calculated outgrowth of U.S. imperialism in preparing for world war with their equally imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. For the U.S. imperialists it's a question of firmly securing the region of southern Africa into "its rightful place" in the U.S. war bloc—strengthening U.S. influence and domination in the area while combatting by any means necessary Soviet inroads into the region. The new face of U.S. policy in southern Africa, as in every other part of the world, springs from and is conditioned by one overriding concern—the need for the U.S. imperialists to be in the best possible position at the outbreak of war with the Soviet Union.

But the context of U.S. policy in Africa isn't new. Under Carter and his African emissary, Andrew Young, U.S. policy was also driven and conditioned by the contention between the U.S. and their Soviet competitors leading up to world war. Under Carter and Young, tactics were a bit different, relying more on directly influencing the various black-led countries and movements in Africa while maintaining "back door" military and diplomatic support for the South African regime, including "covertly" using South Africa as the club to complement and back up their diplomatic maneuvering. Today the U.S. has shifted its focus somewhat. While still attempting to influence the other African countries and movements, they are much more openly depending on their old and more reliable ally South Africa and its military forces to safeguard their interests and extract concessions from the African countries.

In essence "constructive engagement" is nothing short of an overall political offensive designed to politically and mi-

larily secure southern Africa in the U.S. war bloc. This is much more than just adding another feather to their cap, in fact it is a vital and strategic part of America's war preparations. Southern Africa is one of the richest sources in the world for many of the non-fuel minerals key to supplying U.S. war production. For example, the U.S. is dependent on foreign sources for 100% of its manganese and 100% of its cobalt, two of the crucial components in the manufacture of the high quality steel needed for the production of jet engines, artillery shells and armor plating. Outside of the Soviet Union, the main sources for these minerals in the world are the nations of southern Africa—Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zaire and South Africa. In addition, Namibia is the home of the largest uranium mine in the world.

At the same time, control of southern Africa is also crucial in controlling the sea lanes around the tip of southern Africa, sea lanes which are potential choke points in the shipment of oil and other vital war-related materials to the U.S. allies in Western Europe and Japan. As an added aspect, U.S. control of southern Africa is an extremely important factor in maintaining U.S. military dominance in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean.

And the linchpin in relation to all this is South Africa. As the largest and most developed, both militarily and economically, country in southern Africa, South Africa has a key role to play in "maintaining the balance of forces in the region," that is, keeping U.S. imperialist oppression firmly anchored there. In addition to South Africa's level of development, mineral wealth and geographic location, the U.S. has big plans for this regime. One such plan calls for the formation of the South Atlantic Treaty Organization, a U.S.-directed military alliance modeled after NATO and including South Africa, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. For their part, the South Africans have made it more than clear that they are eagerly awaiting stepped up and open military ties between the U.S. and South Africa. In addition to modernizing and offering the U.S. the full use of their submarine base at Simonstown and the missile tracking system at Silvermine, the South Africans are also dangling the use of Walvis Bay (Namibia's only seaport which was seized by South Africa and claimed as its own) as a possible port for U.S. nuclear submarines.

In addition to all this is the South Africans' proven willingness to dispatch their military forces against any Soviet/Cuban presence in the area and to generally play the role of gendarme for U.S. imperialism in the region. In light of all this, it came as no surprise when Reagan set the context for openly embracing South Africa by stating in his interview with Cronkite, "Can we abandon a country that has stood by us

in every war we have ever fought, a country that is strategically essential to the free world in its production of minerals that we all must have?"

Namibia

The first proving ground for "constructive engagement" and one of the sharpest questions in southern Africa today is the question of the settlement of the Namibian struggle for national liberation. After agreeing to a U.S.-directed and designed plan for a "negotiated independence" in Namibia more than three years ago, in January of this year the South Africans reversed themselves just months before its scheduled implementation. The South Africans decided (perhaps with some help from their U.S. friends) that the implementation of this plan had very little to offer them, especially since the UN-supervised elections would have most probably brought the Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) into administrative power, rather than a South African puppet government—this would not be a very favorable situation for the South Africans since it would not only impede their interests in Namibia but would also contribute to their further isolation and to intensifying internal struggle in Azania (South Africa). So the South Africans stated that they were "no longer confident" of the ability of the UN to serve as an "impartial" supervisor of Namibian elections and that the whole idea was "premature" anyway. At the time the U.S. mildly chastized South Africa but said nothing more than that U.S. Africa policy was currently under review.

In the weeks prior to Botha's visit, the U.S. announced that it was still committed to the Namibia negotiations, and, following Botha's visit, they have begun to flesh out just what this commitment means. The U.S. has decided that its former plan is not quite right. In its place they have adopted a new plan, a plan built on the old one but with some significant changes. Where the old plan represents more of a compromise by the U.S., although it too was designed to maintain U.S. dominance in Namibia, the current U.S. plan is more indicative of the shifts in U.S. policy. First of all it calls for the drawing up of a constitution or declaration that would guarantee the rights of "minorities and ethnic groups in Namibia" prior to the setting of the ceasefire date and the holding of elections. As in their Zimbabwean model, this "constitution or declaration" is aimed at safeguarding the interests of the white colonial settlers, the South Africans and the U.S. and its imperialist allies. But, the other changes are far more revealing.

The U.S. has now upped the ante with regard to the "Namibian settlement," particularly where wringing concessions from neighboring Angola is concerned. By refusing to set a date for the implementation of this plan the U.S. is actually allowing the South African regime more time to attempt to militarily weaken SWAPO (they haven't defeated it in these many years) and to set up and attempt to legitimize its own puppet government as "the genuine representative of the Namibian people." In fact, since the scrapping of the old plan in January the South African regime has been feverishly trying to pull together a coalition National Front-type government which includes all the various political forces in Namibia except SWAPO, and to whom the South African territorial administrator would "hand over all powers." At the same time, the U.S. has approved the continued massing of South African military forces in northern Namibia—the staging area for South Africa's raids into Angola. Most recently the South African regime announced that it was creating a Southwest African police force to replace the South African police force in Namibia and to supplement the 20,000 member South African-directed Southwest African Territorial Force and the 30,000 South African troops currently stationed in Namibia. In addition to this, the South Africans are saying that they will not accept UN troops as monitors of the settlement but instead want a combination of U.S., West European, and African troops to do the job. With all this as leverage the U.S. has casually dropped hints that any future Namibian settlement should be di-

rectly tied to the withdrawal of Cuba's 20,000 troops from Angola.

While the U.S. implementation of its new policy in southern Africa is designed to resolve some of the contradictions it faces as it prepares for war, at the same time it has opened up and inflamed a whole other set of contradictions. One of the most obvious is the contradiction between the new and open relationship between the U.S. and South Africa, and U.S. relations with the other "pro-Western" African countries. While these countries are generally wallowing in capitulation to U.S. imperialism, like Zimbabwe under Mugabe, who has done nothing more than meekly utter a few empty and half-hearted criticisms and then offered the "olive branch of peace" to South Africa during the celebration of the first anniversary of "Zimbabwean independence," nevertheless the overtly friendly relations between South Africa and the U.S. are a serious contradiction. For these governments the new face of U.S. policy in Africa requires some political facesaving work among the African people. This has led them recently to push the issue of sanctions against South Africa to a vote in the Security Council in the United Nations—a move which forced the U.S. to further political exposure and turmoil by using its veto.

Applying Muscle on African States

For the U.S. imperialists too, this is a serious contradiction, particularly since it offers their Soviet rivals an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, ripping some of the current U.S. African allies away from the U.S. and into the Soviet sphere. In order to try and smooth over this contradiction, the U.S. has resorted to a two-pronged defensive. On the one hand they are counting on what Chester Crocker has described in typical racist manner as the pragmatic get-as-much-as-you-can attitude "inherent in African diplomacy" and the liberal use of "seed money" to bribe their way out of this contradiction.

As a shining example of what cooperative African nations can expect in return, the U.S. imperialists point to Robert Mugabe and Zimbabwe and the recent 2.1 billion dollars in Western aid that he received. But in case this doesn't work (not to mention the fact that the U.S. is somewhat limited in the reserves it can afford to extend in Africa), the U.S. imperialists are also prepared to get a bit more forceful. A large number of the other African countries, particularly the "front line states" in southern Africa, are extremely dependent on an economic lifeline tied directly into the South African economy. Any threat to that lifeline would also threaten economic and political havoc in most of these countries, given that they are ruled by bourgeois-led regimes. For instance, 95% of Zimbabwe's overseas exports move through South Africa's rail and port systems and the import pattern is roughly the same. Zimbabwe's oil is supplied by South Africa and its railway system is dependent on South Africa for equipment. Its telecommunications system is tied into relay and switching centers in Johannesburg. In Mozambique the situation is similar, with South Africans running the critical port facilities and supplying all of the electric power for the capital city of Maputo. In Zambia, Tanzania and the others the situation is roughly the same. And the U.S. imperialists are by no means above exploiting the situation. As a way of rubbing the noses of the "front line" states in their predicament and as a word of warning to them, on April 12 the *Washington Post* stated, "There will be great hue and cry abc it South African sanctions in the UN this month, with the front line states in the forefront of this rhetorical battle. But when the veto is cast in the Security Council by some lonely Western nation, the front line states will not be displeased." And as far as some of the more Soviet-dominated African countries such as Angola and Mozambique are concerned, the U.S. is prepared to use both the carrot and the club. On the one hand they will attempt to bribe them out of the Soviet sphere, and if that fails, they will unleash the South African military club against them.

Another factor which has been intensified with the emergence of the overtly

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Council meeting action demanding the permits. This year, the fact that May Day would be in the Mission District was a source of healthy controversy—one person said, "Well then, we'll have our own May Day."

On Sunday, May 3rd a concert was held in the park, called to celebrate Cinco de Mayo. Several hundred people were there, mainly Latino, but including people of all nationalities. The pigs continued their "patrols," worried at the concentration of people, celebrating their national holiday, on such an explosive weekend. (The official celebration across the Bay in the Mission had been cancelled.) It was obvious that the pigs wanted to stop this celebration and get this crowd out of the park before nightfall when things would be even more disadvantageous for them. Finally, in a brazen piece of arrogance the pigs waded into the middle of the crowd, picked out one couple, whom they accused of being "disorderly." They busted the guy, and then turned on the woman, roughing her up; the crowd tensed, people filling with rage. When one pig put a chokehold on her with his club, the lid blew—dozens of people converged on the scene, surrounding the cops. Anger, and more, enveloped these pigs.

Within minutes at least a dozen pig

cars descended on and into the park, running into people, and driving crazily over the park lawns at high speed. The battle erupted throughout the park, drawing others from the community, perhaps 300-500 people. Only at 9 p.m. was the park somewhat calmed down, with 18 youth busted, and several pig cars being towed back to the shop.

A person who was in the battle, a regular reader of the *RW*, told us, "Every one of my friends that was there knew about May Day and knew about the march on Friday (in the Mission—*RW*). It was definitely on our minds."

It was definitely on the small but arrogant minds of the authorities too, and apparently they thought they could just drive in and vamp on the people there, meeting little or no resistance to their vicious national oppression. The newspapers went out of the way to slander the community—"A Boozey Evening in Oakland Park" was the headline in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The article portrayed the masses as drunken Latinos who got uppity—but several workers we spoke to on that day in other parts of the city were quick to read between the lines. The battle at San Antonio Park was, in fact, one more ingredient in the very explosive May Day weekend, a weekend of outbreaks. □

What's the Government After in SWP's Lawsuit?

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a Trotskyite organization, has filed a major civil suit against the U.S. government, demanding damages of \$40 million for "the illegal acts committed against them by the FBI and other government agencies" and "an injunction to bar further illegal government activity against them."

The litigation leading up to the present lawsuit has spanned 8 years. The lawsuit cites the use by the U.S. government of informers and provocateurs to disrupt SWP's political organizations, burglaries of organizational headquarters and private apartments, the employment of anonymous "poison pen" letters to get a target fired or evicted, the routine use of wiretaps, mail tampering, and "garbage cover." The suit is currently being heard in the federal court in New York City.

Throughout the trial, which is already nearly two months old, much more has come to light than further details of the despicable FBI COINTELPRO programs of the '60s and '70s; much more than still further proof that these programs have never been dismantled, but are in fact being stepped up, broadened and intensified today. What is being most glaringly exposed, through the scarcely veiled new attacks in the government's "defense" in this case, is the imperialists' clammy fear of an organized, revolutionary challenge to their rule in the U.S. in the coming period. Clearly more is involved here than the SWP, which does not embody that kind of challenge. The government's defense strategy, and its conduct of the cross-examination of witnesses called on behalf of the SWP, is clearly aimed at utilizing the arena of the civil suit to establish its "right" and strengthen its hand to pursue to new heights its offensive against revolutionary organizations and individuals, regardless of the formal outcome of the trial itself.

On the one hand, the government maintains in its pre-trial arguments that its programs of covert surveillance, infiltration, and COINTELPRO-style attacks need not be justified by any evidence of illegal acts on the part of the target: "The issue in this case," the government brief asserts, "is not whether the SWP, the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance—RW), or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime...the issue is whether the government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change...even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law."

On the other hand, under pressure by the court to come forward with evidence of some "criminal activity," the government produced the "Mandigo Affidavit," prepared and submitted by FBI Special Agent Charles Mandigo. This affidavit charges that the SWP is "ideologically committed to the violent overthrow of the government and the establishment of a communist dictatorship." Such an "ideological commitment" to revolution is specifically labeled a crime by the government which cites in support of its contention sections of the discredited Smith Act and other statutes from the McCarthy era, still on the books, which state it's a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

It is transparently clear that the government strategy is designed to reach far beyond the confines of the legal conflict on the terms set by the SWP and its lawsuit, and far beyond the SWP itself. As for the politics of this organization, the whole affair has revealed plenty. The SWP suit hinges on proving, as is maintained in their plaintiffs' brief, that there is "no basis

for reasonable belief that plaintiffs have engaged in, planned, or advocated any illegal activity, at least since 1941" and that there is "no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have been, are now, or will be in violation of" various federal statutes barring treason, rebellion, insurrection, etc. Farrell Dobbs, former National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and a key witness for the group in the trial, testified under direct examination that the SWP was "not a subversive organization." The courtroom strategy of the SWP is predicated on proving the absolute legality of the organization and its work, now and in the future. Indeed, a major editorial in the *Militant*, the weekly newspaper of the SWP, essentially implies that, should the government be able to prove legal violations, the SWP would have no case:

"As many observers have noted, one of the most striking things to come out of this case is this. After more than 40 years of intensive spying—and 8 years of open challenge in this suit—the government has not been able to produce evidence of a single crime, or even a 'conspiracy' to plan one in the future.

"The reaction of most people has been, why don't they get off the socialists' backs?..."

"If it can be established that the socialists are indeed lawbreakers, many will conclude that it probably is a good idea to keep an eye on them..."

This same strategy has led the SWP to raise the slogan of "Book Us or Let Us Go...If the Government thinks it has anything on us, then press charges, and we'll have it out on that level. But don't keep up this unending 'investigation' as an excuse to harass and disrupt our activity."

Attack on Foreign-Born

But in the midst of the trial itself, the government unveiled a vicious new attack which demonstrated for the ten thousandth time the U.S. ruling class's bottomless contempt for its own hypocritical slogans about "civil liberties" and "due process." On April 24th, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) suddenly announced that "in light of the materials reviewed in response to the litigation currently pending...the INS concluded that there is good reason to believe that the Socialist Workers Party of the United States is an organization that advocates the economic, international and governmental doctrines of world communism. As a result of this determination, the investigations divisions of the INS has begun a review of the nature of the Socialist Workers Party to determine whether its members or affiliates are excludable and deportable."

Government harassment, deportation and exclusion of immigrants for their political activities is nothing new. The new INS ruling, however, is more than a simple maneuver by the government to strengthen its hand in the trial. It signals the desire of the government to step up investigations, roundups, indictments, incarcerations, and summary deportations of revolutionaries among the mass foreign-born population in the U.S., which the government rightly fears as a powerful source of revolutionary ferment in this country.

So far in the trial, all pretense of focusing on the strictly legal "facts of the case" has been thrown out by the government, which is pursued in overtly political tactics attempting to prove that advocacy of and preparation for revolution is a crime. In the government cross-examination of Farrell Dobbs, U.S. Attorney Edward G. Williams approached the witness stand brandishing a copy of Volume 3 of the *Selected Works* of Lenin. The following

remarkable cross-examination is reproduced here, because it provides for the readers of the *RW* an extraordinary exposure of the government's real preoccupations:

"Q: Mr. Dobbs, yesterday, in response to a question by Miss Winter, you stated that 'A minority cannot carry through a revolution.'

Do you recall that?

A: Yes, I think I do.

Q: And later, in response to a question by Judge Griesa, you gave your interpretation of the takeover by the Bolsheviks in 1917.

Do you recall that?

A: I spoke on the subject, I didn't give a full exposition.

Q: And, Mr. Dobbs, as a Leninist and one (who) is generally familiar with the writings of Lenin, are you familiar with Lenin's views whether a revolution could be started by a very small party and brought to a successful conclusion?

A: Lenin, in the concept that he projected, could have said that a small party could generate the process within the working class that would lead to mass acceptance of a program of revolutionary change in society. As I understand Lenin, that would be the basis on which he would project such a concept.

Q: Do you recall reading any writings by Lenin in which he stated that he, Lenin, would not altogether deny that a revolution could be started by a very small party and brought to a victorious conclusion and that a small party is quite sufficient to lead the masses?

Do you recall that?

A: I would answer that as I did the other question, that I never read or understood anything about the concept Lenin projected... (to be) that of a minority putschist. I am using that expression as in the Hitler putsch in Germany in 1933.

Q: To your knowledge, did Lenin ever write that at certain times there is no necessity for a big organization?

A: No. I can't imagine—

Q: I know that Lenin wrote a lot.

A: I could imagine him saying that it is not how big an organization is but how correct the program is. And you can't subordinate program to size.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, I'm handing you an excerpt from Volume 3 of the 'Selected Works' of Lenin. Do you see, on page 637, where Lenin writes:

'Quite a small party is sufficient to lead the masses. At certain times there is no necessity for a big organization.'

A: Yes, I see that.

Q: And do you see, on page 636, also underlined:

'In the history of our movement, you will find many examples where several thousand workers in a town were enough to give clearly massed character to the movement.'

A: Yes, I see that.

Q: And, Mr. Dobbs, is it not true that the takeover by the Bolsheviks, in 1917, did not involve the masses but merely several thousand workers?"

War Preparation

Government questioning also focused at great length on grilling Dobbs on Trotsky's theories and the line of the SWP on the tasks of revolutionaries in an imperialist war. The SWP denies that the Soviet Union is an imperialist power, adhering instead to the Trotskyite view that it is a "bureaucratic workers state." Williams demanded, "If there is a confrontation between an imperialist power and the Soviet Union, the Socialist Workers Party would support the workers state in the Soviet Union?" Dobbs responded, "We would support the workers state and politically oppose the intervention."

The SWP appears to believe that opposition of any kind to the U.S. imperialists before or during an imperialist war will be acceptable or legitimate to the ruling class if it is "only" political—or at least, that this illusion can hold up for the purposes of their lawsuit. But the government is blatantly building its case, not on legal formalities, but on the political necessity facing the U.S. as the war draws nearer; in other words, the government is asserting quite openly that anything but total loyalty to U.S. imperialism in wartime can and will be "constitutionally" branded as criminal treason and suppressed with the full weight of the state apparatus. But again, it scarcely needs pointing out that, in running all of this out, the government and the ruling class are exposing the fact that they are running scared—and what has them really scared is not the immediate threat posed by a lawsuit.

A third prong of the government's attack in the trial is to employ their typical tactic of raising the specter of so-called "terrorism" and to attempt to portray the SWP as somehow connected with or associated with "terrorist" activities. The government has introduced as evidence a preposterous "study" originally issued by the House Committee on Internal Security (recently resurrected as the House Committee on Security and Terrorism) in the early 1970s, "The Trotskyite Terrorist International." The government has laid special stress, in presenting this aspect of its "defense" and emphasizing the international connections of the SWP with the Fourth International (the Fourth International is an international association of Trotskyite organizations)—and then attempting to find some Trotskyite organization which in some country at some time, they could claim committed a "terrorist act" and thus prove the SWP is guilty of "association with terrorists." It is particularly significant that, according to the government, any formal affiliation of a revolutionary organization with groups or parties in other countries is "illegal" activity, under Voorhis Act.

The strategy that the SWP has chosen to pursue during the trial—that their witnesses, to quote from the SWP paper, the *Militant*, are "ready to testify about anything and have nothing to hide," is one which the government is doing its utmost to exploit. In the government cross-examination on the subject of so-called "terrorist activities," this was particularly glaring. U.S. Attorney Williams, in questioning SWP witness Jack Barnes about an alleged incident supposedly involving "Trotskyist guerrillas" in Argentina in 1972, demanded—and got—information about Barnes' own activities at that time and the extent of his knowledge of the alleged event. Barnes entered into a denunciation of the Argentinian group involved, and then stated, according to the *Militant*, that "Those who claimed responsibility for the kidnapping were moving rapidly away from the political positions of the Fourth International and already publicly identified with Stalinist leaders such as Mao Tsetung and North Korea's Kim Il Sung."

Such statements can and will be exploited by the ruling class—in ways so obvious they do not need to be spelled out here—despite the stated view of the SWP that victory in its lawsuit can "put a stop to these government crimes" or possibly bring an end to the COINTELPRO-style repression of "all left and progressive organizations."

While the SWP, whose brand of "socialism" is essentially a form of social democracy, and which envisions bring-

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Lenin's War on Opportunism, Social-Chauvinism

The Collapse of the Second International

This concludes our serialization, which began in issue No. 103, of V.I. Lenin's historic work, *The Collapse of the Second International*. Written in June of 1915, this pamphlet proved an invaluable weapon for the revolutionary proletariat. With the outbreak of World War I, the vast majority of the leaders of the socialist parties in Europe—the Second International—deserted their stated convictions and joined with their own respective governments in the imperialist bloodfest. Lenin subjects these traitors to biting exposure. He analyses the economic and political basis for this collapse, and draws the connection between the opportunism already evident in these parties prior to the war and the social-chauvinist position they embraced after the war began. Lenin takes special aim at Karl Kautsky, a notorious leader of the German party, whose theoretical justifications in particular are raked over the coals. Collapse played a key role in the struggle to decisively break with social-chauvinism, as well as to prepare proletarians for the revolutionary situation which was developing in different countries. Lenin's theses of the 'historic conjuncture' are outlined in Collapse.

VIII

Legal mass organisations of the working class are perhaps the most important feature of the socialist parties in the epoch of the Second International. They were the strongest in the German Party, and it was here that the war of 1914-15 created a most acute crisis and made the issue a most pressing one. The initiation of revolutionary activities would obviously have led to the dissolution of these legal organisations by the police, and the old party—from Legien to Kautsky inclusively—sacrificed the revolutionary aims of the proletariat for the sake of preserving the present legal organisations. No matter how much this may be denied, it is a fact. The proletariat's right to revolution was sold for a mess of pottage—organisations permitted by the present police law.

Take the pamphlet by Karl Legien, leader of the German Social-Democratic trade unions, entitled *Why Trade Union Officials Must Take a More Active Part in the Internal Life of the Party* (Berlin, 1915). This is a paper read by the author to a gathering of trade union officials on January 27, 1915. In the course of this lecture Legien read—and reproduced in his pamphlet—a most interesting document that would not otherwise have been passed by the military censor. This document—the so-called *Notes for Speakers in the District of Niederbarnim* (a suburb of Berlin)—is an exposition of the views of the German Left-wing Social-Democrats, of their protest against the Party. The revolutionary Social-Democrats, says the document, did not and could

not foresee a certain factor, viz.:

"That the whole of the organised power of the German Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions would take the side of the war government, and that the whole of this power would be used for the purpose of suppressing the revolutionary energy of the masses" (p. 34 of Legien's pamphlet).

This is the absolute truth. Also true is the following statement contained in the same document:

"The vote of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag on August 4 proved that a different attitude, even had it been deeply rooted in the masses, could not have asserted itself under the leadership of a tested party. It could have asserted itself only against the will of the leading party bodies, only by overcoming the resistance of the party and the trade unions" (*ibid.*)

This is the absolute truth.

"Had the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag done its duty on August 4, the external form of organisation would probably have been destroyed, but the spirit would have remained, the spirit that animated the Party under the Anti-Socialist Law and helped it to overcome all difficulties" (*ibid.*)

It is pointed out in Legien's pamphlet that the "leaders", brought together to listen to his lecture and styling themselves leading trade union officials, *laughed* when they heard this. The idea that it was possible and necessary to organise illegal revolutionary organisations at a moment of crisis (as was done under the Anti-Socialist Law) seemed *ridiculous* to them. Legien, that most faithful watchdog of the bourgeoisie, exclaimed, beating his breast:

"This is an obviously anarchist idea: to wreck the organisation in order to bring about a solution of the problem by the masses. There is no doubt in my mind that this is an anarchist idea!"

"Hear, hear!" came a chorus of exclamations (*ibid.*, p. 37) from the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, who style themselves leaders of the Social-Democratic organisations of the working class.

An edifying picture. People are so degraded and stultified by bourgeois legality that they cannot even *conceive* of the need for organisations of *another* kind, *illegal* organisations, for the purpose of guiding the revolutionary struggle. So low have people fallen that they imagine that legal unions existing with the permission of the police are a kind of ultima Thule—as though the *preservation* of such unions as *leading* bodies is at all conceivable at a time of crisis! Here you have the living dialectic of opportunism: the mere growth of legal unions and the mere habit that stupid but conscientious philistines have of confining themselves to bookkeeping, have created a situation in which, during a crisis, these conscientious philistines have proved to be traitors and betrayers, who would *smother* the revolutionary energy of the masses. This is no chance occurrence. The building of a revolutionary organisation must be begun—that is demanded by the new historical situation, by the

epoch of proletarian revolutionary action—but it can be begun only *over the heads* of the old leaders, the stranglers of revolutionary energy, *over the heads* of the old party, through its *destruction*.

Of course, the counter-revolutionary philistines cry out "anarchism!", just as the opportunist Eduard David cried "anarchism" when he denounced Karl Liebknecht. In Germany, only those leaders seem to have remained honest socialists whom the opportunists revile as anarchists....

Take the army of today. It is a good example of organisation. This organisation is good only because it is *flexible* and is able at the same time to give millions of people a *single will*. Today these millions are living in their homes in various parts of the country; tomorrow mobilisation is ordered, and they report for duty. Today they lie in the trenches, and this may go on for months; tomorrow they are led to the attack in another order. Today they perform miracles in sheltering from bullets and shrapnel; tomorrow they perform miracles in hand-to-hand combat. Today their advance detachments lay minefields; tomorrow they advance scores of miles guided by airmen flying overhead. When, in the pursuit of a single aim and animated by a single will, millions alter the forms of their communication and their behaviour, change the place and the mode of their activities, change their tools and weapons in accordance with the changing conditions and the requirements of the struggle—all this is genuine organisation.

The same holds true for the working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Today there is no revolutionary situation, the conditions that cause unrest among the masses or heighten their activities do not exist; today you are given a ballot paper—take it, learn to organise so as to use it as a weapon against your enemies, not as a means of getting cushy legislative jobs for men who cling to their parliamentary seats for fear of having to go to prison. Tomorrow your ballot paper is taken from you and you are given a rifle or a splendid and most up-to-date quick-firing gun—take this weapon of death and destruction, pay no heed to the mawkish snivelers who are afraid of war; too much still remains in the world that *must* be destroyed with fire and sword for the emancipation of the working class; if anger and desperation grow among the masses, if a revolutionary situation arises, prepare to create new organisations and *use* these useful weapons of death and destruction *against* your *own* government and your *own* bourgeoisie.

That is not easy, to be sure. It will demand arduous preparatory activities and heavy sacrifices. This is a *new* form of organisation and struggle that also *has to be learnt*, and knowledge is not acquired without errors and setbacks. This form of the class struggle stands in the same relation to participation in elections as an assault against a fortress stands in relation to manoeuvring, marches, or lying in the trenches. It is

not so often that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come. *Days* on which *such* method of struggle can and must be employed are equal to *scores of years* of other historical epochs.

Compare K. Kautsky and K. Legien. Kautsky writes:

"As long as the party was small, every protest against war had propaganda value as an act of bravery.... the conduct of the Russian and Serbian comrades has met with general appreciation. The stronger a party becomes, the more are the propaganda considerations, in the motives of its decisions, interwoven with the calculation of practical consequences, the more difficult does it become to give due regard equally to both motives, and yet neither of them must be neglected. Therefore, the stronger we become, the more easily differences arise between us in every new and complex situation" (*Internationalism and the War*, p. 30).

These arguments of Kautsky's differ from Legien's only in that they are hypocritical and cowardly. In substance, Kautsky supports and justifies the Legien's despicable renunciation of revolutionary activities, but he does so stealthily, without committing himself; he makes shift with hints, and confines himself to complimenting both Legien and the revolutionary behaviour of the Russians. We Russians are used to witnessing this kind of attitude towards revolutionaries only among the liberals; the latter are always ready to acknowledge the "courage" of the revolutionaries, but at the same time they will on no account renounce their ultra-opportunist tactics. Self-respecting revolutionaries will not accept Kautsky's "expressions of appreciation" and will indignantly reject such a presentation of the question. Were there no revolutionary situation, were it not obligatory to propagate revolutionary action, the conduct of the Russians and Serbians would be *incorrect*, and their tactics would be wrong. Let such knightly persons as Legien and Kautsky at least have the courage of their convictions; let them say this openly.

If, however, the tactics of the Russian and Serbian socialists deserve "appreciation", then it is wrong and criminal to justify the *contrary* tactics of the "strong" parties, the German, the French, etc. By means of an intentionally vague expression—"practical consequences"—Kautsky has *concealed* the plain truth that the great and strong parties were *frightened* by the prospect of their organisations being dissolved, their funds sequestered and their leaders arrested by the government. This means that Kautsky justifies betrayal of socialism by pleading the unpleasant "practical consequences" that follow from revolutionary tactics. Is this not a prostitution of Marxism?

"We would have been arrested," one of the Social-Democratic deputies who voted for the war credits on August 4 is alleged to have declared at a workers' meeting in Berlin. The workers shouted in reply: "Well, what would have been

bad about that?"

If there was no other signal that would instil in the German and the French working masses revolutionary sentiments and the need to prepare for revolutionary action, the arrest of a member of parliament for a courageous speech would have been useful as a call for unity of the proletarians of the various countries in their revolutionary work. It is not easy to bring about such unity; all the more was it the duty of members of parliament, whose high office made their purview of the entire political scene so extensive, to take the initiative.

Not only in wartime but positively in any acute political situation, to say nothing of periods of revolutionary mass action of any kind, the governments of even the freest bourgeois countries will threaten to dissolve the legal organisations, seize their funds, arrest their leaders, and threaten other "practical consequences" of the same kind. What are we to do then? Justify the opportunists on these grounds, as Kautsky does? But this would mean sanctifying the transformation of the Social-Democratic parties into national liberal-labour parties.

There is only one conclusion a socialist can draw, namely, that pure legalism, the legalism-and-nothing-but-legalism of the "European" parties, is now obsolete and, as a result of the development of capitalism in the pre-imperialist stage, has become the foundation for a bourgeois labour policy. It must be augmented by the creation of an illegal basis, an illegal organisation, illegal Social-Democratic work, without, however, surrendering a single legal position. Experience will show how this is to be done, if only the desire to take this road exists, as well as a realisation that it is necessary. In 1912-14, the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Russia proved that this problem can be solved. Muranov, the workers' deputy in the Duma, who at the trial behaved better than the rest and was exiled to Siberia, clearly demonstrated that—besides "ministerial" parliamentarism (from Henderson, Sembat and Vandervelde down to Südekum and Scheidemann, the latter two are also being completely "ministerial", although they are not admitted further than the anteroom!)—there can be illegal and revolutionary parliamentarism. Let the Kosovskys and Potresovs admire the "European" parliamentarism of the lackeys or accept it—we shall not tire of telling the workers that such legalism, such Social-Democracy of the Legien, Kautsky, Scheidemann brand, deserves nothing but contempt.

IX

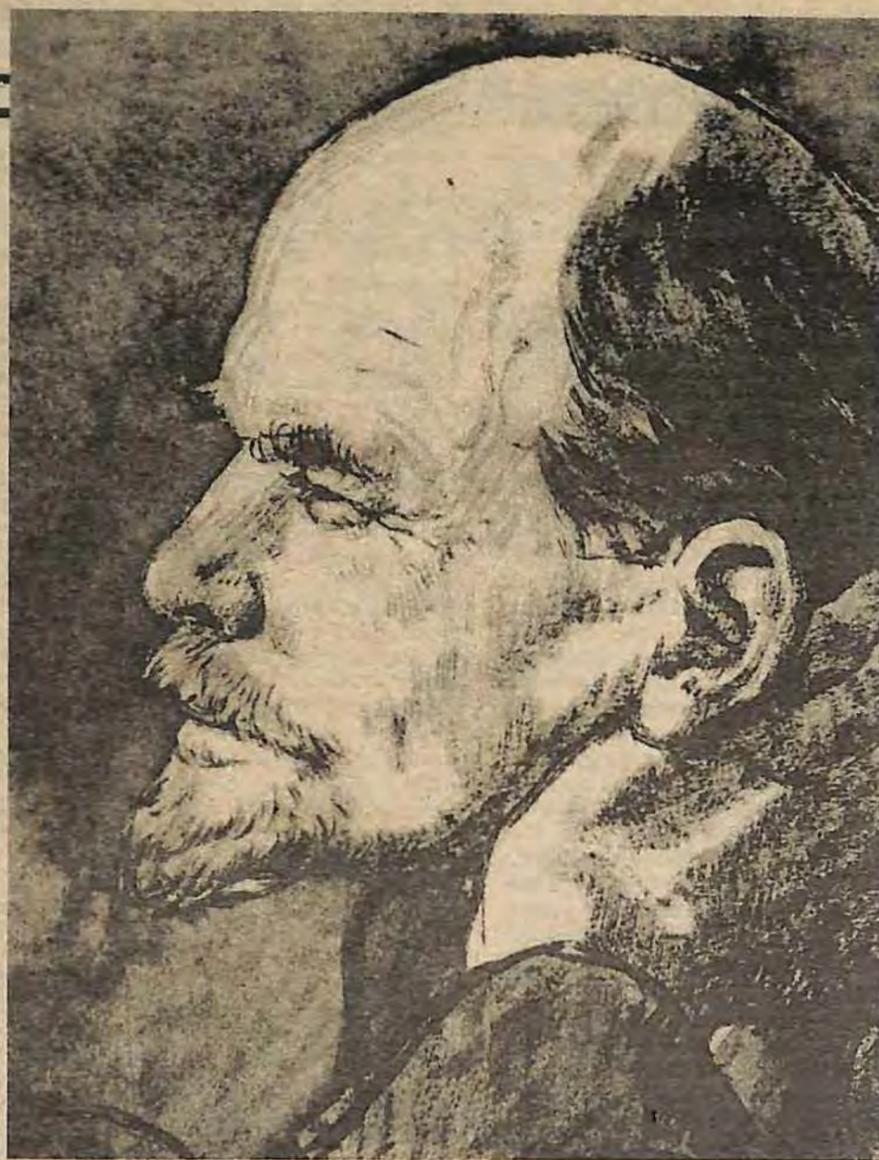
To sum up.

The collapse of the Second International has been most strikingly expressed in the flagrant betrayal of their convictions and of the solemn Stuttgart and Basle resolutions by the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties of Europe. This collapse, however, which signifies the complete victory of opportunism, the transformation of the Social-Democratic parties into national liberal-labour parties, is merely the result of the entire historical epoch of the Second International—the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The objective conditions of this epoch—transitional from the consummation of West-European bourgeois and national revolutions to the beginning of socialist revolutions—engendered and fostered opportunism. During this period we see a split in the working-class and socialist movement in some European countries, which, in the main, was cleavage along the line of opportunism (Britain, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria and Russia); in other countries, we see a long and stubborn struggle of trends along the same line (Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden

and Switzerland). The crisis created by the great war has torn away all coverings, swept away conventions, exposed an abscess that has long come to a head, and revealed opportunism in its true role of ally of the bourgeoisie. The complete organisational severance of this element from the workers' parties has become imperative. The epoch of imperialism cannot permit the existence, in a single party, of the revolutionary proletariat's vanguard and the semi-petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class, who enjoy morsels of the privileges of their "own" nation's "Great-Power" status. The old theory that opportunism is a "legitimate shade" in a single party that knows no "extremes" has now turned into a tremendous deception of the workers and a tremendous hindrance to the working-class movement. Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean, which uses Marxist catchwords to justify opportunist practice, and tries to prove, with a series of sophisms, that revolutionary action is premature, etc. Kautsky, the most outstanding spokesman of this theory, and also the leading authority in the Second International, has shown himself a consummate hypocrite and a past master in the art of prostituting Marxism. All members of the million-strong German party who are at all honest, class-conscious and revolutionary have turned away in indignation from an "authority" of this kind so ardently defended by the Südekums and the Scheidemanns.

The proletarian masses—probably about nine-tenths of whose former leaders have gone over to the bourgeoisie—have found themselves disunited and helpless amid a spate of chauvinism and under the pressure of martial law and the war censorship. But the objective war-created revolutionary situation, which is extending and developing, is inevitably engendering revolutionary sentiments; it is tempering and enlightening all the finest and most class-conscious proletarians. A sudden change in the mood of the masses is not only possible, but is becoming more and more probable, a change similar to that which was to be seen in Russia early in 1905 in connection with the "Gaponade",¹² when, in the course of several months and sometimes of several weeks, there emerged from the backward proletarian masses an army of millions, which followed the proletariat's revolutionary vanguard. We cannot tell whether a powerful revolutionary movement will develop immediately after this war, or during it, etc., but at all events, it is only work in this direction that deserves the name of socialist work. The slogan of a civil war is the one that summarises and directs this work, and helps unite and consolidate those who wish to aid the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against its own government and its own bourgeoisie.

In Russia, the complete severance of the revolutionary Social-Democratic proletarian elements from the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements has been prepared by the entire history of the working-class movement. Those who disregard that history, and, by declaiming against "factionalism", make themselves incapable of understanding the real process of the formation of a proletarian party in Russia, which has developed in the course of many years of struggle against various varieties of opportunism, are rendering that movement the worst possible service. Of all the "Great" Powers engaged in the present war, Russia is the only one that recently experienced a revolution. The bourgeois content of that revolution, in which the proletariat nevertheless played a decisive part, could not but cause a split between the bourgeois and proletarian trends in the working-class movement. In the appro-



ximately twenty years (1894-1914) that the Russian Social-Democracy has existed as an organisation linked with the mass working-class movement (and not only as an ideological trend, as in 1883-94), there was a struggle between the proletarian-revolutionary trends and the petty-bourgeois, opportunist trends. The Economism¹³ of 1894-1902 was undoubtedly a trend of the latter kind. A number of its arguments and ideological features—the "Struvist" distortion of Marxism, references to the "masses" in order to justify opportunism, and the like—bear a striking resemblance to the present vulgarised Marxism of Kautsky, Cunow, Plekhanov, etc. It would be a very grateful task to remind the present generation of Social-Democrats of the old *Rabochaya Mysl*¹⁴ and *Rabocheye Dyelo*, as a parallel to the Kautsky of today.

The "Menshevism" of the next period (1903-08) was the direct successor, both ideological and organisational, to Economism. During the Russian revolution, it pursued tactics that objectively meant the dependence of the proletariat upon the liberal bourgeoisie, and expressed petty-bourgeois, opportunist trends. When, in the ensuing period (1908-14), the mainstream of the Menshevik trend produced liquidationism, the class significance of that trend became so apparent that the best representatives of Menshevism were continually protesting against the policy of *Nasha Zarya* group. It is that very group—the only one which, during the past five or six years, has conducted systematic work among the masses in opposition to the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class—that has proved to be social chauvinist in the war of 1914-15! And this in a country where absolutism still exists, the bourgeois revolution is far from consummated, and forty-three per cent of the population oppresses a majority consisting of non-Russian nations. The "European" type of development, in which certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the intelligentsia and an insignificant section of the labour aristocracy can share in the "Great-Power" privileges of their "own" nation, could not but have its Russian counterpart.

All their history has prepared the

working class and the workers' Social-Democratic Party of Russia for "internationalist" tactics, i.e., such that are truly revolutionary and consistently revolutionary.

P.S. This article had already been set when a manifesto appeared in the press, jointly issued by Kautsky, Haase and Bernstein, who, seeing that the masses are swinging to the left, are therefore now prepared to "make peace" with the Left wing—naturally, at the price of maintaining "peace" with the Südekums. Verily, *Mädchen für alle!*

12. *Gaponade*—derived from the name of Gapon, a priest of the Orthodox Church. On the eve of the first Russian revolution he founded the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers, with the aim of distracting the workers from the revolutionary struggle. In so doing he acted on instructions from the tsarist secret police. On January 9, 1905, Gapon, taking advantage of the growing unrest, provoked the workers into demonstrating before the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg for the purpose of presenting a petition to the tsar. By order of Nicholas II, troops fired at the unarmed demonstrators. This act destroyed the naïve faith of workers throughout the country in the tsar, and served as the starting-point of the first Russian revolution. The political consciousness of the proletariat was aroused and a wave of protest strikes swept Russia.

13. On Economism, see V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 331-32.

14. *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought)—an Economists' paper, published from 1897 to 1902. In his *Iskra* articles and his book *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin criticised *Rabochaya Mysl* views as a Russian variety of international opportunism.

15. *Rabocheye Dyelo* (The Workers' Cause)—a journal of the Economists, organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. It was published at irregular intervals in Geneva from 1899 to 1902. Lenin criticised the views voiced by the *Rabocheye Dyelo* group, in a number of articles published in *Iskra* and in his book *What Is To Be Done?*

"Human Nature"

Continued from page 9

could provide the means to a good life for people all over the world. People wouldn't have to fight like dogs just to try to survive. That's the system that forces them to do that.

S.K.: Mr. Avakian, despite your contention to the contrary, I would submit that the United States particularly is, with all of its flaws, nevertheless a pluralistic society and one which does have a political mechanism to right the wrongs, albeit wrongs that may not be righted overnight, but wrongs that can be righted and corrected, as our history I think has shown.

B.A.: People went out and righteously demonstrated, you know, for civil rights; they went out and righteously demonstrated against the Vietnam War—the condition of the masses of Black people in the U.S. today is worse than it was then because of the very nature of the system and the repression against them. The Los Angeles police, for example, kill one person a week—and they always get away with it. Remember Eula Love back there. And it's always the same story, it's always "justifiable homicide." It's getting worse. People demonstrated against Vietnam and now there's El Salvador, now there's talk of world war. There's Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the threat of it in Poland. Things are getting worse because of the nature of the system. And only when that system is uprooted—it's not a question of people being perfect, it's a question of people getting—as you know, people don't fight for water now. The reason they don't fight over water, for a drink of water I'm talking about, is because it's

in abundance, and we have the means to produce everything people need to have a decent life. Not a luxurious, parasitic life for a handful, but a decent life for people. And sure they'll argue and struggle and debate—if they didn't do that things would come to a standstill and wouldn't go forward. But they won't have to do it on the animalistic level that the ruling systems and classes in the world are trying to reduce people to, and their system does in fact force them to live under. That stage of history should be past, and the United States' system is right at the forefront of what should be swept away.

S.K.: Mr. Avakian, let's see if we can bring this down to a personal level just for a moment, please. What is it that made you a revolutionary? When did you change from Bob Avakian growing up in the United States to Bob Avakian, revolutionary?

B.A.: Well, it was a process. Nobody I know has ever been born a revolutionary. It's a process of development. In fact another person in the media there in Chicago asked me that question, and I explained my own development had a lot to do with what was happening in the country and the world when I grew up. In particular, when I went to a high school out in Berkeley, California, it was about half Black and other minorities and half white, which I consider very fortunate. And I learned a tremendous amount about discrimination, about the degradation people were subjected to for no other reason than it was profitable and politically advantageous to the kind of people that ran not only that school but the society. And I saw the people rise up and fight back against that and refuse to be degraded in that way. That had a tremendous impact on me like other people. And then I saw Vietnam, I saw people all around the world, I took part in these things like the Free Speech

Movement in Berkeley, the anti-war movement; I united with the Black Panther Party, and I saw the viciousness of the police, I saw the kind of thing they did with Fred Hampton.

S.K.: Are you aware, by the way, that in Berkeley, California, your home town, which has had perhaps the most progressive government of any municipality in the United States, that the progressives have lost their majority on the Berkeley City Council and now the government has turned back to what are called moderates?

B.A.: No. (laughs)

S.K.: That's correct.

B.A.: No, I haven't been able to follow local elections there from here. But I'll tell you, I once ran for Berkeley City Council in 1967, I believe it was, and I got 10,000 votes, which was a third of the vote, on a sort of radical-reformist program. At that time I was still a reformist. But that was another lesson for me, because I saw how politics was just manipulated from the top and that the will of the people is not expressed through elections...

S.K.: Excuse me, I'm sorry to interrupt you. We're running out of time, and I just wanted to get to a couple of other points.

B.A.: ...it's amazing, for example, if you look at the presidential election; the biggest vote was the non-vote, and that was an indication that people are fed up with this system and when it plunges them into even worse economic conditions and political repression and on top of it the threat of world war, then millions of people are going to be in motion and we're going to be there...

S.K.: Well, I'm not sure that you can call 53% of the electorate turning out a non-vote, but to get on to another issue, what happens to you...

B.A.: ...it was the lowest in over 20 years, right?

S.K.: Mr. Avakian, what happens to

you now in France? How long can you stay there?

B.A.: Well, there is a process of appeal and we're calling on people in the U.S. to come forward and testify, to send affidavits and to make an international indictment of the U.S. government, of the U.S. system, of U.S. imperialism. And we're going to submit hundreds, and thousands if possible, of these indictments. We believe we can get hundreds and thousands of people from their own personal experiences, both working with our Party and just in general trying to live and struggle to survive in that society to prove that in fact there is not only political repression in general, but a vicious campaign directed against our Party and myself in particular. And we're going to carry through with that.

S.K.: Do you think really the great mass of people really care about Bob Avakian, much less even know who you are?

B.A.: Well, I believe at this time our Party is influencing directly hundreds of thousands of people.

S.K.: And how large is the membership of the Party at this point?

B.A.: We don't talk about that. We talk about the influence. Our paper sales are 100,000 papers. This May Day, on May 1st, Friday, we're going to sell over 50,000 papers, we're going to be in the midst of people rising up and breaking out together with people like themselves all over the world. We are influencing now hundreds of thousands and directly have people directly supporting us, I would say, in the tens of thousands...

S.K.: That's Bob Avakian. Bob Avakian is in Paris, France, where he is trying to achieve political asylum but at this point has been denied that asylum by the French government. And here in Chicago, this is Sherman Kaplan. □

"Rock 'n Revolt"

Continued from page 6

man being. More directly and in more dimensions than the written word. And if *that* can't change anybody, then there's not a lot else that will. Music can hit as hard as if I hit you with a baseball bat, you know? But it's not an overnight thing: You can't expect everything to change quickly. I figure it's an organic process. Insidious. Look how listening to all those hippie records has affected everybody in general: everybody feels looser about things now.

About one inch from this view is the revisionist theory that art plays the role of agitation, written and spoken, and this accounts for the kind of art that has been lately dubbed, and righteously so, as "political bullshit." There is a slight variant of this view which holds that while all these other things are important, art (for essentially the same reasons Strummer lists) should play an equal role with Party agitation and propaganda. Into this hole stepped this "Rock 'n Revolt" line, and at least one band we know of, Red Shadow: The New Economics Band, had the nerve (it must have taken a lot) to belt out propaganda ditties from Karl Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value*. We can almost hear them saying, "Maybe if we put it to music the dumb Motherfuckers will listen to us." Yes. One thing all these views have in common is their relatively shameless contempt for the masses of people. But that is not an innate quality. It is a question of politics, of line.

Mao Tsetung defined the role of art as an historically and socially created one:

"Although man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal and therefore more universal than

actual everyday life."

Art means neither more nor less than this to people.

Whether, and to what degree, this need is to be filled by bourgeois or revolutionary art is a question for the advanced masses, especially the proletariat, and its party, and for the advanced among artists, both before and after the seizure of state power, although obviously, after the seizure of power creating and popularizing revolutionary art is qualitatively advanced.

There is no possibility that art, even if wielded by a conscious and numerically strong section of artists in the high points of the revolution, could comprehend the tasks of leadership of the proletariat, central to which in a country like the U.S. are the tasks of agitation and propaganda with the ability to conduct political exposures key in this. *And furthermore* the attempt to do so always degrades art to the level of boring, narrow nonsense ("political bullshit").

What stands behind *all* these views is an overall line. In the case of revolutionary and progressive artists, the error is one of ignorance, or of political immaturity, or of class bias. And in one sense it is a result of and a response to the sins of revisionism. In the case of economism/revisionism there is no error, but a conscious stubborn plan of revolution which is literally full of murder.

The *New Programme* of the Party has this to say:

"For many decades there has been a standard conception about how to make revolution in an imperialist country like the U.S. The old Communist Party, USA held it even in its better days, before it sank totally into the sink-hole of revisionism. Further, it has been the prevailing conception, with some variations, in the international communist movement since the 1920s and after the years of Lenin's influence.

This concept is fundamentally wrong and has prevented serious preparation for revolution. Its basic starting point is getting into the struggles of the people, particularly around their daily needs. The party then relates to these struggles principally by giving tactical and organizational leadership, and thereby seeks to gain influence and leadership among the people so as to be able to lead a revolution. Sometimes this has taken 'left' forms ('everyone follow the communists now and let's march straight ahead from militant economic struggle to socialism'); more often it has taken openly rightist forms of tailing reformist leaders and spontaneity in general. In any case it is invariably a recipe for adapting communist work down to the present level of mass struggle and consciousness, and for ultimately capitulating to the bourgeoisie, especially in the form of promoting the national interests instead of the revolutionary in-

terests of the international proletariat in time of war."

This was the line that stood behind Rock 'n Revolt, a dead and rigid thing, an absolute "pure proletarian form" that emerged all annointed from "picket lines, parties and demos" of the WORKERS with the concomitant "right" to attack all that had developed before and that would arise in the future, something which, in and of itself, would "ignite" people, as the above mentioned article said, to "step over the line and get involved in the revolution for real," as though any *one* thing could or even should do that.

New things will continue to arise, relentlessly and chaotically and with the determination of the motion of the wheel of history. Communism has not even yet been achieved and when it is, new things will *still* arise. Who knows what wonders the revolutionary people the world over have yet to create? □

A WORLD TO WIN

INTERNATIONAL
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No. 1, May 1981

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The Clash's SANDINISTA!

Continued from page 7

confronting that necessity. The superpowers receive the poetic contempt that is their due: the coming showdown between Ivan and G.I. Joe is portrayed as a furious dance competition fought out on the disco floor at Studio 54. "Let's Go Crazy" redefines the stuff good times are made of: "But the young men know, when the sun has set, Darkness comes, to settle the debt... So you wanna go crazy, then let's go crazy! So take it on, crazy! So they get all crazy! Bricks and bottles, corrugated iron, shields and helmets, carnival time. 'N Moa Ambassa, sledgehammer sound, Ray symbolic, from Jamdown town!" The "Call-up" deals with the draft, and what there is to live for. "There is a rose that I want to live for, Although God knows I may not have met her. There is a dance and I should be with her. There is a town unlike any other." The music here, a gently insistent syn-copation topped with an overlay of celeste/bells, is integral to the moment of decision posed by the song.

And so on. The achievement represented by *Sandinista!*, what it says about the world and what it says about the band, has scarcely gone unnoticed by the bourgeoisie. Throughout, the band has maintained a stormy relationship with CBS records, and *Sandinista!* became the sharpest guerrilla skirmish yet. Initially, the record company released the album with little promotional fanfare; disagreements with the Clash over how much to charge (the band is taking a huge cut in royalties for the purpose of holding down the album's price) and how to promote the album have been blamed. Even more, there's no doubt that *Sandinista!*'s contents dashed again CBS's dwindling hopes of taming this band, of trying to bring them into the mainstream after the great success of *London Calling*. Joe Strummer was recently refused a home mortgage in England, the bank declaring him a "poor risk"—this seems to be a growing consensus among that class as a whole towards the band.

The main line of counter-attack has been in the realm of public opinion. *Sandinista!* has been subjected to a furious critical assault; with a few notable exceptions, reviewers have tied themselves into all types of contorted knots in blasting the album and band. This is more than a question of taste and personal preference—what has emerged is a major trial of strength, the posturings of a large body of critics amounting to extortion and/or attempted homicide. Among these critics are a number of people who originally supported the band, or at any rate now claim to have done so. The trendy supposition seems to be that the Clash have lost their way, or worse still, have Sold Out—a catch-all phrase on which any number of ominous interpretations dangle without substance.

Much of the current round of arguments reminds one of the really incisive "critiques" some small-brained Americans (or Englishmen for that matter) develop against liberation struggles around the globe—99% philistine prejudice, 1% convoluted logic that strains to hold it all together—a heady mix punctuated by that perennial favorite, the cheap shot. So it is that in some quarters, the Clash are held guilty of "rebel chic," a puzzling charge that infers that the Clash are singing paeans to the Sandinista guerrillas so as to earn high marks among the designer jeans set. Has anyone told Brooke Shields about this?

Most frequent have been the accusations that *Sandinista!* reeks of self-indulgence—"Bloated monument to gargantuan excess," etc. Particularly, the critics have teed off against Side Six, as "worthless," "a waste," etc. Actually the Side Six question merits some getting into—it offends the sensibilities as well of many who are hung up on the narrow utilitarianism associated with the great bulk of "political art" that has long been the

forlorn bedpartner of modern revisionism. Side Six starts off with a rollicking "Version Train" ("All the great bluesmen have rode her, I'm jumping up gonna ride that train"), a roots-conscious trip through the world of that music which "can pull you through to better days." "Version Train" is followed by a number of Dub versions (reworkings) of earlier tracks, interspersed with the mellifluous tones of a loony radio announcer who, sounding like a long lost radio transmission finally returned to earth, poses questions that stroke the itchy underside of the consciousness—"Have you ever asked yourself, who holds the key that winds up Big Ben?"

The charge of self-indulgence does not hold up; rather it serves as a self-indictment of some conservative rigidity, and disdain for keeping up with the world (in more ways than one) and the new things constantly being ushered forth. (Mind you, when the Beatles experimented in the studio, such innovations were held quite valid.) The last time we looked out the window, the human species remained doggedly committed to "indulging" the imagination, and Side Six, like *Sandinista!* overall, testifies to and fuels this worthwhile endeavor, in ways that are quite pertinent. "Junco Partner" reappears as "Version Partner", a stripped down background sounding like a wind-up toy with a nervous tick on the verge of breakdown, aptly complementing the song's tale of someone who, in losing his fortunes, has lost his friends and any reason to live. "Shepherd's Delight" closes out the proceedings, a soothing vision of pastoral quiet, replete with the bleating of sheep—a sonic picture ripped to shreds by the intrusion of roaring jets and the thunder of bombs. A "lullaby" with a vengeful twist. "Career Opportunities" sung by school-children, "Silicon on Sapphire" 's calypso for the space age—such is the stuff of the Clash's outrageous "self-indulgence." Such studio experimentalism does not run counter to the sense of revolutionary necessity—and freedom—running throughout *Sandinista!*; rather, it is part of the same.

Sandinista! finds the Clash striving for a greater political comprehension than before. What they have put together on *Sandinista!* is a contribution towards turning an upside-down world right-side up, and it is in this context that we must raise some disagreements.

"Washington Bullets" is the song from whence comes *Sandinista!*'s title. It has also provided a focus for much of the critical attack. On the other side, some progressive minded d.j.'s have (where the radio station playlist allows) taken to playing the song as a commentary on developments in El Salvador. The song concerns some of the more notorious features of U.S.—and world—imperialism. "Washington Bullets" contains both hits and misses—striking out in its portrayals of the Dalai Lama as a victim of alleged Chinese injustice, and of Fidel Castro as a repository of "redder than red" anti-imperialist virtue.

The Dalai Lama has taken to peddling his wares on the international spiritual circuit the last few years; few of his listeners realize that the Tibetan Paradise he nostalgically invokes was a paradise only for the slave-holding elite he fronted, where he was well known for making handbags and other household accessories out of the skin and bones of slaves who crossed him. His ascetic pomp is readily punctured by the circumstances of his timely downfall, defeated in his attempts to head up a reactionary power play to derail popular land reform and to restore the slave system. What the Clash seems to be operating under here is a commonsensical "side with the underdog" view; a fine impulse to begin with, but when codified into a rule of thumb leaves one

susceptible to being whipped around by all manner of superficial appearances.

Superficial appearances seem to be at least part of the problem concerning the question of Castro. We would fully agree as to the very real blows the Cuban revolution struck against U.S. imperialism. Further agreement still that the U.S. stands in the forefront, though by no means alone, of all the world's rubbish that demands to be swept away. And clearly in "Washington Bullets" the Clash are attempting to launch a more unilateral assault on all such imperialisms, as the following lines from "Washington Bullets" indicate: "'N if you can find an Afghan rebel that the Moscow bullets missed/Ask him what he thinks of Voting Communist"—poetry squared on the transparent marriage between the craven reformism of the pro-Soviet CP's in places like the U.S. and U.K., and Soviet imperialism's more naked forms—a surefire hit. But throwing Castro into the mix as the color "redder than red"? A well-chewed radish is more like it.

In a recent interview, Joe Strummer was asked by your average skeptic if, in invoking the image of the Sandinistas, "isn't there a danger that you're treating it as just a useful myth?" Strummer's response: "I need a myth or something. I need something to live on. It's optimistic and these are pessimistic days. Everyone just seems to just accept that we're gonna get blown to fuckere."

That's absolutely fine, though the question does not consist entirely in optimism versus pessimism. There is revolutionary optimism (and revolutionary romanticism) entirely in keeping with the actual course of revolutionary change. And then there is a false optimism wedded to the search for a middle ground course of accommodation.

The Cuban experience stands as a sobering example that no such middle ground course exists, that upon victoriously kicking out the dominant imperialist power, new challenges emerge in these countries, setting the stage for further advances—or reversals. Castro, having brought Cuba into a new web of imperialist entanglement through what has been graciously called Soviet "aid," having provided foot soldiers in attempting to wallpaper over the essence of Soviet-style "liberation" in places such as Angola, illustrates that the petty bourgeois path of least resistance is in fact a path leading straight back to the garbage dump.

Defying The Script

To proceed. While *Sandinista!* has served as the focus of the aforementioned critical controversies, it appears that in many cases it's more being used as an excuse by people whose minds were made up ahead of time. As Joe Strummer said in an interview shortly after the album's release, "There's a lot of people that would like to see us take a dive." Why?

It should be pretty obvious that the bourgeoisie has its reasons. But what concerns us here is a number of people—who are nowhere near the bourgeoisie in class position, and furthermore, often consider themselves at the least to be rebels against the status quo—who have also taken to acting like vultures in search of a carcass. In the air are a number of prejudices born of a long-standing tradition, that maintain that the Clash *cannot*, and therefore should not, continue onward. *London Calling*, was after all, a certifiable hit. *The Script* now calls for the Clash to either join the mainstream (sell-out), or take a bad fall. Isn't this the way of the world, hasn't this been verified by bitter experience many times before? And didn't the Clash themselves sum it up very succinctly in "Death or Glory"—"He who fucks nuns will later join the Church." Those who took this as reassurance that the Clash had finally seen the light missed the fact that "Death or Glory" was no rueful celebration, but a defiant rejection, of that path.

So long as the Clash were fresh off the street, this view holds, they could lay claim to the "real thing." While the album *The Clash*, full of the imagery of London Burning, of the explorations of

the ultimate Garage Band confronting the wide world with wit and passion, was hardly a parochial affair—it was its universality that led it to connect with a growing international audience—in some quarters it was perceived parochially. All the more so for people who would rather keep the world the Clash explored in their initial output safely distanced by the turntable needle; "I mean geez, it's pretty rough over there innit?" Viewed in this way, *The Clash* was the stuff out of which "great rock legends" are made—no less, and no more—the prelude to yet another cycle in the treadmill where poor boys become rich and famous, ex-poor boys lose their bearings and get in over their heads in the man-eating commodity relationships of the rock biz jungle, big rock stars emerge sadder but wiser in their world-weariness, suddenly aware that things are so much more complicated than they had originally thought and desirous of telling their audiences of their humbling discovery.

Integral to *The Script* is a band, or artists, righteously inflexible when it comes to the style and attitude they helped author, yet more and more succumbing to the contradictions inherent in that "stance." If all that is involved is a stance, if rebellion is reduced to a one-dimensional pose, then this is inevitable. Assuming all *this*, a grand fall right about now would be the truest measure of the Clash's artistic integrity, because *The Script* holds that tragedy should intercede before comedic, pathetic degeneration takes over.

Neil Young expressed this ethos well a couple of years back in "My, my, Hey, hey (Rock and Roll is here to stay)"—"it's better to burn out, 'cause rust never sleeps." Fittingly Young's song was inspired by the blazing demise of the Sex Pistols, a band whose self-destruction was, among other things, construed as a symbolic death rite for the bloated corporate entity rock music had become. In fact the Sex Pistols, especially in their break-up, carried out the rock and roll Script celebrated in romance and legend to its highest realizations. The rebellion they represented on stage, profoundly social in its origins, translated into a transcendent moment of Truth, that—more and more convinced of an ultimate futility—could go no further. The themes of rebellion and submission were incorporated into grand, almost existential, spectacle by increasingly blurring any distinction between the two—the Sex Pistols' break-up, defiantly staged, was nonetheless a final admission of defeat. An act difficult, but necessary, to follow; a void the Clash came to fill, even as they began to make it clear that they weren't particularly concerned about walking in anyone else's shoes, or answering the calling to become "the world's greatest rock and roll band."

They are a rock band, that's what they grew out of and that's the arena in which they deal, and the defiant stance running through rock's rebel traditions has always been a part of them. But what's going on is no one-dimensional revivalism—the Clash have critically assimilated and learned from this along with other traditions. The Bobby Fuller Four's "I Fought the Law" is an all-time rock rebel classic; the Clash's remake contained the most subtle yet significant of switches—"I fought the law and the law won, I fought the law..." a crescendo of guitars replacing "and the law won"—the Clash supplanting the original's view of inevitability for that of their own.

Today two views of inevitability have squared off in relation to the Clash and *Sandinista!* Those who would rather have them tucked away in some cliché-ridden pigeonhole are confounded by the fact that there is no ready-made pigeonhole at hand. Among them are those critics whose exasperation is now a matter of public record. Those who are not so afflicted can better see *Sandinista!* for the liberating statement it is. All the charges of "sell-out" basically boil down to a call for a Return to Normalcy. All those who have had their fill of such normalcy—including the quite "normal" disillusionment and destruction of progressive artists—have every interest in joining in this uncharted course. □

Testimony

Continued from page 11

We do not want Bob Avakian to receive the same type of immortality, that is the only thing that awaits him here in the United States, in France he can continue the struggle he has so courageously fought and led in the past.

I DECLARE, UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY, THAT THE FOREGOING IS TRUE AND CORRECT

Steve P. Sanora
Attorney at Law

Deportations

A co-conspirator from Guatemala disappeared in August or so of last year. He was very active in May Day 1980 and continued to sell the paper afterwards. He said that the police came to his job and told the boss he was a communist that sold red flags and the *RW*.

He said a gusano store owner in the Latino community threatened his life. He said a Salvadoran who also marched on May Day 1980 had been thrown out of his apartment for bringing home a red flag and that this had happened to many Latinos.

Then in August, this co-conspirator disappeared. According to reliable sources, he was selling the paper in a downtown area near the Latino area and he was knifed. The police arrested him and he was deported.

There have been reports of 2 other Latinos with subscriptions to the *RW* being deported.

It is very common for Latinos who are seen walking with or reading the *Obrero Revolucionario* or *RW* on the street to be harassed by the police who ask, "Where did you get that paper?"

On the Spanish TV channel around Mar. 20, 1981 the news showed 2 Salvadorans being deported with the *Obrero Revolucionario* in their hands. Since deportation is a common occurrence but showing it on the TV is not, this was an obvious attempt to put out a political message. I don't know in what city this happened.

A Nicaraguan co-conspirator was recently fired from his job for bringing the *OR* to work, building for May Day 1981.

XXX

May 14, 1981

My name is XXX. I work for the XXX newspaper at the present time. I've been a newspaper reporter for most of my adult life and even some of my pre-adult life. I took my first job in 1942 with the *Huntington Park Daily Signal* in Huntington Park, California and I've worked in a variety of other newspapers since then.

At this point in my life it seems most clear to me that the institution I work for—the "print media"—has been very subtly and very calculatingly utilized by the government of the United States (not any particular administration, all administrations) to achieve its certain specific aims. Whether those aims were to convince us that our enemy was the North Korean people, the Salvadoran people, the Vietnamese people or the Chinese people at whatever time it served their purpose, those people became the enemies of this country.

At the time, I didn't really understand that connection. It has become quite clear to me now that there is a specific connection between my role as a member of this institution (that is, the media), and the whipping up of national passion against people like the Vietnamese, the Salvadorans, the Iranians.

I didn't always resent being used by the government to achieve the purposes that were ultimately achieved. But since the mid-sixties, I have been quite conscious and quite aware of the use of my talent, whatever talent that is, to create the attitude, the atmosphere, the environment in which, in this first instance, the Vietnamese people were made somewhat less than human in the assessment of American readers. That followed the Korean situation, in which the North Koreans and the Chinese

were somehow made less than human by our media.

It wasn't until the Vietnamese conflict broke out in all its passion in the mid and late sixties that I fully became aware that the people I had witnessed in Southeast Asia were not the animals, beasts, people somehow less than myself, but were instead human beings. I had some questions about this at the time, and the more I asked, the less candid, the less frank and the less honest the answers came.

It initially cost me a position of trust at the newspaper I was working on at the time. When I insisted on reporting on a fact, which was that 95% of all the napalm produced in America was produced in that city, my refusal to remain silent on that fact resulted in my being reduced from a position of responsibility to a position where people could keep an eye on me.

A second situation arose when I decided to speak out on the Vietnamese war or the war against the Vietnamese, and was advised that I no longer would be able to do any reporting because "my objectivity had been eroded by my participation in the anti-war movement." My union tried to grieve that situation and was told that "XXX was not being reprimanded or being taken off reporting because of his anti-war views, although they were certainly inimical to his conduct as an objective reporter, but rather, he was being moved to a copy editor's position because the copy desk needed to be strengthened."

In the period of time I was reporting, I had two stories that quite feasibly could have won the newspaper a good deal of acclaim nationwide. One, in fact, was an accusation by a civil engineer that the United States was bombing North Vietnam from a supposedly neutral country, Thailand. He had gone over on an assignment to produce air conditioning for a U.S. installation there and when he found out that our bombers, B-52s, were leaving the airbase from which he was employed, he cancelled his arrangement and returned to the United States. When he came back, he called a newspaper and my city editor put me on the story.

I wrote the story, and I still have copies of it, and they have a notation on the top from the then-managing editor, that says "these newspapers are not in the position of criticizing U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia." The story didn't run. A gutsier paper, the *New York Times*, did ferret out the story that we were indeed using "neutral" Thailand as a launch point for our bombers. They printed the story about 5 days after my story was killed and the Lyndon Johnson administration admitted that we were, in fact, in an agreement with Thailand to use certain space on their territory as bases for B-52s. The Johnson administration, in fact, substantiated the story that my newspaper refused to run.

That really doesn't have a lot to do with the most maddening part of this whole scenario and that is the culpability of the American press, the willingness of this powerful force, this force that Jefferson saw as keeping this country free, to work hand in glove with the most oppressive and repressive factions of our government in subjugating people in foreign lands. Without exception, these foreign lands turn out to be places where labor is exploited extensively. I'm talking about places like Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, Brazil... a whole range of Central and South American countries where American corporations have huge investments and huge holdings.

It's not a casual linkup, it's not something that happens by accident, the arrival of U.S. marines in Nicaragua in 1931 was not a chance occurrence. It was an act, designed by our government, to make that country "safe" for United Fruit. Most of us recognize that now, yet there is apparently no real recognition now of the even more subtle, even more erosive designs on other governments and on the American people as well, i.e., to make our actions in El Salvador palpable to a significant

segment of this population.

How does it all fit? What is the reason behind all this madness? I'm convinced that it's sheer economics, economics reduced to the lowest common denominator. What's good for American business is good for this country. And what's bad for American business cannot be tolerated, whether it is a reporter reporting the truth or a person like Bob Avakian discussing potentials for the American masses.

I don't have any doubt in my mind that the article written by Bella Stumbo of the *Los Angeles Times* was a setup engineered by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, our Secret Service, our FBI... any or all more or less acted in unison at the point in time in which Ms. Stumbo wrote her story about Mr. Avakian.

I have heard the tape recording of Mr. Avakian's remarks and they bear no slight resemblance to the quotations attributed to him in the same situation by Ms. Stumbo. Yet, here is an article that appeared in a newspaper of general circulation in the area where I live which is accepted, indeed is being used as the focal point of honesty in documenting some of Mr. Avakian's "transgressions" against this government. A simple reading, a simple listening to the tape of that address would dispel even the most pessimistic, the most unwilling listener from rejecting the idea that Mr. Avakian had been misquoted in Ms. Stumbo's article. That's really not the point because even the *Los Angeles Times* and Ms. Stumbo acknowledge that she misquoted the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Unfortunately, that correction or retraction or whatever you want to call it appeared several days after the article ap-

peared and nobody in our government seems willing to attach that retraction, that correction, to the original story.

It is quite evident to me that if Mr. Avakian had not fled from the United States of America he would indeed be doing time in one of our federal institutions. The escalation of the charges against Mr. Avakian and the 17 others finally charged in the demonstration against the so-called "new Chinese leadership" bear great testimony to the fact that this "obnoxious" person, Mr. Avakian, is not allowed to roam the streets of America criticizing what he perceives to be a corrupt system.

It is uncertain at this time whether or not the French government will allow Mr. Avakian to reside there as a political refugee. It is not uncertain what his fate will be if the French allow his extradition to this country. It is foreordained that Mr. Avakian will be tried and found guilty (or maybe found guilty and then tried) and will wind up in one or another of our federal institutions. Given the track record of what happens to political prisoners when they arrive in a penal institution in America, Mr. Avakian's chances for leaving that institution alive or whole are remote.

It is my personal assessment that Mr. Bob Avakian is, in every sense of the word, a political refugee from America. If he is returned here, it is also my assessment that he will become, almost immediately, a political prisoner. Whether the government wishes to acknowledge that is moot, the facts will speak for themselves. It is also my personal belief that Mr. Avakian should be entitled to political refugee status in France or in whatever other location he elects to reside.

Thank you,
XXX

SWP

Continued from page 17

ing about "fundamental changes in the social processes" in a "peaceful, orderly manner in keeping with the operation of the democratic principle of majority rule." (See Dobbs' testimony, the *Militant*, April 17, p. 20) has based its entire lawsuit on proving its "democratic and law abiding" character, the government has, for the most part, boldly tossed aside all the smoke about democracy and asserted its right to defend its imperialist class interests ("protecting national security") independent of any laws and through any means it chooses. Even more significantly, ignoring the actual character of the SWP as the plaintiff in the suit, the government has consistently depicted a genuine revolu-

tionary Leninist party as the true object of its surveillance and repressive activities.

Although the trial has already run for nearly 6 weeks, the government has yet to present its case. It has scheduled over 50 witnesses, including various "experts on communism," numerous FBI agents, military officials, and street level informers, provocateurs and stool pigeons, to testify in its "defense." The government is devoting a tremendous effort to lay out its argument: that advocating revolution and working for revolution is a crime, and that the means they will take to suppress it are bound by no law. Thus, the events of this trial are of vital interest, and should be closely followed. □

Revisionist May Days

Continued from page 12

was emanating from Poland, there were also far more significant events there that have managed to leak out. *Item*: About a month ago it was reported that hundreds of young Poles, including many youth from other Eastern bloc countries, staged a peace march in Warsaw. While practically no details are available, this march was notable for the fact that it targeted both the U.S. and the Soviets as the youth chanted, "We're not for the peace of Brezhnev of Reagan! We want people's peace!" And then there was also the following—*Item*: One week after May Day in the town of Otwock, near Warsaw, police arrested two men who were allegedly drunk and throwing stones at a police station. When word spread that the men had been beaten while in custody, a crowd of 1,000 youths gathered and smashed out the windows of the police station, demanding their release.

The latter item was particularly revealing as far as the continuing efforts of the Solidarity leadership to pour cold water on any rebellious eruptions by the masses that are not under their control and threaten to go "too far." No sooner had the incident broken out than Solidarity leaders from Warsaw, including

well-known dissident and KOR member Adam Michnik, rushed to the scene to contain the explosion. They not only claimed credit for "securing the release of the two men" but were praised by no less than the official Polish Press Agency (PAP) for trying to prevent a riot by persuading the crowd to disperse. Unfortunately, their efforts were not quite as successful as hoped for since the next day several hundred youths returned to the police station and burned it to the ground. Firemen could not bring the blaze under control as their hoses were cut. After the fire, the youth walked in and proceeded to smash everything that remained with sledgehammers and railroad ties. This was reportedly the first attack of this kind on any police station or other symbol of authority during the past year of upheavals in Poland.

So, while there was a sharp contrast between revisionist May 1st and the pro-western Constitution Day, sharper still—at least from the perspective of understanding the opportunities in the situation shaping up in the period ahead—is the contrast between both of these reactionary affairs on the one hand and these reports of rebellion among youth on the other. □

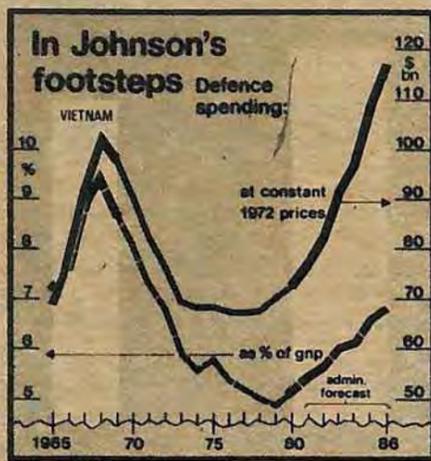
"Reagan-omics"

Continued from page 3

industry-specific or comprehensive revitalization measures beyond the already contested tax incentives) reveals both the diminishing revenues of the ruling class and the transitional character of the program. More serious contention rages in the ruling class over the exact timing and content of more sweeping stabilization and rationalization measures—limited and contradictory as they would be. Clearly, the road forward of all-out war preparation is charted, but it becomes rockier with each step forward taken. Let's examine the principal features of the program.

Military Build-Up

The military build-up is of staggering proportions. Spending will rise by 22% in one year—the biggest increase in "peace-time" history. The build-up projected over the next five years will be 3 times greater than that which took place during the Vietnam War. Two questions flow from these numbers—why so massive an increase and what possible consequences it might have? In point of fact, strengthening U.S. military capabilities is the single-most pressing task faced by the economic planners. The development of new weapons systems is something required by the historically unprecedented rivalry of the two superpowers which finds concentrated expression in rapid technological advances and obsolescence. The logistics of the war shaping up and the stakes involved dictate that both conventional and nuclear forces be strengthened, that the major weapons producers be re-tooled, that small manufacturers be more tightly integrated into the defense network and propped up where necessary, that bottlenecks in critical parts and materials be overcome and that the defense industry base be readied for what the planners call "full-surge capability." If this is madness, it is only a reflection of the logic of capital in the imperialist era. It is often argued that the imperialists have all the weapons they could possibly need or use. But as inter-imperialist rivalry intensifies there are never enough weapons, just as no capitalist can afford to stand still at a given level of profits. It is reason enough to overthrow them before they launch this war.



"In Johnson's Footsteps," writes *The Economist*. Yes, the increase in military spending is even greater than during Vietnam, but the purpose is different and even more destructive—world war for a redivision of the entire globe.

cumstances, the redirecting of capital and manpower to the military sector may weaken the hand of some segments of the U.S. economy vis-à-vis what, in many cases, are their already more dynamic foreign rivals. More important since the Reagan proposals still project deficits in the near term and assume economic growth to counter future deficits, a rather groundless assumption, this spending will be highly inflationary and heighten monetary instability throughout the bloc. It is useful to recall that when the major Vietnam buildup began, inflation was less than 2%, but rose to 7% in 1970. The current buildup starts at an astronomical level of government and private debt and a rate of inflation running at 11%! All this will rebound back into the international arena. But the latest buildup cannot be measured against the current division of the world and what it yields, but the struggle to achieve a new one.

Budget Cuts

The budget cuts are the other fundamental plank of the program. Like the military increases, this orientation was in place during the Carter administration when the historic trend towards a growing proportion of budgetary outlays going towards social welfare, which was also rising as a proportion of GNP, was reversed in favor of major new weapons programs. The budget ax

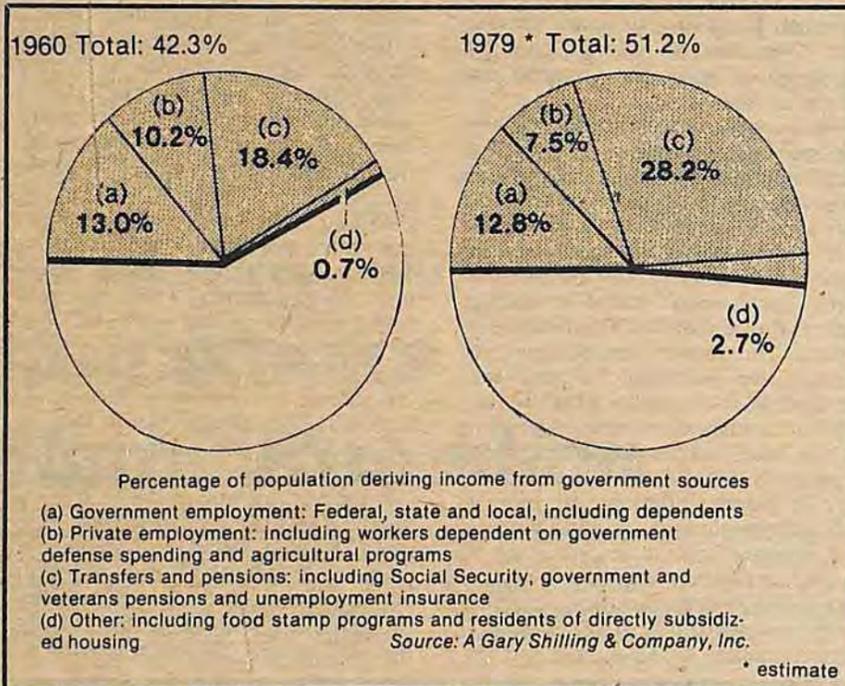
and the relative boom of the economy in the 1960s, even though the U.S. was getting pummeled in the "third world." These programs were functional and sustainable up until a point. Similarly the extension of social security, unemployment and other fringe benefits, on the basis of imperialist superprofits, helped to establish an institutional framework conducive to accumulation—in serving labor peace and discipline. However, the growth of this expenditure, along with associated bureaucratic costs—and not just these but all the activities of the state (1 out of 5 workers excluding the military is employed in the state sector)—began to weigh heavier on the productive base of the economy. This was a base of declining profitability which was interacting with an increasingly constricting international environment. Such expenditure comes more into conflict with the immediate needs of capital, that is, in its capacity on the one hand to profitably capitalize surplus value, and on the other, to carry through with the militarization on the most stable basis.

The important point to grasp here is that these budget cuts are not the product of the vindictiveness or insensitivity of the Reagan forces or "the new right." These cuts are a response to a real crisis which impedes the expansion of capital and to the real interests of a class which must parlay its efforts into

and required reading within the new economic circles, is a swath of flypaper for practically every empty banality about capitalism. The purpose of this work is two-fold: to drum up support for the austerity program and to deepen the theoretical repudiation of Keynes. Gilder argues that capitalism represents a form of giving, of altruism. The capitalist, without concern for immediate gain and gratification, gives of himself, risks his capital without any guarantee of return and allows others to work and prosper. The welfare state, on the other hand, represents a form of taking, of grabbing handouts with nothing given in return. It is a tired old rehash of the theory of abstinence which Marx so powerfully demolished in *Capital*—the capitalist is rewarded for deferring consumption and making his wealth available to others—so the apologetics went. Nothing here about extracting surplus value.

Gilder's study is essentially a broadside against liberal anti-poverty programs and rhetoric. He has also found acrobatic ways of denying sexual and racial discrimination. Women must be put back in their place as part of man's successful channeling of energy. But let's hear the philosopher himself:

"The only dependable route from poverty is always work, family and faith. The first principle is that in order to move up, the poor must not only



If this is madness, it is only a reflection of the logic of capital in the imperialist era.

This buildup cannot be separated from strategic considerations affecting the U.S. bloc as a whole. The U.S. has pushed—with partial success—its allies to increase military spending, but this has been uneven and problematical given the depths of the crisis: social cuts of the magnitude contemplated in the U.S. would arouse more immediate and widespread opposition in these countries and military-induced inflationary pressures could endanger their already precarious international positions. West Germany has balked at carrying through with some defense programs recently and even the British ruling class, America's staunchest military ally, has been wracked with disputes over the scope of this spending. The U.S. must assume the major burden of militarizing its bloc and its military strength is really what the viability of the bloc stands and falls on—both in terms of keeping its allies in line (who, of course, have their own imperialist interests which are now served, given the world alignment, by alliance with the U.S.) and in winning the war.

Military expenditure is parasitic—it is a drain on productive resources and does not enhance the profitability of capital as a whole since the output of this sector does not re-enter the stream of production as wage or capital goods. But in relation to a favorable division of the world such expenditure will serve to create more profitable opportunities for capital. Such was the case with the counter-insurgency programs of the '60s. In a different context it will not fulfill that function. Under the present cir-

falls heaviest on many of the so-called "Great Society" programs and these cuts represent a major attack on the living standards on many of the urban poor and, particularly, minority peoples. These programs have indeed assumed incredible dimensions: 1 out of 11 persons receives food stamps, 1 out of 3 persons receives some form of governmental assistance and just about all the reduction of people from the poverty level since 1964 was the result of these and related programs. Two things must be said about such programs. First, they are a form of concessionary social spending designed to politically demobilize and contain some of the more volatile sections of the masses; it was no accident when they were enacted (the '60s). Some of these programs, like food stamps and job training may also serve a function as subsidies to low wage employers, but this is secondary to their political character. Second, these programs are funded largely via deductions from surplus value. In other words, the state through its taxing and borrowing authority appropriates surplus value and redistributes it. In short, it is a tax on capital, on imperialist superprofits. There is nothing generous here—the average food stamp recipient is allocated 64¢ a meal—and the current slogan that "You can't just throw money at problems" is as vicious as it is hypocritical. For millions—and this itself is an indictment of life in this country—survival hangs by such threads.

The explosion of these programs was coincident with both the mass upsurges

These changes—and the imperialists' needs to cut them back—are one reflection of how the imperialists have brought some social stability with their superprofits—and how this period is coming to an end.

the struggle for global supremacy. Restructuring the budget will not in and of itself solve this crisis, but it is an integral part of the only solution the imperialists can embark on. Yet here too the bourgeoisie faces major contradictions. There is the political price to be paid in cutting back, more social unrest and rebellion, the spectre of more Miamis and more than that. In one way or another the ruling class must take this into consideration. And, again, it is important to note the profound consensus within the ruling class around this orientation. The Democrats have dabbled with alternate budget proposals which all reflect these same priorities—at one point they advanced an even larger defense budget. And there isn't one prominent liberal economist who doesn't agree that the budget has got to be tamped down and sacrifices made. Interestingly, the Democrats have even assumed the more traditional "Republican role" of upholding fiscal conservatism and chided the administration for recklessness on the tax cuts since the deficit is expected to balloon.

Ideological Offensive—Idiocy Supreme

There is an important ideological dimension to this offensive—it too, very much suited to the times. It involves a celebration of free enterprise as it no longer exists and the principles of hard work, thrift and white male domination. Perhaps its most touted spokesman is George Gilder in his best-selling *Wealth and Poverty*. This book, written with the support of David Rockefeller

work, they must work harder than the classes above them... After work the second principle of upward mobility is the maintenance of monogamous marriage and family... Once a family is headed by a woman, it is almost impossible for it to greatly raise its income... Her family responsibilities and distractions tend to prevent her from the kind of all-out commitment that is necessary for the full use of earning power... A married man... is spurred by the claims of family to channel his otherwise disruptive male aggressions into his performance as a provider for a wife and children... The key to the intractable poverty of the hardcore American poor is the dominance of single and separated men in poor communities... The problem... is familial anarchy among the concentrated poor of the inner city, in which flamboyant and impulsive youths rather than responsible men provide the themes of aspiration."

Here we find justification for the social cuts, with those among the most oppressed epitomizing what's wrong with America. The theme of restricting consumption, of a country gone soft and the need for male assertiveness is completely bound up with the sacrifice for the fatherland and return to a basic values credo that will pilot the war ship. Not only must we tighten our belts, but we will plunder the world under the banner of anti-materialism. All this delayed satisfaction will, true to imperialist logic, be repaid after the world has been conquered. Naturally this anti-consumptionism finds its way into the

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"Reagan-omics"

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new economic dogmas.

The specific ailment to which the Reagan tax proposals are addressed is the slowdown in capital investment and productivity during the last 8 years, a serious source of concern to the bourgeoisie. The currently popular meaning of "supply-side" refers to the productive capacity of the economy, and "supply-side economics" to policies to increase its level and growth, this in contrast to consumption and policies to stimulate demand. Government measures aimed at raising fixed investment, underwriting research and

tores from their tax bill) will do the job. And as an additional bonus in this world of imperialist dreams, government revenues will rise since taxes, though lower, will be levied on an expanding economy. But here principle once again can be cast to the winds. The dreaded deficits of Keynesian welfare programs will certainly be tolerated if they are brought on by skyrocketing military expenditure. So much for the balanced budget.

There are two "minor" problems here. First, this is a complete mystification of what governs investment be-

Not only must we tighten our belts, but we will plunder the world under the banner of anti-materialism.

development and enhancing job skills would all fall on the supply side. Government sponsored public works programs which expand employment and wages and therefore spending would be associated with a more classical Keynesian demand perspective. The new wrinkle of the Administration proposals concerns the role of savings.

The supply-siders hold that business and personal willingness to save has been undermined by inflation and high taxes—people will spend rather than save if their money will be worth less later and businesses will scuttle new investment if higher profits are eaten by higher taxes—and that low savings reduces the pool of available investment capital. The answer then becomes obvious. Lower individual business taxes will lead to more savings which in turn will lead to more investment. As a result of this additional investment, costs of production will fall (with new technology in place), inflation will subside, U.S. competitiveness in world markets will improve and more jobs will be created. An across the board tax cut and accelerated depreciation schedules (enabling companies to more quickly subtract the cost of equipment and fac-

havior and, second, it has little to do with the real imperatives facing the ruling class, except in potentially aggravating deficits. The advocates of the tax cut like to point to the Kennedy tax cut which took effect in 1964. The mid-1960s saw an astounding surge in capital spending, but the tax cuts, far from causing it, simply pushed it along. This expansion was rooted in a shift of world power associated with the capitulation of the Soviet Union internationally and a huge outflow of public capital to the "third world" in the 1955-61 period which opened up new investment possibilities and stimulated domestic and private foreign investment. More generally, what prompts investment is the rate of profit, the overall conditions of profitability, not the money supply or tax rates, though these are secondary, short-term factors. As for the savings rate, it has, in fact, remained remarkably stable since 1956.

One thing that cannot be denied is that the savings rate in the U.S. is the lowest of all the major imperialist countries in its bloc. Often this is imputed to a kind of frugality of mind of the Japanese, for instance, and a more extravagant temperment in this country. But in fact this has been actively en-

Mission District

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on May First. Chants began to spontaneously blast out from this group: "Viva El Salvador Libre!" And many others watching from the other side of police lines chanted back, "Que Viva!" One Puerto Rican youth got up in the pigs' faces, shouting, "Gestapo! What are you doing in our street!"

As the force and political accuracy of the breakout grew, the pigs discussed and fretted but there was nothing they could do short of thoroughly destroying the whole political purpose of the "joyous fiesta." They were stymied.

The ad hoc demonstration became even more infused with struggle, debate and high spirits. Many, especially among the youth, did pick up the red banner, tearing some apart and distributing more. Two Salvadoran youth pointed straight at the uncomfortable line of pigs and shouted: "These

are the same people who go south, and murder our brothers and sisters!" The other yelled, "We want to end oppression! We want freedom!"

When the contingent finally dispersed, "disappearing" among the crowd, for the pigs it was a further frustration on a frustrating day in the street. They made a final grotesque show, forming into a contingent and marching in the parade! A fitting final exposure for "Fiesta Day!" For an hour and a half after the march, pigs of all sorts remained in the Mission in force, driving up and down streets and alleys, unable to catch or bust any of the paper sellers who stayed in the crowd for over an hour. Above the crowd, a youth leaped onto a lamppost, grinning broadly, climbed halfway to the top, and unfurled a red flag. □

CORRECTIONS

In RW No. 105:

In the serialization of "The Collapse of the Second International," a line was inadvertently omitted from the bottom of column 3 on page 21. The affected sentence should conclude:

...whereas the prevailing "subjective" ideology consists of "national" phraseology which is being spread to fool the masses.

In the article "New Law to Ban Spy Exposures" (p. 24) the first sentence in column 3 should read: In order to document the U.S. destabilization program in Jamaica, it was necessary to document agents carrying it out.

On page 26, in the article "Imperialism

Runs Amuck in Pope Shooting," the third sentence of the first full paragraph should read: But in allowing and promoting the National Action Party (MHP) as a pole of pro-imperialist and openly fascist activity, it also meant allowing the MHP certain freedom to run their own line and particular interests.

And in the same issue, the article "Chicago Priest Returns to Media Blackouts and Slander" incorrectly stated that all three of the nuns and the layworker murdered by the Salvadoran junta's National Guard were from the Catholic Maryknoll Order. Only two of the nuns were from Maryknoll, the third was from the Ursuline Order and the layworker was from the Cleveland Archdiocese.

couraged. The U.S. economy is marked by high levels of consumption and credit. The automobile and housing industries would not survive without these credit mechanisms and the U.S. claims the largest share of consumer durables in its capital stock of any of these other countries. In the context of the credit crisis this might certainly be cut back, but this would only depress demand and yank the props out of some of these sectors. Yet neither can this credit balloon be blown up indefinitely.

Re-divide the World Through War

But let's return to the investment problem. One of the clearest manifestations of the limits of the current division of the world is the rather generalized slowdown in fixed investment. What is operative here is persistent overcapacity in key industries, the risk factor in which volatile world markets and continuing signs of deepening crisis make expensive new investment a high stakes gamble and, related to all this, inadequate profitability that would require an extraordinary leap forward in investment to counteract. At the same time, even where investment has regained its post-war levels we find in the U.S. the paradox that overall productivity levels have not substantially risen. This is connected, in large measure, with the quality of this investment—much of it has gone into the expansion of the most parasitic sectors of the U.S. economy: trade, finance and other services. Interestingly, the proposed tax provisions would reinforce this.

Is this to suggest that there is some other plan that might get the economy moving? No, there is nothing short of

recasting of international relations that can furnish the conditions for any fundamental restructuring and expansion. The ruling class certainly has the strength to carry out particular reorganizations, but there are too many Chryslers and sick industries to bail out due to the overall composition of capital. And there is the overarching need to prepare for war—in fact, the preparations will most likely be dressed up as reindustrialization. But how to shore up the home base, what industries to pump up or let rot, are questions of intense struggle within the ruling class and deeply influenced by the rivalry within the U.S. bloc, that is, the relative strengths of particular sectors. To what degree should controls be imposed? Thus far, the ruling class has basically relied on the dominant forms of labor-management cooperation—workers agreeing to give up fringes, for instance, in the illusory hope that this will stop a shutdown. On the other hand, Lester Thurow, the leading liberal economist these days, has proposed the abrogation of cost-of-living provisions and recommended one year labor contracts.

As indicated earlier, the cuts and military spending are currently central and broadly agreed upon, which also explains why the tax cuts are more controversial. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the Reagan package and its ideological wrapping reflect the real needs of the ruling class. And yet the situation they face is careening out of control, more so by the day with new flashpoints and weak links—whatever they do, can only make matters worse. □

Rebel Swiss Youth Defy Cops, "Fashos"

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youth who had been arrested reported at a press conference that from his jail cell he could see "true companionship" between the faschos and the police. A social worker said he observed at one police precinct how the petty hoods "in their complete get-up of helmets and knives, played with the pigs and drank beer and partied with them." The police of course denied any such close connection with the faschos, but at the same time went on to say that in "civil war" type conditions one cannot simply pick out one's "partners."

The autonomous youth have now identified many of these faschos as second-generation immigrant youth who have connections with various right-wing groups in their home countries. So, for instance, many emblems of the neo-fascist Italian organization MSI were displayed openly by some members of the gangs. Also the four youth who were carrying pistols had official police permits to carry them in their possession.

Far from being intimidated by these busts, the autonomous youth counter-attacked. Saturday, May 9, 3000 took to the streets of Basel, including supporters from the youth squatters movement across the border in W. Germany. The demonstration was in response to the Basel City Council and national government's tactics of agreeing to "talks" with the youth (which they set for the 27th of May) while still refusing to give in to the youth's main demand for the immediate re-opening of the youth center. One of the demonstration's slogans was "Let's Besetz" (Let's Occupy): "Take it easy, but take it."

The powerful demonstration began to move through the center of the city around 2 p.m. Saturday afternoon, led by two rows of helmeted and armed guards that the autonomous youth had organized as security. The state had amassed a large force of riot police around the old youth center to prevent it from being re-taken. However within a few hundred yards after the start of the demonstration, the lead guards suddenly dashed off the official route into a side street. Meanwhile the rest of the demonstration was quickly informed to move up rapidly and follow those that had just left. Suddenly bright laughing

faces, clenched fists, and banners began to appear outside of windows and balconies of an old abandoned hospital in the direction the demonstration was heading. The pigs were caught with their pants down. The autonomous youth now had a new youth center—the old hospital—and as one squatter reported, "This place is even better than the old factory...there are good furnished rooms, good washing and cooking facilities..."

As the day moved on, the city fathers went back into their emergency chambers trying to figure out what to do next. Meanwhile a large festival was spontaneously formed outside of the new youth center. A group of people, including some parents of the youth, also appeared at the center and made a large sit-in circle in front of the building to discuss how they could best move some of the older generations into supporting the youth movement. These people stayed on even after the festivities ended, taking up guard the whole night long outside.

According to late reports, the battle in Basel is continuing. In the early hours of Monday morning, just 40 hours after the hospital was occupied, the police moved in, arresting the 120 youth inside. The police had security forces stationed throughout the city all day bracing for new takeovers by the youth. In a companion move, the city fathers have moved to isolate the youth politically by calling on "worried parents and citizens to unite against violence."

Even more, the authorities have now summed up as a failure their previous policy of allowing the youth to hold on to their center, which instead of cooling things out, provided them with a base area to launch new attacks against the established order as occurred on May Day. Accordingly, the Basel City Council has announced a new hard-line policy, warning that any future "disruptions" will be dealt with swiftly. The same evening, Monday the 18th, the autonomous youth called for a mass meeting to plot out their next move. □

Showdown

Continued from page 1

dispute between the Navajo and the Hopi Indians for nearly a century." There is a "dispute," all right—as all the reactionaries are all too painfully aware—but it is between the masses of Navajos and Hopis on one side and the U.S. government, Hopi and Navajo tribal councils, and major energy corporations on the other. The land in question was originally set aside by executive order for "the use of the Hopi and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle there," in 1882. (It was later declared the Joint Use Area.) The Navajos were the "other Indians," and their numbers in the area rapidly expanded, while the Hopis generally remained in their agricultural communities atop the adjoining mesas.

Kee Shay, a 55-year-old Dineh elder who is vice president of the Big Mountain Dineh Independent Nation (an organization of Big Mountain residents who have "seceded" from the U.S. and are demanding international recognition as a sovereign nation), told the *RW*, through his interpreter Herb Blatchford, the story of the relations between the Navajo and Hopi masses in the area: "When I was a child I could see donkeys loaded down with corn, grain, melons, squash, etc. with people coming out here. But as I grew older I learned that this has always been a trade area between Navajos and Hopis. That they (the Hopis—*RW*) were given the rights—or the abilities—to be agricultural in the difficult terrain that they raise crops in. They have some excellent farmers and every year they have an abundance of what they need; but they also need people who live out here who raise sheep, cattle and horses. So they would bring those donkeys loaded down with the foodstuffs they had raised to trade with the people (the Navajos—*RW*)—they needed meat for their diet and people around here needed grain and vegetables for their diet. So it was just a mutual exchange. It is what we knew existed for generations..." He also pointed out that the Hopis came to the area every year to gather firewood and to conduct religious ceremonies.

All this was fine as long as the U.S. ruling class thought the arid land was virtually worthless, suitable only for meager subsistence farming and livestock raising. But when the Navajo and Hopi reservations, as well as the JUA land they shared, were discovered to hold vast mineral riches, the government went into action. First, it set up puppet tribal councils over the objections of the masses of both peoples, replacing the traditional governments that had refused to sell out the land—and people—to mineral companies. (In the case of the Hopis, this was particularly stark since less than 21% voted for the new puppets in the BIA-run election, as the vast majority joined a boycott led by traditional elders.) These tribal councils, as directed by the BIA, began the process of auctioning off reservation land—and JUA land as well—and forcing the "relocation" of many Navajos and Hopis. This process has accelerated of late with both Navajo tribal chairman, Peter McDonald, and Hopi tribal chairman Abbott Sekaquaptewa, opening up the Four Corners area to hundreds of thousands of acres of coal strip mines, along with 36 uranium mines and six mills. Their major joint project in the JUA has been the Peabody Coal strip mine—54,858 acres of the Black Mesa coalfield turned over to the company in exchange for which the respective tribal councils receive 15¢ a ton. On the other hand, the masses of both tribes have received a lowering of the already fragile water table, the desecration of a mountain they consider sacred, and many "relocations" to urban areas or towns which border the reservations.

But there is much more energy wealth available under the Indian lands, and both McDonald and Sekaquaptewa, and leading members of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes, are actively

working at providing their masters with the goods. The BIA projects that by the year 2000, there will be 100 uranium mines and 10 uranium mills, along with 15 coal strip mines and an equal number of coal-fired power plants in the Four Corners area. The JUA forms a critical part of this projection, but the thousands of Navajos who live there form a critical obstacle to its realization. So at the instigation of the BIA, the Congress, and their own lawyer (who also happened to simultaneously represent Peabody Coal), the willing and eager puppets of the Hopi Tribal Council have pressed various legal claims, lobbying efforts and other maneuvers to get half the JUA given over to them exclusively, so they could in turn give it over to the corporations. (The role of McDonald in all this will be examined further on.) Following the government's wishes to a tee, the Hopi Tribal Council also began launching racist slanders against the Navajo people; after all, the "dispute" would look a lot more realistic if there were at least some Hopis calling Navajos names. A recent issue of the Tribal Council's official newspaper, *Qua Toqti*, is worth attention in this regard: the Navajos, it says, are "expansionist" and have caused the JUA to become a desert; the Navajos are "nomadic parasites" who raided the Spanish colonists for livestock, and the Navajos are a "violence-prone" people whom all Hopis call "headpounders." All this has been vigorously opposed by the Hopi masses under the leadership of the traditional elders.

Kee Shay told the *RW*: "I've lived here all my life and I've never heard of any conflict over this land. I've never heard of one person being killed. I've never heard of one person being severely injured. Because these are the spiritual ways of our people. But we also know that the head of the Hopi Tribal Council has claimed that there are people and animals being injured, but we don't know what he's talking about. It doesn't happen here. We think he's being encouraged by people in Washington—or some people who have influence in Washington—to put these words in his mouth..." Kee Shay also pointed out that there is a personal stake for Sekaquaptewa involved besides the mineral development royalties—he is one of the very few Hopis who is a cattle rancher and he wants more grazing land for his cattle.

Given whose idea it was in the first place, it is not surprising that legal decisions and a congressional law have been passed supporting the Hopi Tribal Council's claim to one-half of the JUA. Public Law 95-531 provides for the building of a fence to divide the land in half, the eviction of all Navajos on the "Hopi side" and vice versa (somehow, incidentally, the line was drawn so that nearly everyone in the JUA ended up on the "wrong side"), and the theft and butchering of Navajo sheep, cattle and horses euphemistically known as "stock reduction" in Washington-ese, so as to starve the people out and speed up the process of plunder.

Subsequently, in the face of mounting resistance, the Congress added an amendment to the law. This generously provided that any of the Navajo elders, 55 years or older, who reside on the "Hopi side" may apply for an exemption to "relocation" which would allow them to live out their remaining years on their land. Of course, their children and grandchildren and other relations must move, and would be restricted to one-hour "visiting privileges" with their elders. But then, this would not go on for too long anyway, since the elders will be allowed to keep only five heads of sheep and one horse. The U.S. government calls this amendment "life estate," but the Dineh translation of it is "death estate."

The Snag

But passing a law and enforcing it are two different matters. While the government has been able to build their fence through most of the JUA, there is a gaping hole in it at Big Mountain. This is because, for the past four years, every federal construction crew sent into the area—as well as the police sent along to protect them—have been confronted by the people of Big Mountain. Criminal charges are still pending

against four women who defied the authorities last September, but the government has thus far been unable to find enough Indians willing to serve as jurors on its proposed railroad. In fact, the resistance of the people of Big Mountain has so inspired people throughout the JUA that more gaping holes are suddenly appearing in previously completed sections of the fence. The U.S. government's timetable calls for completion of the fence by July 8, but the people of the JUA—spearheaded by Big Mountain—are more and more operating on "Indian Resistance Time," and both the fence and those who have ordered its construction are sharply feeling the effects.

The past month has seen a fierce escalation of the struggle. On April 18, all the land on the Hopi side of the partition was officially turned over to the Hopi Tribal Council. But at the same time, people from all over the JUA, the Navajo and Hopi reservations and the whole Southwest came together for a gathering of support at Big Mountain. Hopi traditionalists came to denounce the reactionary efforts of the "progressive" Hopi Tribal Council and to pledge the continued unity in the struggle against government-corporate land grabs of both peoples. A delegation of Papago Indian elders also came to pledge their support. Over 500 people, including a significant number of non-Indians who have been inspired by the resistance here, came to the three-day gathering. Big Mountain activists are continuing to organize throughout the JUA in various ways.

One very significant development was the endorsing of a permanent camp, set up on the site of the gathering, from which to organize and maintain the struggle. How permanent is it? "Until we win the war," says Bahe Kadenehe, whose family has lived on Big Mountain for generations. When others from the JUA heard of this, they requested help from activists from Big Mountain and the American Indian Movement (AIM) to set up similar camps; there are currently two other camps in various stages of preparation at different locations in the JUA.

But the forces of the state, clearly stung by the growing breadth of the resistance, are hitting back with a massive push against JUA residents. Two days after the gathering ended, BIA police vehicles and helicopters began accompanying BIA impoundment officials on lightning "stock reductions" raids, swooping in on an area unannounced and grabbing up all the animals they could get their hands on. Simultaneously, they began terrorizing the people who depend on these animals for their subsistence; reports began flowing into the Big Mountain camp of BIA vehicles surrounding people, threatening them and in at least one case, physically assaulting a 58-year-old woman who demanded to know why they were stealing her cattle. Helicopters began buzzing over the JUA area, while roadblocks were set up on the Big Mountain Road to stop and search every car that passed by. In the face of this military occupation, people from all over the JUA began driving over to the Big Mountain Camp, asking for assistance in stopping the terror. But by the time the Camp activists were to arrive on the scene, the pigs had moved to new locations.

The BIA police have also moved on the camp itself. In one incident, they surrounded the camp with vans waving their rifles in the air and trying to act tough; however, the mobilization of the entire camp, including a number of elder Navajo women who went out to confront them head on, made them have second thoughts about the possible consequences of any further action, and they decided to drive off.

The onslaught of these BIA police (who are supposedly playing the role of tribal police for the Hopi Tribal Council, which does not have its own police force) has coincided with the sudden emergence of the Navajo tribal police as "protectors of the people." Under the direction of Peter McDonald, the Navajo tribal police have long been noted for arresting and beating all Dineh who resist his efforts to auction of all Navajo land to the highest energy company bidder. For example, McDonald's goons have arrested Larry Anderson, an AIM activist on the Navajo reservation, five

times, beaten striking Peabody Coal miners near Big Mountain, and arrested 14 people at Burnham, New Mexico, for standing up to Consolidation Coal's attempts to drive the Dineh out to make way for a strip mine, not to mention numerous arrests of Navajo elders who have refused "relocation" by the BIA in conjunction with the Tribal Council. But with the growing resistance of the Navajos, the Navajo tribal police have suddenly felt the need to "help out the people"—or more to the point, *take over* before the people get too far out of hand. Lately, they have been rushing around the JUA, telling everyone they will stand with the Navajo people against the BIA police. They even attempted to "protect" the Big Mountain camp, until they were driven out by the Big Mountain residents and other activists who have been struggling for years against these same officers of the law—the law of U.S. monopoly capital.

McDonald's Maneuvers

Some of the newer forces in the struggle from around the JUA—who have been drawn by both their hatred of the oppressive "relocation" and the inspiration and strength shown by the people at Big Mountain—have been influenced to one degree or another by the "protection offer" of the Navajo tribal police. In fact, Larry Anderson told us that a number of the people who originally came to the Big Mountain Camp to request help in setting up their own, subsequently changed their minds, citing the Navajo Tribal Police "protection" as sufficient. Of course, those who have been active in the struggle at Big Mountain for the past few years harbor no such illusions, and are struggling with the others to sum up the lessons they have learned. But the system itself is a good teacher. Recently, the BIA announced that it would temporarily stop impounding the livestock itself, prompting this response from Dennis Moeckle, director of the "Navajo Rangers"—the Tribal Council's own version of BIA impoundment officers: "BIA personnel are not impounding anymore, but are informing us and saying where illegal livestock are, giving us a chance to go out and take care of it. This is the way we wanted it done in the first place." Undoubtedly, Navajo police will soon be required to accompany the rangers, since under current government rulings, the vast majority of the Navajo livestock in the JUA is "illegal."

The particular timing of the BIA announcement to call a halt to their animal impoundment (even while it pledged to continue checking the census, handling applications for range permits, and "normal police patrolling") was in itself quite revealing. It came in the middle of a demonstration organized by none other than Peter McDonald himself, supposedly to protest the "mistreatment" of the people of the JUA. (Larry Anderson points out that McDonald has taken to much hand-wringing lately over the plight of the JUA, but somehow he never manages to utter the words "Big Mountain.") Based on the outrage felt by the Navajo masses, this demonstration attracted 1000 people from all over the JUA and the Navajo reservation. As they marched to the Keams Canyon BIA agency office, they were met with a barbed wire fence, scores of riot-clad BIA police, and helicopters circling overhead. As McDonald and his cronies spoke to the crowd and the police in equally pleading tones, begging for "peace," an emergency telegram from Washington, D.C. suddenly arrived, announcing the temporary suspension of the BIA animal seizures "pending further negotiations in Washington, D.C." These "negotiations" are to include drawn-out Senate hearings on the "problem of relocation."

There was no role in all this for the Navajo masses, other than to be passive spectators of the fancy footwork of McDonald and his fellow puppets, not to mention passive recipients of sharper attacks sure to come. This demonstration was even in contrast to another in the previous week, also called by the Tribal Council, where the people brought their own signs like "BIA, Go Away," and a number of Navajo elders took over the bullhorn to denounce the

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Showdown

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government. But it is instructive as to the role that McDonald is performing here. While he is being quoted in the media as a supposed "defender" of the struggling Navajos, he is desperately trying to keep things together for the U.S. ruling class.

Most of the Navajos, including some activists in the Big Mountain struggle, view these tribal council-sponsored demonstrations (there have been three of them) as mainly attempts by McDonald to cover his widely exposed ass, especially with elections for Tribal Council chairman coming up next year. Others point out McDonald's role of fireman—aiding the government's efforts to douse the flames of rebellion that have shot out here. Pointing to the participation of some Navajos in the D.C. hearings, which has been organized by McDonald, 20-year-old Louise Bennally—one of the four women who face charges for confronting the fencing crew at Big Mountain—told the *RW*, "They've gone lots of times before, but they don't have an answer." As for the demonstrations, Louise said, "We know their tricks. They're doing it to try to ease our minds—so we won't get too violent." Indeed, the BIA spokesman in Phoenix expressed some nervous relief at the results of the march, telling the *Navajo Times* (the official tribal newspaper), "We are pleased that the march was peaceful. Once again,

McDonald was able to talk to our officials."

But Peter McDonald's role in this struggle is even more insidious than simply pouring cold water on militant sparks. His principal role is to try and reverse the political damage that the Big Mountain struggle has already done to his masters—and the even greater damage that it threatens to unleash in the future. A key aspect of this role was the broad distribution of American flags to hundreds of the demonstrators.

Can you imagine this? Here was the blood-soaked rag of U.S. imperialism being carried by some of those who have been the targets of this government's most brutal and naked terror, from smallpox blankets to uranium mines. Here a "protest" was mounted under the very symbol of the wholesale slaughter of the Indian people, not to speak of equally criminal acts by the U.S. against the people around the world. As Bahe Kedenehe put it: "It looked like a Ku Klux Klan rally."

This shows that there is more than one way that the imperialists can kill you with the American flag. They can attack you with it, as they've done so often against the Indian people, or they can get you to pick it up and wave it—the end result being the same. To McDonald (well schooled in both tactics) goes most of the credit of this ironic spectacle, as he scrambles to politically derail both the struggle itself and its potentially broad social impact, putting the whole thing on the well-worn and murderous track of "loyal Americanism." Thus, McDonald has paid particular attention to organizing a number

of Navajo veterans, at least those who managed to avoid ending up in the Navajo Veterans Cemetery in Fort Defiance, and has sung the praises of their service to America's rape of the world by calling it the "safeguarding of our land and way of life." In a column in the *Navajo Times*, McDonald went on to "again salute these servicemen who defend not only the nation-at-large, but the foundations of the Navajo way." But defending the "nation-at-large" means aiding in the murderous oppression of "the Navajo way," and McDonald has again shown his desire to do precisely this.

Other Ideas

But the Big Mountain activists have some other ideas. Big Mountain elder Kee Shay told the *RW*, "It doesn't take a person to be educated, as I am not educated, to realize that the ropes, or the tentacles of Washington are going all over the world, and that there are people living very much like we are living that are under the oppression of those tentacles that emanate from Washington. That these multinationals (corporations—*RW*) are there by the grace and consent of the Washingtonians; that they are there with support and monetary means so that they can oppress people all over the world. . . . As we are being cheated here, so are there people being cheated there."

Larry Anderson told the *RW* that he sees a definite relationship between the struggles of people around the world and the struggle at Big Mountain, and that he and others try to spread their understanding of this question to peo-

ple in the JUA and the reservation: "We tell them what's going on in El Salvador and all the Latin American countries, in South America, there's still fighting down there. And why Vietnam, what happened there, why a lot of our people went there and never came back—educating them in that way. . . . In those ways, we try to relate this to the struggle here at Big Mountain. We know that an armed struggle here is not going to be strong enough right now. But teaching them, and educating them about resistance, slowly, it will come out that they will *definitely* be supporting these ideas—and 100% behind those people who are willing to help them."

When you drive away from Big Mountain, down the rough dirt road toward Highway 264, you have to pass by a veritable gauntlet of blue BIA police cars, all driving back and forth on the road, nervously watching every passing vehicle for signs of resistance to the plans of their employers. It brought to mind a point Larry Anderson had made about the commitment of all the people at Big Mountain to protect the "traditional and religious way of life of the Diné. . . . If we have to stand up in arms, we'll stand up in arms. We all know that some of us are going to jail, prisons or what not. But how many freedom fighters went to jail and now they're out, trying to help their own people again. Jail is only a temporary thing to us, it's not a permanent thing. And anyway, the walls are going to be down not too long from now." □

Lebanon

Continued from page 1

ment. Syria, which entered the civil war blaring its "undying support" of the cause of the Palestinian revolution, promptly wielded around, struck a deal with the Phalangists and played (to applause from the U.S. and the western imperialist bloc) the key role in a bloody massacre of the Moslem-Palestinian insurgency, entrenching itself permanently in Lebanon in the process. The Syrian occupation was "legitimized" through recognition by a new government brought to power in Beirut, and through designation by the Arab League, an association of predominantly pro-U.S. Arab regimes, as an "Arab peace keeping force." The Syrian gambit during the civil war represented, in part, an attempt to further Syria's claims on Lebanon, and the Syrian Ba'ath Party's dreams of a "greater Syria." More broadly (and more fundamentally) however, the barbaric Syrian slaughters of Palestinian and Moslem "brethren" not only happened to be tailor-made to suit the interests of the U.S.-NATO imperialist bloc, but reflected a continuing strong Western imperialist influence and leverage with Syria. At the time, this represented a painful setback to the Soviet Union's efforts, already in full swing in that period, to cultivate Syria as one of its major Middle East client regimes and proxy thugs. But today, the situation is sharply different in this regard.

Last year Syrian President Assad, seeking to avert the collapse of his clay-footed regime through securing a reliable imperialist patron, signed one of those "20 year treaties of friendship and cooperation" with the Soviet Union. The Soviets' overall political position in the Middle East, and the stakes for them in the Syrian connection, are high. On the other hand, the U.S. imperialists, while juggling a number of conflicting "special relationships" of varying degrees of stability in the region—with Israel, with Egypt, with Iraq, with Saudi Arabia and so on—are trying to consolidate these disparate clients and neo-allies into a united front based on the vaunted "anti-Soviet strategic consensus." The large scale U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf and throughout the Middle East, and the ability of the U.S. to negotiate various military agreements with local client states aimed at strengthening its hand against the Soviet Union, have not "stabilized" the

situation. Further intensification of the contradictions in the area—and the deliberate moves by the Soviet imperialists to strengthen their own position—are all contributing to the potential for an early explosion.

The Israeli attack on the Syrian helicopters broke an informal "steer clear" policy which the two sides had adopted as a rule of thumb governing their respective activities in Lebanon. The clash came after Israeli-supplied Phalangist units recently pushed out of their traditional enclave in coastal western Lebanon and into the strategically located city of Zahle, and the Syrians countered with a major offensive of their own. Israel, which under the Begin government had moved closer and closer to explicit military alliance with the Phalangists, threw its forces into the battle to prevent a "strategic defeat for the Christian side."

Syria responded to the loss of its helicopters by wheeling a number of Soviet made SAM-6 anti-aircraft missile batteries into central Lebanon, as well as bringing a number of other missiles up to the border. Israel screeched that this was tantamount to the Soviet installation of nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962, and threatened to blitz and destroy the missiles unless they were immediately withdrawn.

The looming showdown set off a blizzard of diplomatic maneuvers orchestrated by both Washington and Moscow. Secretary of State Haig pronounced the situation "worrisome" and/or "grave" and flew to Rome to discuss matters with NATO ministers. While Haig had blistered the Syrians during his spring tour of the Middle East as "brutal" and "barbarous," initial State Dept. commentaries made clear that the U.S. was anxious to avoid an all-out Israel-Syrian war, and dreaded the possibility that an out of control conflict could jeopardize its long-range strategic preparations for the big one. It was announced that "The administration has not given a green light to Israel to undertake any military actions in Lebanon." It is apparent that the strategic thinking behind U.S. attempts to defuse the crisis has been spelled out very carefully to Israel placing their Zionist dogs on a very tight leash.

The weekly *8 Days*, a British based magazine which analyzes Middle East political and business affairs from the perspective of the Western bloc, carries in its May 2nd issue some candid comments attributed to an unnamed "Israeli military correspondent":

"It is true that the Reagan administration would not be against

Damascus and the PLO being harmed, but it is not at present interested in having to focus on a war for which it is not at all prepared.

"The Americans have not yet strengthened themselves sufficiently to reply to such a challenge—if, for example, the Russians decided to offer massive aid to Damascus in case of war. A sudden flare up today would disrupt American steps to build an anti-Soviet alignment in the region. Washington's support for Israel's war on terrorists is one thing, but an expansive military flare up between the IDF (Israeli Defense Force—*RW*) and the Syrians is another matter. Thus it would be a mistake to think that the Reagan administration would back such an Israeli move right now."

Washington also recalled from retirement Philip Habib, a Lebanese-American diplomat and an old hand at serving the U.S. in its Levantine intrigues, to confer with various parties and attempt to cook up "compromise." A high ranking Soviet officer in the Foreign Ministry, meanwhile, flew to Damascus for consultations. Earlier, the Reagan administration had announced that it had privately appealed to Moscow to urge "restraint" on Syria. Following the departure of the Soviet emissary from Damascus, however, Syria announced that the SAM-6 missiles were in Lebanon to stay. Syrian public statements have also reflected an increasingly hard (or increasingly slavish may be more accurate) pro-Soviet orientation. Farouk Sarraq, the Syrian Minister of State, attacked Haig's Middle East trip by asking rhetorically, "How can General Haig want the Arabs to confront the Soviet Union, and even go to war with the Soviet Union, at a moment when the Soviet government and people offer every possible means to the Arabs to confront Israeli expansionism?"

The Soviet Union has been playing its cards close to the vest. Until mid-May, Moscow maintained a nearly complete official silence on the crisis. On May 16th, Leonid Zamyatin, chief of the Soviet communist party's central committee's information bureau, delivered a cautious address in which he described the situation as "dangerous, dangerous. . . . It is very complicated and is one that calls for patient negotiations and for peaceful means of solving this question." At the same time, Zamyatin delivered his acid critique of the shuttle diplomacy of "a certain Habib" and described Habib's role as "supporting the demands of the aggressive Israeli militarists." According to the *New York Times*, Zamyatin charged that

"Israel's 'aggression' against Lebanon was part of an 'offensive' by the United States intended to 'overcome' the Palestinians and then 'gradually' to begin their destruction—in other words, to put into practice a policy of genocide."

The U.S. imperialists' analysis of Soviet intentions is presented by the *Times* in capsule form: "There is no evidence, according to diplomatic sources, that Moscow encouraged Syria to move the anti-aircraft missiles into Lebanon. But the sources said there was also no evidence that the Soviet Union had discouraged the move or had urged the Soviets to remove the missiles."

"The general view is that, while the crisis does not seem to have been stirred up by Moscow, the Soviet Union is keenly interested in getting back into the Middle East as an active diplomatic force and that the crisis gives the Russians a chance to get a foot in the door."

It is undoubtedly true that the Soviet Union is pressing to improve its overall political position in the region—and the U.S. is maneuvering just as purposely to keep them out. Efforts by Habib represent an attempt to achieve a single handed "solution" to the crisis which would freeze out the Soviets, and even possibly reopen some breathing room between the Soviet Union and Syria. But since, for both sides, "military strength is the foundation for diplomacy" (as the *Times* put it), it is not at conference tables these "diplomatic objectives" are basically either achieved or defended. As Habib flew to Saudi Arabia, after stops to test the temperature at Damascus and Jerusalem (the occupied Arab city illegally taken over by Israel for its capital), two U.S. aircraft carrier task forces and a Soviet helicopter carrier and assorted ships were assembling off the coast of Lebanon in a show of military muscle.

The objective of Habib's mission to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia was to enlist the Saudis in an effort to apply enough pressure and offer enough inducements to Syria to force it to back down under some "face saving" formula. The general outlines of the U.S. plan, according to reports in the press, call for the lifting of the Syrian siege of the Phalangists at Zahle, and the possible replacement of some Syrian "peace keeping" troops by Lebanese regular army men; some sort of agreement around an "eventual" or "phased" withdrawal of the Syrian missiles, in return for an Israeli promise to curb its overflights of Beirut and central

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Lebanon

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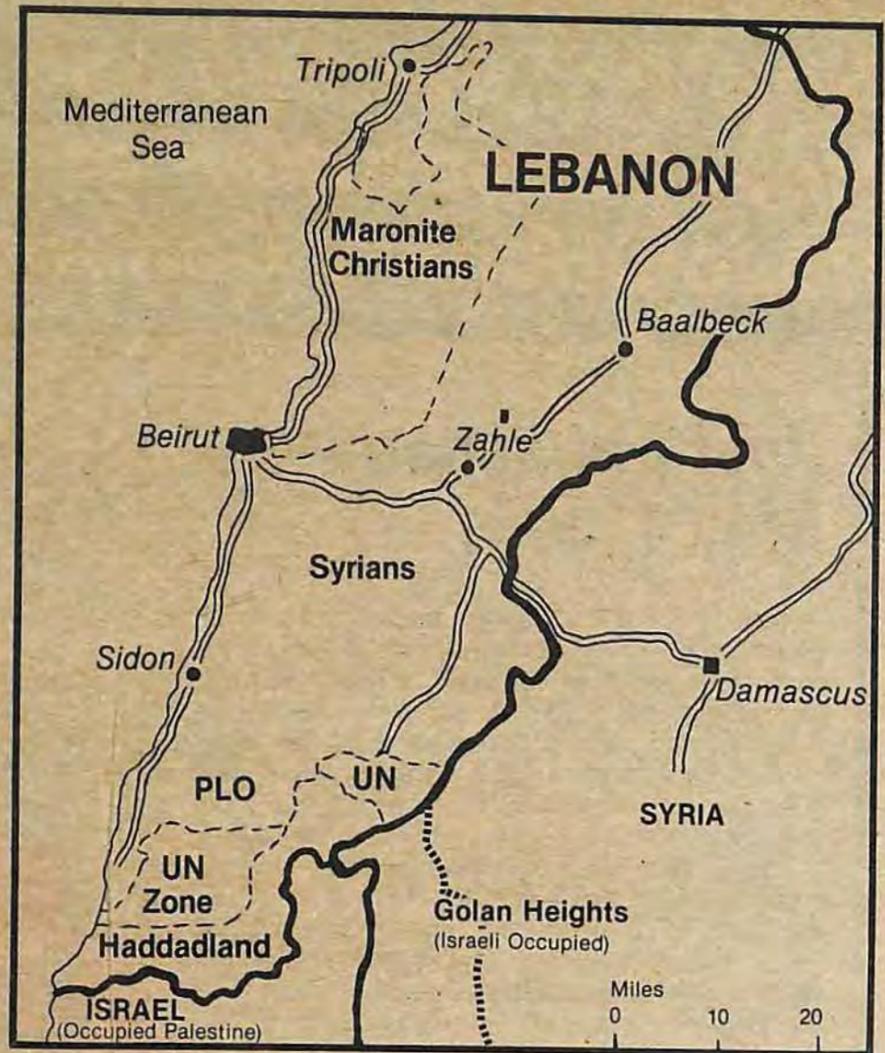
Lebanon—and, presumably abstain from gunning down any more Syrian choppers. Israel's right to engage in reconnaissance and bombing missions over the Palestinian zones would be left intact.

This formula, of course, is little more than a recipe for Syrian capitulation. But this is where the Saudis come in. Until recently, Saudi Arabia and other Arab League states have been financing Syria's military occupation in Lebanon through a fund established in 1976 for maintenance of the so-called "Arab peace keeping force." Several months ago, this badly needed source of money was cut off by the Saudis—ostensibly because Syria had failed to file the required bi-annual report on its peace keeping activities. Likewise, Syria was suddenly confronted with possible denial of access to the \$1.8 billion Saudi-sponsored "steadfastness fund," monies which are supposed to be doled out to the "front line" Arab states and including Syria which borders Israel. Both of these sources of income are well known to be dear to the heart of Syrian president Assad—and critical to its military viability, and indeed its survival, Soviet support notwithstanding.

In the ensuing days, the imperialist intrigues and doubledealing in the region were accompanied by a cacophony of hypocritical rhetoric on all sides. While the Saudis sent emissaries to haggle over money with Damascus, the Saudi government stepped up its denunciations of Israel. Menachim Begin, who is embroiled in a divisive election in Israel, denounced the Saudi regime as incapable of playing any kind of constructive role, as a "reactionary, medieval regime," as a "family of thousands of princes and princesses who don't know what to do with their billions," etc. The U.S., on the other hand, praised the Saudis "constructive" role, and indirectly advised Begin to shut up. In Damascus,

Syrian newspapers and government spokesmen alternated between condemning Habib as a tool of Israeli militarism and lauding him as a man of good will. Syria has adopted the pose, as it usually does right before sticking its bloody shiv into the Palestinians' back, of being concerned, "before everything" with the cause of Palestinian liberation; they are insisting that "the central issue" is the Israeli attacks on the Palestinian base areas in southern Lebanon. Even though the Syrians have moved a grand total of 6 missile batteries into Lebanon—and these are deployed to protect their own units well north of the Palestinian bases that the Israelis daily bomb and strafe with virtual impunity, Syrian President Assad is continuing to maintain, with the utmost hypocrisy, that he cannot in good conscience remove the missiles until all Israeli attacks cease.

Meanwhile, several other Arab states critical to U.S. overall strategy in the Middle East also stepped up their denunciations of Israel and vowed to support Syria in the event of an Israeli-Syrian conflict. While President Sadat of Egypt had earlier affirmed that peace between Egypt and Israel was "a firm reality" and that Egypt would remain neutral in the event of war, Egypt's Foreign Minister, Boutros Ghali indicated that "Egypt would side with Syria." Iraq, a mortal enemy of Syria, ever since the Hussein regime claimed, a few years ago, to have uncovered a Syrian plot to seize power there, also pledged "full support" in the event of an all-out conflict. These developments, which superficially appeared to be gravitating in the direction of "Arab solidarity" actually reflect not only the real contradiction that the Arab states have with Israel, but the tremendous political pressure on all of these regimes, racked by internal instability and threatened by revolt from within, to give the appearance of support for the Palestinians and "steadfast" opposition to Israel. While there is much in these various declarations that is pure bombast and smoke to



cover other, less "noble" maneuvers, it is also clear that should war break out between Israel and Syria in earnest, it would pose very serious problems to the U.S. efforts to subordinate the regional contradictions in the interests of the "real war."

While Saudi Arabia's Intelligence chief stopped off in Washington for a personal visit with Reagan, Habib left Riyadh to visit Damascus. Following his departure from Damascus for Israel on the evening of May 19th, the Syrian newspaper *Al Ba'heh*, the newspaper of the ruling party, summed up Habib's mission as "to prepare the grounds for a large scale Israeli aggression against Lebanon to partition that country, liquidate the Palestinian cause, and eventually invade Syria"—which, obviously, was intended to be taken as a signal that no progress had been made in negotiations. The same day, there were reports that Syria's defense minister had sped to Moscow for consultations.

By the next day, however, both Syria and Israel were singing a more "moderate" tune. Begin conceded that perhaps Saudi Arabia was, after all, "trying to be useful." Syrian President Assad, apparently not having read *Al Ba'heh* said that Habib should be "thanked" for his efforts to find a peaceful solution. Assad granted an interview with U.S. reporters, and indicated that he "wished Mr. Habib success putting an end to the aggressions of Israel."

It is evident that at least part of an overall package deal with Syria either had been agreed upon or was in the works by the time this interview was granted: Assad announced for the first time to the American reporters that "the Saudis and Kuwaitis has agreed to resume their contributions" to the Arab peace force in Lebanon. According to the *Times*, "Asked about reports that Saudi Arabia had offered Syria financial 'incentives' to soften its stand on the missiles, President Assad smiled and remarked:

"What incentives? There are no incentives in this connection. The Saudis have announced their support to us and have informed us of their support. But we have not gone into any detail. . . ." One can see clearly here one reason for the sudden burst of pro-Syria rhetoric earlier in the week from the Saudis and from Egypt, both of whom are working hand in glove in the interests of the U.S.: to enable the Saudis to get close enough to Syria to try to strike a deal.

A further possible indication that the tide may have been turning against the Soviets' intrigues in the region is that the last major salvo from Moscow came on May 17, when *Pravda* announced that the U.S. was trying to "blackmail"

Syria. The *Pravda* commentary once again highlighted Soviet resentment at being frozen out of imperialist "diplomacy" in the Middle East.

"Syria has lately become the main bastion of the Arab forces opposed to the Camp David agreements on the Middle East and the separate Egyptian-Israeli 'peace treaty'.

"That was why it was subjected to strong pressure by the previous American administration. . . . Now the blackmail and military threats against Syria have been resumed with renewed force. But, as events show, Syria is determined to defend its course."

This was the last major commentary by Moscow on the crisis. What "events show," in fact, is not yet clear. It is obvious that the U.S., through Saudi Arabia and the Saudis' control of the pursestrings have indeed succeeded in putting intense pressure on Syria to "soften its stand." What Syria actually gave in return to the reinstatement of Saudi and Kuwaiti financial support, and what impact this will have on the development of the overall crisis, is not yet evident; neither are the possible Soviet counter-moves.

Fundamentally, the aim of U.S. imperialist diplomacy in this situation—to attempt to return the balance of forces in Lebanon to the "status quo" as Habib noted, meaning a restoration of the so-called "equilibrium" established following the civil war 5 years ago—is an impossible one. Beirut is once again a war zone, and fighting between the left-wing Moslems and the Phalange continues to intensify there and in central Lebanon, where Syrian and Israeli-backed military units are squared off. The U.S. has demonstrated that it has the ability to put pressure on Syria, and is undoubtedly working overtime to find some means of eventually prying Syria loose from the Soviets and aborting yet another of Moscow's 20-year friendship treaties. But the Soviets still hold the leash on Damascus, and they are placing great emphasis on attempting to play the role of the superpower champion of the Palestinian cause, and to parlay this into a stronger position overall, not to mention driving wedges into the U.S.'s Middle East alliance. What the current crisis reveals, at bottom, is this: All the contradictions are boiling up, together—in the Middle East, and more generally on a world scale. This itself is part of the pre-war political topography. And correctly assessed, the "stability" demanded by the U.S. is yet another sign of the forces driving it—as with its superpower rival—to seek a "final solution" through the only means at hand: general imperialist war. □

Bride

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friendly relations between the South African and U.S. imperialists is the political exposure of the U.S. in the process. Given the fact that South Africa is one of the most exposed and condemned countries in the world and the fact that its crimes are literally legend, any move by the U.S. towards openly embracing South Africa carries with it a very costly political price. The U.S. imperialists are very much aware of this and have launched a public opinion campaign designed to minimize the price they are forced to pay for their necessary South African connection. While it is extremely difficult to erase two decades of international exposure and condemnation, the U.S. is certainly giving it a run for their money. The U.S. has embarked on a full-scale campaign to totally rehabilitate South Africa. This has occurred in every sphere, from sports like tennis and boxing, to cultural events like having Ray Charles give a concert in Soweto in October of 1980 despite repeated attempts by various South African organizations to get him to honor an international boycott of South Africa. In addition to this, the U.S. is pressing for South Africa's full-scale rehabilitation on the international scene as well by pushing for its readmittance to various international bodies such as the International Labor Organization.

Crucial to this U.S.-directed public opinion campaign is an effort to portray the apartheid system as being on its way out as the social system in South Africa. What this amounts to is an effort to promote a number of purely cosmetic changes in the apartheid system such as some desegregation in major sports events, in restaurants and on the beaches, things which only affect a relative handful of better-off blacks, while covering up for the retrenchment of the apartheid system on every major issue such as the South African government's moves to institute a fingerprint law and the continued forced removal of

the black masses into the so-called "homelands." Suddenly the U.S. imperialists are muttering about how it's the process of changing that counts and not the current situation. According to Reagan in his Cronkite interview, "Many people, black and white, in South Africa are trying to remove apartheid. . . . As long as there is a sincere and honest effort being made, based on our own experience in our own land, it would seem that we should try to be helpful." Complimenting this effort, the U.S. imperialists are pointing to the current crop of South African government officials as a band of "sincere and honest reformers." Never mind the fact that all the current officials in South Africa have a long and infamous career in service to apartheid, nor the fact that in the current elections each and every one of them has bent over backwards to prove how much apartheid is still strong, alive and kicking.

But despite all of U.S. imperialism's plans and policies, the new policy in relation to South Africa has heated up yet another, and more basic, contradiction—the contradiction between the masses of black people of Azania and the South African ruling class (as well as their imperialist mentors in the U.S.). In pursuing its new found and necessary relationship with South Africa, U.S. imperialism has undoubtedly contributed to smashing illusions about how the U.S. and "international pressure," or any other force besides the masses of Azanian people themselves, could bring about the end of the apartheid system. This is evident in the beginnings of a new upsurge among the masses of the Azanian people (which is occurring right in the face of rapidly increasing repression by the apartheid rulers).

While the contention between both superpowers has driven the U.S. into its new relationship with South Africa as a part of its preparations for war, at the same time this new relationship is reflecting back on the internal struggle in South Africa and is creating the groundwork for a much more awesome force in Azania and throughout southern Africa that will confront the imperialists. □

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