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Poland: Pre-war Realism East and West

The Lifting of Martial Law



The "temporary" imposition of martial law in Poland one year ago is now to be replaced by the temporary suspension of martial law. The subtlety in distinction has, of course, been lost on few. Certain drastic measures, like restriction of travel, the automatic monitoring of phone communications and the policy of internment, too, are supposedly to be eliminated. On the other hand, much of the superstructure of martial law — like militarization of many factories, summary trials (military and civilian), complete press censorship, the myriad regulations prohibiting distribution of leaflets which "threaten state security," the forbidding of "public disturbances," etc. — will remain in place as is or be incorporated into civilian law when the Polish parliament meets this week. As General Jaruzelski put it: "... we cannot afford yet to renounce all the extraordinary measures ... Perhaps sensational statements were expected. I think, however, that it is better we solve Polish matters realistically, with prudence ..." The revisionists' tanks, in other words, may be out of sight, but not out of mind, and certainly not out of commission. And as if to prove the point, a show of force was exhibited in Gdansk on Thursday as riot police braced for possible trouble at an unauthorized rally called to commemorate the

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Los Angeles Times writes on Damián García Murder Highly Charged Exposure of Political Police

A storm of controversy has erupted with the publication of an article in the *Los Angeles Times* dealing with certain undercover operations of the Los Angeles Police Department directed at the Revolutionary Communist Party. The article, which appeared in the Sunday, December 12, 1982, edition of the newspaper contains exposure of some of the admitted activities of a police agent the *Times* identifies as Fabian Lizarraga, a.k.a. "Ernie Sanchez," who was standing only 5 feet away from Comrade Damián García when he was brutally murdered in an East Los Angeles housing project on April 22, 1980. (The *RW* first wrote about this agent in issue No. 155, Vol. 4, No. 3, dated May 14, 1982, in an article entitled, "The Pig on the Spot at the Murder of Damián García.") The *Times* article also contains other admitted actions by the political police, and raises more questions about such activity.

In the few days since its publication, this article has already had a powerful effect on broad sections of the people and helped to bring forward new anger and outrage against the political police and its attacks on the RCP, including Damián's murder. And it has already led to even more desperate thrashing by the political police including a regurgitation of old and sinister fabrications by L.A.P.D. Chief Daryl Gates to attack the party and its Chairman, Bob Avakian.

The article begins by noting the fact that the charges against all remaining defendants in the May Day '80 case were dropped on April 22, 1982 (exactly 2 years after Damián's murder) at the request of Chief Gates, who sent a letter to the District Attorney. While these cases were the result of the LAPD's brutal attack on the May Day march and futile attempt to stop it, the article emphasizes that the defendants in the case were

charged with assault on a police officer — and that this is a charge that the police and District Attorney usually go after in a big way. But, according to the article, the "focus of the case had turned from the conduct of the revolutionaries, who advocate the violent overthrow of the government, to the conduct of his (Gates') department's Public Disorder Intelligence Division — and particularly an undercover officer and a lieutenant."

Among the "conduct" that the article mentions is the fact that Lizarraga's "principal target" or "principal subject" was Damián García and that the agent was "5 to 7 feet away" when Damián was murdered. It also reports that Lizarraga testified "that he had informed his superiors about each of 20 to 15 earlier visits to the housing project. He testified that uniformed police followed the revolutionaries around each time. He

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Murderers and Proud of It

The morning after, police patted themselves on the back for a job well done—Norman Mayer, the 66-year-old anti-nuke activist who had threatened to blow up the Washington Monument if his demands for an end to nuclear weaponry were not met, had been murdered in cold blood and they made no bones about it. At a press conference, Park Police Chief Herring expressed full satisfaction with the way the situation had been handled. Police, described as snipers and sharpshooters using infra-red night scopes had supposedly been ordered to fire at the engine to disable the moving truck but somehow 4 bullets managed to stray into Mayer's body and head. Bomb experts knew immediately that Mayer was still alive when the truck first overturned—he spoke to them and then lapsed into unconsciousness. Then, handling the situation in the best of police fashion, one heroic officer handcuffed Mayer's hand to the steering wheel to keep him from detonating the explosives which it turned out never existed. A full hour and a half later the medical examiner was sent to make sure the job had been done to satisfaction—yes, Norman Mayer by this time could surely be pronounced dead. Now the truth comes out. The day before the pigs had reported that Mayer had handcuffed himself to the steering wheel to bolster their contention that he had left the monument on some sort of a kamikaze mission. Thank you, Chief Herring, these facts you've provided us have added true depth and meaning to your obligatory police doublespeak: "As police officers, we aim to protect life... and the orders were not to shoot to kill."

The back-patting went all the way up to the top. Even President Reagan took a few moments out from his do-or-die campaign to promote the MX missile to call in his personal congratulations to the Park Police. Vice-president Bush had assured those attending a state dinner for the U.S.' military ruler of Pakistan, Zia ul-Haq that, "the person has been taken care of." His remark set the room a-buzz as some of the dignitaries queried as to what exactly Bush had meant by "taken care of." Apparently, they had not received thorough enough lessons in U.S. gangster terminology. And clearly, there is still a thing or two that any murderous despot in the world could learn from the masters of cold-blooded terror and murder whether it be the art of political assassination or mass slaughter. The remarks of the police, Reagan and Bush attest to the fact that when it comes to dealing with political opposition, the U.S. government does indeed pride itself in its methods of taking care of business. □

Kudos really are in order to the U.S. press, who distinguished themselves by reaching advanced world levels in demonstrating the role of the "free press" in the killing of Norman Mayer. Particularly instructive was the debate which followed his murder, over whether or not the vultures of the press had really done the best job of being parrots for the imperialists or whether the wiser course of action would have been to keep their beaks shut. There were recriminations: *Newsweek* magazine squawked that, "Thanks to massive radio and television coverage, the whole nation in a sense became his captive." The *Washington Post* rebuked one local TV newscaster, who, when the word came out that there had been no explosives, said that the act had still served to "warn the entire world... that we are on the threshold of nuclear annihilation." "It sounded as if the protester had made at least one convert," scolded the *Post* and then went on to warn, "but actually, earlier in the day, when correspondents on various stations

described what effect dynamite would have were it to explode, the average viewer may have begun to think about the damage a nuclear device could do." Thank you, gentlemen for making it quite clear that the day-long attempt to draw all the "appropriate" lessons and bury the real issue which was Mayer's opposition to nuclear war was indeed quite conscious. Admittedly, with other top stories including the President stumping for the MX missile, the European powers squabbling over the best strategy for deploying the Pershing missiles, and how to one-up the Soviets in the upcoming "arms control" talks, it was a bit of a sticky wicket, but overall the press was really right on cue. During the day, the featured story was faithfully played on every channel describing Mayer as "crazy." There were a few problems here, like when one reporter exhibited a quote from Mayer's leaflet which offered "a \$10,000 reward to anyone who can prove that nuclear missiles are a deterrent" a sign of Mayer's "madness" and

only succeeded in exposing his own complete lack of a sense of humor. But overall, there was a definite unity of purpose displayed by the media. Then there was another "ugly incident" when one reporter on the scene at the monument said that after watching Mayer protesting all day, she had begun to "identify with him," but she was quickly put in her place by the host of "The Last (reactionary) Word" who reminded her that, after all, that just goes to show why such people should be shot. Thank you again, sirs, for making it quite plain what had been intended with all the instant newsreels on terrorism that appeared as soon as Mayer had been shot, not to mention the minute-by-minute coverage of the massive police power, and the sympathetic interviews with the Chief of Police about what a hard day it had been for him. Really, you all performed admirably by attempting to justify state terror and murder in cold blood.

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Vultures Exercise Right to Parrot

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Reflections and Sketches by Bob Avakian

The Us vs. Them Decade: Which Way? That's the Question

This is the sixteenth in a series, "Reflections and Sketches," by Bob Avakian. It has been transcribed and edited from a tape. This concludes the series.

I recently read in the *Herald Tribune* a little item in the back pages among their little blurbs where they said that someone who made several million dollars on something (I can't remember who and on what) was sponsoring some concerts around the theme of "The '80s, The Us Generation" explicitly in opposition not only to the '70s with its *me* generation, but more importantly to the '60s with its *us vs. them* content. Translated this really means and will mean, whatever the intent of the people who may be involved in this on one level or another, not *us*, as opposed to *us vs. them*, but *us vs. them — them Russkies*. This is what the class-conscious representatives of the imperialists, in any case the U.S. imperialists and the Western imperialists, are all about and are recognizing more clearly and more urgently the need to rally people around.

While the '70s, with its *me first* and *me, period* orientation did serve its purpose for the bourgeoisie coming off the '60s in opposition precisely to the *us vs. them* orientation, that is the oppressed vs. the oppressors, not only in the U.S. but throughout the world; while the *me first* and *me* character of the ideology promoted by the bourgeoisie in the '70s, which did have a broad influence, served them rather well at that time, the point is that now it won't make it any longer. It doesn't meet the needs of the imperialists and now it is time for them to struggle to a significant degree against at least certain forms of individualism, especially as they pose themselves against the greater collective — that is, national — good. A sharp example of this, and one that was obviously not missed by the imperialists, was the experience they had with their Olympic boycott in 1980 — which it should be pointed out was under Carter and not Cowboy Reagan — an experience where it was clear that if they had left it up to an actual vote of the athletes, they would have very, very likely been defeated and the athletes would have voted to go to the Olympics on the basis that, "Hey, I worked so hard for this and now I want to get the just rewards and the publicity and all that goes with it." And it must be said that the bourgeoisie, especially the U.S. bourgeoisie, has made a special point of promoting this sort of individualism and making it one of its selling points and one of the strong points about its society, but now it needs to curb and rechannel this to a certain degree "for the greater collective good of the nation and of the Western world against the threat of the great totalitarian power in the East. And individualism, too, will not really be able to flower and be realized unless we defeat that totalitarian threat from the Soviet Union."

Social Democracy

But while this new approach clearly serves the interests of, and in many ways is consciously being promoted by, the imperialists it's wrong to think that it can have no attraction among many people who are obviously not members of the ruling class and who more are members of the middle classes in particular. There will be many forces, including especially social-democratic forces, who will also be joining in on this bandwagon, helping to promote it as a transitional program toward then mobilizing people when the showdown comes around a straight-up chauvinist line of *us vs. them* Russkies. There is obviously a social base for this and this idea of *us* all huddling together and of Americanism is what perhaps would have characterized the '60s and even been the dominant line in the movement, had it not been for the events in the world, as concentrated in Vietnam and in the Cultural Revolution in China, and also events within the U.S. itself, as represented especially by the struggle of the Black masses which took on a very sharp and powerful revolutionary thrust. That's a way of saying that there is, and remains, a social base for this kind of line and for a social-democratic line of "Yes, let's make changes, but let's not do it in a form where we polarize things and pose ourselves in opposition to the ruling class; let's emphasize what everybody can unite around, for example the danger of nuclear war, without any content and without struggling against the

imperialist powers as being responsible for this and certainly without posing what is in fact the only resolution of this — revolution. Let's pose what *everybody* can unite around. And let's keep any extremes out of it." Whether well-intentioned or ill-intentioned, this kind of line, which did have an expression in the '60s but was shattered and pushed to the background to a significant degree by the world events and events and upheavals in the U.S. itself, this has not only a social base but will be given conscious promotion by direct imperialist spokesmen and by social-democratic forces in many cases linked to them, with a base, however, among the middle classes.

This poses the more basic question: what kind of period or decade (to use that framework) it is, will be determined fundamentally on a world level, looking at it overall. *But*, and this must be especially emphasized, once again what occurs on a world level has many different streams and many different currents and is made up of many different processes, and still further it includes as a very vital part of that, an extremely influential part, what the revolutionary masses and revolutionary forces do.

The '60s, The '80s and Black People

Taking the U.S. itself, for the moment, as I touched on earlier in terms of the '60s, yet again in the '80s there will be a key role that will be played by the masses of Black people, especially the proletarian masses of Black people. Now one of the things that in general is posing itself, and one of the things that with varying degrees of understanding the masses of Black people are running up against is that the '80s will not and cannot be a repeat of the '60s. That's not to say that among the Black masses there won't be more riots, or rebellions to put it more correctly; there were those before the '60s and there certainly have been since, for example as represented by Miami, and there will be again in the future. But whatever happens, and whatever similarities there may be, what is more important is that the '80s will be qualitatively different than the '60s and cannot and will not be a repeat of it. The same sort of social conditions will not be existing, the same sort of specific transformation of the situation of the Black masses, and in turn the same world situation in which that's situated, all that will not be repeated from the '60s but will find a different and a more concentrated and a sharper and more profound expression in the '80s.

Now I'm not a fortune teller and, as Mao said, Marxists are not fortune tellers, and I don't know exactly what all the forms of the rebellion and uprising of the Black masses will take, even spontaneously, let alone what all the political forms of that will be and the struggle between and among them. And I have a certain sense, sitting where I am, that the Black masses themselves also are not sure what to do. They certainly are not satisfied, and certainly their conditions have not improved but have worsened — speaking of the basic proletarian masses, millions of the basic proletarian masses of Black people in the U.S. — but they've also come to realize the situation is more complicated and there's also a very real feeling, reflecting a real truth, that the masses of Black people did a hell of a lot in the '60s and the motherfucker is still there.

And of course there's also the fact, which I spoke to in another one of those excerpts from the series on party building and related questions in the *RW* No. 154, "Class Polarization Among Black People," there is the fact that that class polarization has developed and sharpened since the '60s and is a much more pronounced phenomenon than it was at that time. This also means that there will be different and conflicting and even opposed responses on the part of Black masses; there will not be, on the part of Black people, one uniform response to the situation as it develops and intensifies, both because there is an intensification of that objective class polarization, and also because of the influence of bourgeois ideology among all class forces in society, including among the basic proletarian Black masses. But still with all that and whatever the particular forms this will assume, more important than these temporary phenomena is the point that Marx made, speaking about the working class in general, when he said that the important thing is not what people think, or the

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A sweeping rewrite of U.S. extradition law is quietly and quickly making its way through Congress. If passed, the Hughes Bill, as it is called, will replace existing U.S. extradition law and provide the framework for redrafting many of the extradition treaties the U.S. has with 93 other countries. Ostensibly meant to aid the government in dealing with "white collar crime," drug trafficking, and "crimes of violence," the bill is really about dealing with "crimes of violence" a.k.a. "international terrorism," revolutionary and other political opposition to the U.S. and the countries in its bloc. The wording of the legislation and even more the content of the proceedings aimed at getting it passed have made this crystal clear beyond any shadow of a doubt. It is, in fact, a blatant move to streamline and strengthen the process of extraditing revolutionaries and other political activists who have come to the U.S. from other countries in its bloc, especially the oppressed countries, and sending them into the clutches of the regimes there for jail, torture, and murder. The U.S., of course, will expect the favor done these governments to be returned in kind when necessary, though this hasn't been much of a problem in the past. The bill will also for the first time explicitly allow for the extradition of U.S. citizens who are charged with crimes for their political activities in other countries back to those countries for trial and punishment.

The Hughes bill is designed to go hand in hand with a whole range of attacks against immigrants from the countries the U.S. oppresses who have been forced to come to the U.S. The already scant political asylum process has been steadily restricted even further and wholesale attacks and programs for terrorizing and suppressing the foreign-born such as the Simpson-Mazzoli bill are in progress. But all of this and the Hughes bill in particular are part of a whole coordinated bloc-wide effort aimed at clearing away legal obstacles to hounding and suppressing political opposition, most especially revolutionary forces, and to pull together a more efficient police apparatus for the same purpose. As the head of the bloc, the U.S. has a special responsibility to lead the way on this front, including in revising its own laws. The Hughes bill is an important part of this and is meant to serve as an example to others who are already proceeding in this direction (see "As the Dust Settles..." in last week's *RW*). As U.S. Justice Dept. spokesman Roger Olsen put it in his testimony before the House of Representatives: "This country's responsibility to the international community and to itself in effectively combatting transnational criminal activity... (has prompted) the United States to much more efficiently and effectively meet its extradition responsibilities in the 1980s... (without this new bill) the United States could be perceived as a haven for terrorists... in an era in which criminals, including terrorists, increasingly attempt to use international boundaries to frustrate law enforcement efforts." Again, the liberal use of the code word "terrorism" which filled Olsen's testimony and a good part of other testimony around this bill. And it would certainly be hard to substantiate any claim that the U.S. of all places has provided shelter and loving care to political opposition throughout the world and within its borders. But of course, Mr. Olsen had only chosen his words for dramatic effect to make the point that the U.S. and allies and puppets have got to urgently prepare for the political turmoil and upheaval ahead where revolutionary struggles are bound to grow and in the context of the approaching world war to boot. He is expressing the urgency felt by all the members of the bloc in perfecting their all-around apparatus for locating, apprehending, imprisoning, and silencing revolutionaries and other political activists throughout the whole bloc, especially those from the storm centers of struggle against imperialism.

Towards this end, a 1976 Council of Europe agreement regarding new extradition procedures was signed, incorporating numerous provisions such as making political offenses no longer non-extraditable. These have essentially been copied in the Hughes bill. Besides the stepped-up use of immigration laws to keep out and deport rebellious immigrants and the tightening up of political asylum laws (perhaps most notably in

Hughes Bill Set for Passage U.S. Sharpens New Set of Teeth

France), in the past few years there have been a number of blatant and outrageous examples of the specific coordination of efforts in targeting revolutionaries. In these cases all previous formal extradition laws and procedures have been openly and blatantly flouted. For example, Hüseyin Balkir was arrested by West Germany for extradition to the Turkish junta where he is on the government's death list in spite of German laws prohibiting such extradition and in spite of the fact that he is an official resident of France with official political asylum protection. France made only the barest necessary formal protest of West Germany's action and the U.S. certainly gave its full approval to the arrest. Darnell Summers was speedily extradited to the U.S. from West Germany to face 14-year-old trumped-up murder charges which had already been dropped at one time. Again, West Germany completely cooperated at all levels in this political attack against a revolutionary. Or take the case of Ziad Abu Ein, a Palestinian youth who was arrested and extradited to Israel by the U.S. at the request of the Israeli government. Once again this was done on the basis of fabricated charges, in this case that Ziad was involved in a terrorist bombing, and in the face of formal laws prohibiting extradition for political offenses. He was extradited despite a 2-1/2-year battle in which reams of evidence was presented refuting the charges against him and substantiating that the Zionist regime's request was nothing more than an overt political attack.

Also, as part of the sweeping revamping of extradition laws, new extradition treaties are being drawn up by the U.S., for instance with the Philippines. Shortly after Reagan and Marcos signed a new treaty, "anti-subversion" charges against 40 Filipinos around the world, including 12 in the U.S., were filed in Manila. Clearly the existence of a growing anti-Marcos movement among the one million Filipinos in this country is a cause of great concern for the imperialists and their client regime in southeast Asia. The portent of this movement growing ever stronger in connection with the liberation struggle in that country has led to the fabrication of criminal charges and extradition requests against selected political leaders and public figures by Manila.

It is in light of this bloc-wide process that the Hughes bill is being pushed for passage. Following are its main provisions.

Redefining the "Political Offense" Non-Definition

Technically, according to U.S. extradition law a person accused of committing a political crime (a term which has, conveniently, never been defined) cannot be extradited to another country. In practice, of course, any alleged offense against a political person whom they were after could simply be deemed "non-political" by the courts and the extradition process would proceed. However, the Hughes bill has carried things a step further by narrowing the non-definition of a political crime. It specifically states that political offenses are no longer to include acts of violence such as incidents involving killing, assault, kidnapping, etc.; those involving the use of firearms; or conspiracy to do any one of these things, which in the imperialists' legal lexicon can be pretty much applied as desired by the government. Participation in or support for revolutionary struggles and

uprisings is definitely the point here. This new definition makes it that much easier for immigrants of any nationality living in the U.S., who have been forced to leave their native country because of their political activities or who are actively supporting the struggles there, to be extradited on the basis of fabricated "crimes of violence" concocted by the regime in that country. And further, "conspiracy" can be interpreted quite broadly indeed. For instance, a Palestinian living in the U.S. could be extradited to the clutches of Israel or one of the reactionary Arab regimes for helping to raise funds and build support in the U.S. for the Palestinian struggle. Or someone from Ireland (or even England) who was doing the same for the struggle in Ireland to oust the British could be extradited at Britain's request for conspiring to commit violence against the Queen's possessions.

The sweeping nature of the rewrite of extradition law even led one perceptive statesman to "worry" aloud that, "One would not want to pass a bill which would enable, for example, the Soviet Union to demand the return of a Solzhenitsyn if he were to publish another book critical of the Soviet Union." The Hughes bill, however, has solved the problem he was referring to, i.e., what about those political figures that the U.S. wants to protect, especially opponents of the U.S.' rival bloc? Simple. The bill is carefully worded. It specifically reads, "... a political offense, *except in extraordinary circumstances*, does not include..." And only the U.S. government is entitled to make the decision as to what constitutes an extraordinary circumstance. In order to leave the door open to not extraditing anyone it wishes for its political purposes, the bourgeoisie has left itself the necessary loophole. As another politician put it, the government has to make careful distinctions between "protecting freedom fighters, not terrorists from extradition." Here again, the blatant political essence of this new legislation is revealed.

With this new definition of political offenses the court proceedings for extradition will be greatly streamlined and sped up. The government wants to limit the ability to wage political battles to defeat attempts to extradite revolutionaries and other political activists. The Ziad case mentioned earlier took 2-1/2 years to complete and much of the battle was precisely around the political offense question. Ziad contended that while he had nothing to do with the bombing he was charged with, the charge in any case was a political offense and not extraditable. The new definition would eliminate this question altogether as far as the courts are concerned. Roger Olsen spoke directly to this case in his testimony, complaining that, "The federal court in this proceeding heard testimony for one week on the nature of the conflict in the Middle East before, during, and after the 1948 proclamation of the state of Israel... as well as the 1967 occupation by Israel of the West Bank of the country of Jordan." He went on to moan, "This example points out, I submit, the nature of the problem facing the Justice Department in its efforts to honor, on behalf of the U.S.,

its treaty obligations." The precise "nature of the problem"? "The opportunity for a public forum to raise these sensitive matters." Numerous other bourgeois representatives have made the same point as Olsen that as long as the political offense rule exists in its current form, extradition cases involving political persons can become public forums and public battles to defeat these attacks involving "sensitive matters" such as the U.S.' and its allies' and henchmen's sordid activities around the world and their political persecution of revolutionaries and others in opposition to them. Related to this, the Hughes bill also takes care of another legal technicality. According to current law, the court hearing in an extradition case in which the political offense exception is raised must also inquire into the "actual motives" of the requesting country for wanting extradition as well as the "human rights situation" in that country. Under the new law, the U.S. Secretary of State will have the sole discretion to look into these matters.

Extraditing U.S. Citizens

Also of potentially great significance is what Olsen noted about the Hughes' Bill's rewrite regarding U.S. citizens. "It will stop the United States from being a haven for Americans who commit crimes abroad and who cannot be extradited under many of our older treaties which preclude U.S. citizens from being extradited to foreign countries." This aspect of the bill too is directly tied up with the imperialists' desire to stem and choke off the spread of internationalist activity. It is especially noteworthy because one of the previously hallowed tenets of extradition law internationally has been that citizens cannot be extradited from their "own" countries. (In fact, Israel, as recently as 1978, rewrote its extradition laws to make it impossible for its citizens to be extradited from there. Israel faces its own particular foreign policy needs in addition to those of the bloc.)

The possible uses of this new section of the bill are endless. Upon the concoction of charges by a foreign government, U.S. citizens, foreign-born or otherwise, could be extradited to countries where they have traveled, reported, provided medical assistance, etc. Or revolutionary immigrants who have become citizens or gained other forms of legal status could all of a sudden find themselves charged with some bogus crime in their country of origin once the U.S. gets their names and transmits these to the foreign country.

Other sections of the Hughes extradition bill specify that upon the request of a foreign government someone can be held for 10 days with absolutely no documentation to back up the request. This ten-day period may be extended indefinitely. Unless the government does not want to extradite the person, he or she will be held without bond. After 60 days, if "evidence" supporting extradition has not been submitted to the federal court by the Justice Dept. (which represents foreign governments in all extradition cases), the individual supposedly will be freed. Except, this 60-day period can also be ex-

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Political Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Daughter A Thoroughly Modern Witch Trial

*Mommies, mommies don't be commies
Stay at home and fold pajammies
Or they'll take your kids away
To live with daddies who build bombies*

So sang a group called Ladies Against Women (LAW) who had come to show their "support" for Judge Ragan and the government's kidnapping of Mao Tsetung Defendant Tina Fishman's daughter in Redwood City, California. Wearing buttons like "I live to clean" and "Better Ted than Red," they announced their "full support" for what had been going on in the courtroom during this highly significant custody case: "Bring back witchhunts. Weed out uppity women through the establishment of HULA Committee, the House Committee on Unladylike Activities. Once identified, why waste taxpayers' money on long drawn-out trials? Wrap them up in a red flag, throw them in the Bay and see if they float or sink. What was good enough for the dark ages is good enough for the Reagan years!" They also supported the First Lady's policy — china now, and curtains later — and chanted, "Push us back, push us back, way back!" and "Keep our nation on the track, one step forward, three steps back!"

Despite the Ladies' best efforts to unite with the spirit of the case, the bailiff cast a somewhat jaundiced eye on their picket signs and removed them from the respectable court of law. Apparently this "support" was a bit too much for the court, which has been bending every effort to carry through with its political attack throughout these hearings, which ended Tuesday, December 14. (Judge Ragan now has 60 days to make his decision.)

These final custody hearings have been a blatant continuation of the attack on the RCP and on women involved in revolutionary politics that this whole case has represented all along. The proceedings have more fully exposed the terms of this battle: Tina's child has been kidnapped and, the threat is, will stay kidnapped, because of Tina's continued work with and support of the RCP and Bob Avakian; in the eyes of the state, this uppity woman has had the nerve to place the interests of the international proletariat and oppressed first and not make her family the center of her life.

The head inquisitor, the very liberal Judge Ragan (What? Me biased? "This weekend I contributed \$5 to NOW.") has continued in the manner set by his ruling last week that politics, despite the originally openly political kidnapping, are not allowed in court (because of: "links, time, and remoteness of issue"). What that means is that he has continued to pick and choose just what is and isn't politics, and what is and isn't allowed in court. He has allowed Murphy, Ted Fishman's lawyer, a hunting license to probe into any activities of Tina's that lead her outside the home; he has tried his best to restrict any exposure from Tina or her lawyers of just what is at stake here and why it is happening.

Murphy probed into Tina's work with the RCP, asking how long she had been working with the party, the amount of time spent, etc. "I understand you describe your activities with your party as conferences, meetings, and distribution of literature, especially the *Revolutionary Worker*. What were your activities on or about June, 1981? How often during a typical week would you attend conferences? Prior to your coming out here in 1981 (for a previous legal battle in this case — *RW*) was your schedule the same? Were your activities the same? The extent of your activities?" While all this was quite within the rules of the court, when Murphy gave an opening for Tina to expose precisely why revolutionary communist work, supporting and joining with the RCP, is precisely what the world demands, Ragan quickly stepped in:

Murphy: "You testified that people should teach their children to be responsible for what is happening in the world;

... what is happening in the world that you are so concerned about?"

Judge: "Please, I have to object to that. I have been trying for 5 days to keep exactly that type of thing out."

Through Ragan's rulings, it has been revealed again and again that what is not allowed in court says exactly what the case is about. One exchange crystallized some of this:

Tina: "This is nothing but a legal kidnapping, because of the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. It was perfectly OK for Rosalind Carter to go all over the world doing political activities. And it was perfectly OK for her to raise her kid in the White House . . ."

Judge: "I will not have terms like 'legal kidnapping' or 'railroad' used in my court. I will not allow you to bring up Rosalind Carter. Rosalind Carter has nothing to do with this proceeding. If you continue to make political statements, this is only going to work against you and it will not go well for you in terms of custody."

Tina: "See! See! He's doing it again. This judge is using politics to take away my daughter, and threaten me so I'll keep quiet."

Judge: "You people question authority. You don't like the police. You don't like the courts. You sit in the back of the court snickering and acting out of order."

Rosalind Carter, and the stark fact that merely mentioning her shows that there is very much a class content to women in the home and to political activity in general, of course has nothing to do with Tina's case. And even more, the mere mention of "railroad" or "kidnapping," and the hint of the conspiratorial hand of the government and political police is beyond the judicial pale. When Eric Seitz, the lawyer for the Mao Defendants, was on the stand to testify about the history of

the case, he was not allowed to testify about the FBI surveillance of Mao Defendants; nor was he allowed to even say what he thought of Judge Browning's original order for the kidnapping of Tina's daughter, after he said that he saw the kidnapping as part of the attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. And in general, discussion of Commissioner Browning and his COINTELPRO past was ruled entirely out of order. As Ragan put it in his upside down way, "This has nothing to do with Chairman Bob, in Paris." Nor, we might add, with the political situation shaping up for the people of the world in the '80s.

Through all this, Ragan tried to keep his own role and the role of the state as the perpetrator of this kidnapping and, in the larger sense, the political attacks on the RCP, somewhat hidden, and keep the shredding "neutrality" of the government intact. Yet the role of the state as enforcer of this political attack and defender of reaction and keeping women in their place stood out especially sharply when the court dealt with the question of the family and raising children. Here again, the method of the "neutral" state mediating the squabble between two different "lifestyles," with only the "interest of the child" at heart was attempted by Ragan. And here especially, the judge, through Murphy and Ted Fishman, gave maximum play to the most backward shit while blacking out the exposure of the rulers' moves to drive women back into the home and enforce blind obedience of every kind.

At one point, Murphy tried to make the point that Tina was an "unfit mother" by getting her to "admit" that she had talked on the phone to her daughter about Bobby Sands and El Salvador, even though "she didn't want to hear about it." He then introduced as evidence

letters Tina had written to her daughter, letters which dealt with political questions. According to Murphy, Tina sent "political materials to your children exclusively; you don't love them."

Continuing in the same vein, Murphy then brought up the movie *Blues Brothers*. "When you told Riva to like the rebellious attitudes like in the *Blues Brothers*, do you mean the lawbreaking activities? What other rebellious attitudes exhibited by the Blues Brothers do you like? You were impressed that she liked the Blues Brothers? You thought she liked the rebellious activities?"

My word, a mother who liked the *Blues Brothers*! Obviously, here's someone who is dangerous and is not fit to be a parent. Rebellion of any kind is just not to be tolerated in the home or anywhere else. For the judge this whole line of questioning was fine — what wasn't fine was any line of questioning that delved into and exposed the nature of Ted's family life (rest assured, not anything like the Blues Brothers). Ted, working in management in the Sunnyvale Lockheed Plant, is quite fine, normal and respectable. (Whether he works in the part of the plant that makes Trident missiles, or the part that makes space lasers, we can't say since the judge declared irrelevant any questioning into Ted's security clearances or his job.) Being a servant of imperialism, living in a reactionary cocoon financed by the spoils of imperialism, suppressing rebellion, keeping out any unsettling or disturbing view of real international and national events is just the way life should be and is "in the best interests of the child," according to the judge. Ragan asked a psychiatrist who testified for Tina if he thought that it would be traumatic to Riva to grant custody to Tina: "What would be your opinion of a

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Infant Mortality in Inner City Detroit

Not long ago the Michigan Office of Vital and Health Statistics released jolting figures. The state's infant mortality rate recently took its greatest year-to-year leap since the '50s. And most revealing of all, the study showed that the number of infant deaths in an inner-city area of Detroit was as high as in the Central American nation of Honduras, reaching 33 deaths per 1,000 live births. While the rate is up sharply around the state as a whole, the infant mortality rate for Black people runs twice as high as for whites statewide. The leading cause of death—low birth weights — is linked with poor health care and inadequate nutrition, two factors directly tied with the growing impoverishment in the state. This figure is an even more stunning indictment of the oppression of the masses of Black people given that this particular neighborhood outlined by Woodward Avenue, West Grand Boulevard, and the Detroit River is bounded by the city's (and some of the country's) most modern, technologically advanced medical facilities — Henry Ford Hospital and the Detroit Medical Center Complex. These institutions literally tower over the area. In fact no small numbers of residents were driven out of their homes to make way for these giants of medical science.

The report generated a certain alarm among bourgeois circles. But somehow it doesn't quite sit right with them that here in this country — the greatest on earth — young Black children have no more of a chance of reaching their first birthday than an infant born in the primitive con-

ditions of Honduras. Memories of sons and daughters, brothers and sisters dead at an early age because of malnutrition doesn't tend to generate the kind of unquestioning patriotic support that will be so necessary in the period ahead. It might be somewhat difficult to convince such folks how much they have to defend here in the good ole U.S. of A.

In response to the report a chauvinist hue and cry bellowed forth. What really got the health agency's goat is that the figures are comparable to those in Honduras. "I think it's amazing, really, that our country has come to a point where we're permitting infant deaths at the same rate as the Banana Republics," said Jeffrey Taylor, Chief of the Maternal and Infant Division of the State Department of Public Health. Yes, but Mr. Taylor, which Banana Republic do you mean? Chiquita Banana Republic? United Fruit Banana Republic? or perhaps the Del Monte Banana Republic? Honduras is in fact one of a number of the U.S.' very own police-state "republics" tied to one-crop economies, be they coffee, tea or sugar. These economies have been systematically warped and distorted to serve the best plundering interests of that source of all light and progress — medical and otherwise — U.S. imperialism. Shortened life spans, famine, disease, vulnerability to natural disasters, are the constant companions of such distorted economies.

But this is embarrassing here in the good old USA. And the Office of Health and Vital Statistics is feverishly working

on a solution. Certainly it won't be the usual combination of Nestle's formula and torture devices exported to "the Banana Republics." Already they've suggested several constructive and effective measures. These include: (1) The so-called encouraging of more pre-natal and preventative services to reduce both the mother's and child's chance of illness (never mind the 2.6 billion dollar cuts in Medicaid funds); (2) controlling environmental hazards ranging from chemical pollutants and drugs to preventable diseases (environmental hazards here do not include poverty); and (3) family planning services to deal with unwanted or ill-timed pregnancies (when it comes to the proletariat and particularly the oppressed nationalities, all of the reactionary "right-to-life" garbage against abortion plainly shows the other side of its face).

But in case these steps don't work in reducing infant mortality and some day soon the oppression that this is one manifestation of does boil over in rebellion and possibly revolution, why they can always use the old big stick that's been swung around the Banana Republics. In fact the old big stick has cut a swath through this particular neighborhood before. Because while 12th & the Boulevard isn't exactly a Banana Republic, U.S. troops have landed there before. In fact the 101st Airborne did a week's worth of pacification duty there back in July of 1967! □

Fissures at Savannah River Nuke

The rural route that cuts south from I-85 in South Carolina, heading toward and partially encircling the sprawling U.S. government nuclear weapons factory, the Savannah River Plant, is a winding and tedious road. Patches of steamy swampland, farmland dotted with cattle, and tiny cotton mill towns interrupt the stretches of pine forest that cover much of the land rising up from the Atlantic Ocean 100 miles away. The main drive through a typical town passes rows of old wood-frame houses packed around the still-operating mills and sweatshops, some of which date from the early 1900s, before the road turns into the business strip. If it were not for the occasional arches of a McDonald's, a surface glance at the scene would give the impression that little has changed here in a long time.

The general setting in this part of South Carolina and the bordering state of Georgia makes the drive into downtown Aiken, S.C. seem like one has just been teleported to the planet of Beverly Hills. Seemingly out of nowhere, BMW sports cars and Mercedes line the streets, parked near fancy fur and jewelry salons and exclusive clothing stores where the local ladies shop for the finest of luxuries. Near the center of town, blocks of elegant homes are quite unobtrusively guarded by private security companies. For Aiken, S.C. is indeed a special place, a chic little town stuck in the middle of nowhere, built to satisfy the appetites of the top-level corporate and government management and high-tech scientific personnel who work for Du Pont at the U.S. Energy Dept. (DOE) Savannah River Plant.

Since 1952, when the Savannah River Plant (SRP) fired up its reactors, the facility has singularly dominated the life and activity of the whole area. The SRP is the only nuke of its kind. The massive 300 square mile facility is the key link in the whole U.S. nuclear weapons manufacturing process, the sole site for the production of all the fissionable material that does the exploding — plutonium and tritium. Employing nearly 9000 people, the complex is the largest "factory" in the state of South Carolina. And the lethal plant and all the glitter that surrounds it is a stark and fitting reminder, in this seemingly backward area, of the U.S. ascendancy to top-dog imperialists after World War 2.

Indeed, the prevailing backwardness of this South Carolina/Georgia border area was most likely one of the chief characteristics that made it a prime location in the first place for the nuclear arms industry's key plant. The construction and opening of the SRP broke the "time-honored" tradition for rural Southern men of "from the farms to the trenches and back to the farms," creating a well-paid labor aristocracy in a state which was in the process of monopolizing the farming industry and where the average wage is the minimum. And there were plenty of red, white and blue boys around to hire and train for these highly skilled and highly sensitive defense jobs.

So in the last thirty years, the immediate area has reaped the benefits of advanced imperialist splendor, including an influx of executives and high-tech upper strata unknown in such quantity before in Aiken, where the only bourgeois who ever came to town were those who winter their race horses in the temperate pastures nearby. All the while, of course, the SRP has churned out enough weapons-grade material to make about 150 of the new jumbo hydrogen warheads each year.

It is also quite fitting that beneath the all-American glitter the whole place is a literal pile of poison. In recent months, it has come to light that along with the bombs, the SRP has been churning out deadly radioactive wastes. The Environ-

mental Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. has detailed at least 75 "accidental releases" of radioactive isotopes from the SRP into the atmosphere. In fact, the greatest amount of radioiodine ever leaked into the atmosphere anywhere spilled out of the SRP from May-June in 1961, an amount that was 10 times greater than the leaks that gained international attention in the Three Mile Island incident in 1979. Yet, this dangerous leak, as well as others, have been hidden by the U.S. government until 1982. The now declassified government test results on these leaks report that as far back as 1956, "the radioactive contamination of vegetation was quite widespread." And the 26 years since the SRP started leaking is only a second compared to the life span of radioactive isotopes, which take up to thousands of years to decompose to the point of being harmless.

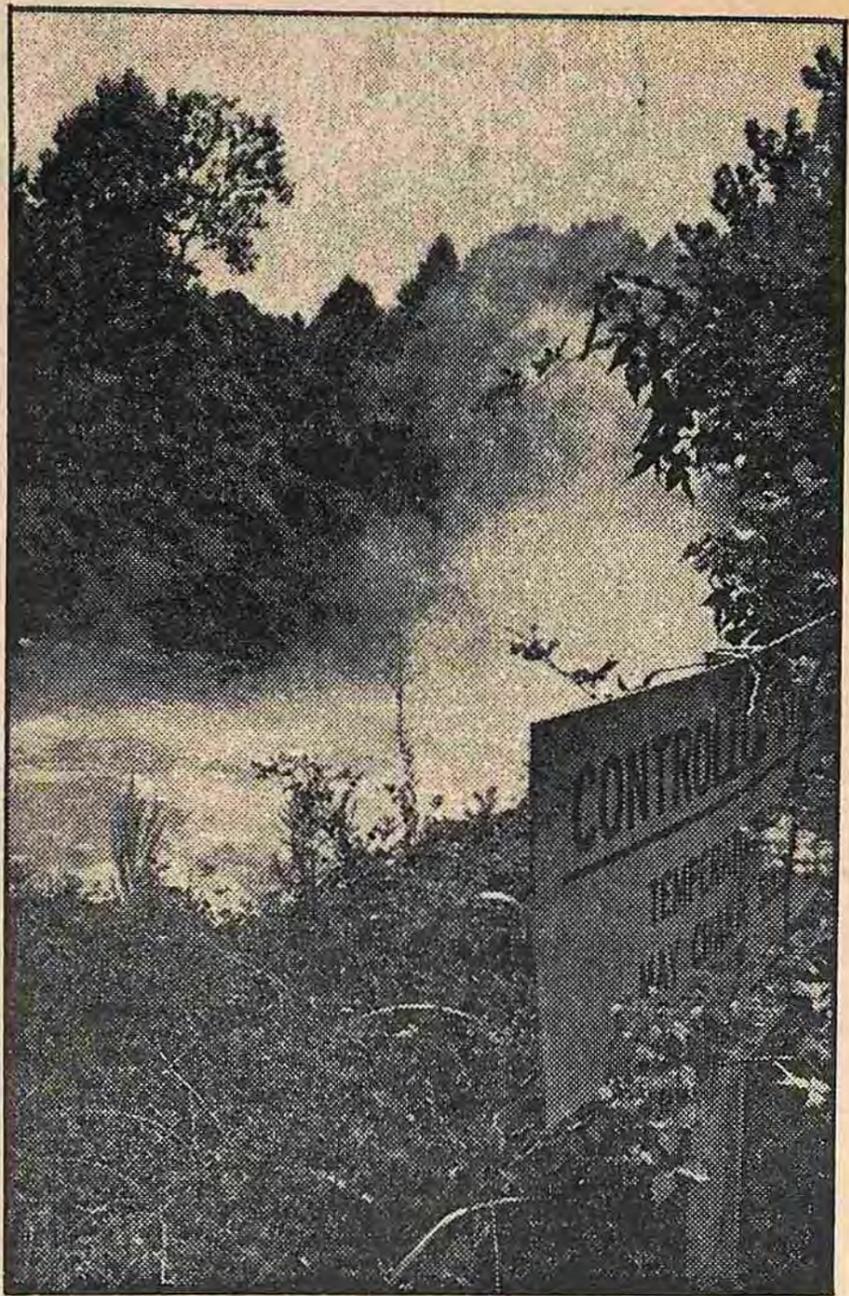
And to make a bad thing worse, nuclear wastes from numerous other areas of the country have been shipped down to the SRP for storage. The federally supervised land is now the single largest repository of nuclear wastes anywhere east of the Mississippi River. The so-called low-level radioactive wastes (like the protective clothing worn by employees in the reactors) are simply buried in open trenches on sections of the SRP land. High-level wastes have been stored in tanks, but some of the tanks are as old as 20 years and eight of them have leaked. On top of that, the tanks were built to last about 40 years, whereas the wastes stored inside them have a life span ranging from 300 to 244,000 years. Radioactive isotopes have been found everywhere in the area in the food and water cycles. It is so bad that even the Coke bottled downstream on the Savannah River has the stuff in it!

Patriotic Poison

To put it bluntly, the whole area is badly poisoned and many people are more than a little shook up about it. A dangerous situation exists for the 700,000 people who live in a 60-mile radius of the huge complex. And since the plant sits only 600 feet above the Tuscaloosa Aquifer, one of the main groundwater supplies for the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, the long-range effects of this radioactive poisoning are potentially devastating. The SRP Chief of Environmental Activities bluntly admitted last August, "The material has gone down farther and faster than we expected. No one was concerned with groundwater when these basins were built." Not that the SRP and the DOE are now concerned! The plant continues to pump hundreds of thousands of gallons of wastes into the open basins near the reactors each and every day.

Already the rates for fetal and infant deaths, cancer and heart disease are higher in many of the counties surrounding the plant than they are in similar rural counties. It has been revealed recently that 25 people, 9 of them past employees of the SRP, have *polycythemia vera*, an extremely rare blood disease that can lead to leukemia, heart disease and stroke. In 1962, not long after the big leak the year before, at least one employee died of a "rapidly progressing white blood cell" disease, and for years afterwards, such diseases were routinely diagnosed as severe cases of *mononucleosis*! It took twenty years of sickness and death before anyone was even told a fraction of the truth about what they had.

To come out publicly against the SRP in the area is treading on sacred ground. But growing concern over the exposure of the contamination has led to a whirlwind of activity, mainly confined to the question of reforming the safety conditions at



The SRP cooling stream, hundreds of thousands of gallons of wastes are pumped into open streams near the reactors each and every day.

the plant. Several national environmental groups have filed a federal suit to stop further funding of the SRP, at least "until the kinks can be worked out." One local city affected by the pollution, Beaufort, South Carolina, directly downstream from the plant, has hired consultants to conduct a private study with the possible aim of joining in the federal suit that's already in the works. Such respectable and official protests were commented on by the Chairman of the S.C. Coastal Commission as follows: "We are in no way opposed to national defense or nuclear weapons production."

A group of past and present employees of SRP called the Atomic Workers Safety Project (AWSP) has been formed to look into the health questions and to try to win workman's compensation for their members. In an interview with the *RW*, a leader of this group, who is himself stricken with *polycythemia vera*, rather sharply revealed an attempt to reconcile the fact that the government has been lying to them and poisoning them to death with a true-blue appreciation for the greater interests of U.S. imperialism. "They are led to believe the same as I was to start with, you might say, that we could eat the stuff," the AWSP spokesman said, and then quickly added: "I am not anti-nuclear. I made the statement one time that if you were in war, back in a battle and you knew you had to take this place and you knew so many people had to be killed in order to do it ... but if it was necessary to take it, why, we went ahead and did so. All right on this, if we've got to have nuclear, I'm for it. But then, I think the people should be told what's happening. We should have quite a bit more studies and then let people know what the risks are." After all, if the U.S. imperialists win the next big one, they might even install safety devices next time around. This broadness of mind for the imperialist cause has, however, not sufficiently convinced the DOE and Du Pont to loosen up much on their lies and red tape. They have refused to release any medical information on their employees, even to the employees' own doctors, and they have also refused to release the results of any of the tests they have done on the health effects of radioactive contamination in the area. Indeed, despite the efforts of such patriotic warriors, the expense involved in even at-

tempting to clean up this mess is an enormous and undesirable addition to an already swollen defense budget, not to mention the fact that there are many people in the area who are very angry, and who do not favor being nuked to death, even if they really do love Uncle Sam.

An Unwelcome Intrusion

In the midst of this scene of polite and patriotic poisoning, there has been a different and, certainly from the government's point of view, unwelcome intrusion by "outside" forces. For over a year the SRP has been the target of a broad range of anti-nuke, anti-war forces in the Carolinas, and the huge facility has been the site of several demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience organized by the National Guard, a coalition of individuals and groups from various political trends including pacifists, reformists, anarchists and some people who identify with the proletarian internationalist trend. Centered in Columbia, S.C., a network of these forces has been pulled together to take on the broader questions raised by the SRP.

Columbia, S.C., the state capital and home of the University of South Carolina's largest campus, is about a 2-hour drive east of the SRP. It has historically been the center of the progressive and revolutionary movement in the state. In the 1960s and early '70s, the student/youth and GI movement against the war in Vietnam hit the city like a hurricane. In 1967, the first GI coffeehouse in the U.S., the UFO, opened in downtown Columbia, a meeting place that attracted GI's from nearby Ft. Jackson (a major basic training center) as well as students and youth opposed to the war from around the state.

Throughout the last half of the '70s, a core group of "'60s people," some of whom had previously worked at the GI project, continued to operate the GROW center, which functions as a radical political center with an anti-imperialist thrust, in the otherwise politically stifling area. A number of youth have hooked up with the project in recent years and the center is known throughout the area as the place to go for radical political activity.

The center is "on the circuit" of various nationwide political movements — a place where newspapers and pamphlets from

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Soviets in Egypt: High Dam, Low Road, Part 2

The following excerpt is taken from a book entitled *Class Conflict in Egypt: 1945-1970*. The book appears under the name Mahmoud Hussein. The English edition was published by Monthly Review Press (second edition, 1977). Sadly, the book is no longer in print.

Our reprint is in two parts. The first installment appeared last week. Both sections deal in particular with the role of the Soviet Union in Egyptian affairs, its political and economic penetration of the area, its connections and relations with the class forces grouped around Nasser (and, on the other hand, those of Nasser vis à vis the Soviets), and the international situation which conditioned these developments. The excerpts are a valuable contribution to the debate on the nature of the Soviet Union, exposing as they do some of the mechanics and motives of Soviet international operations after the restoration of capitalism in that country, but prior to the development of the Soviets' ability to openly challenge the U.S. and the Western bloc on a world scale.

Class Conflict in Egypt as a whole is an extremely enlightening and provocative work. Written between 1969 and 1974, it is clearly a product of the times — a product of the class struggle in Egypt and the class struggle internationally, especially in China. As is stated in the in-

New forms of dependence

The new forms of Egyptian dependence on the Soviet Union developed progressively during the sixties but did not become immediately obvious because they did not resemble the traditional forms familiar to the Egyptian people either politically, as represented by the occupation army or the British embassy, or economically, as represented by foreign banks and entrepreneurs. In particular, until the defeat of 1967, this domination was not translated into direct, concrete, delicate kinds of relationships between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Egyptian people. How, then, can Egypt's new dependence be defined?

It must be understood first that during this period the Russian bureaucratic bourgeoisie's imperialist designs on countries such as Egypt were different in some respects from American imperialist designs. On the basis of this difference, Russian propaganda in Egypt could deny the very idea of Soviet imperialism.

In the first place, the difference lay in the fact that the Russian bureaucratic bourgeois class was of recent origin, and its means of domination and exploitation were relatively less developed and much less powerful than those of the American imperialist bourgeoisie; as a result, its capitalist appetite was relatively more restrained. In other words, it was not driven as strongly by economic constraints as the American bourgeoisie in its search for short-run profitability.

In addition, the Soviet bourgeoisie was building a worldwide empire at a time when world empires were actually disintegrating under the blows of national liberation movements. Therefore, it could not impose on the peoples it sought to dominate the same direct demands the American imperialist bourgeoisie had imposed; on the contrary, it had to present itself to these peoples as being friendly and disinterested.

Furthermore, the formation of this bourgeoisie and its empire out of the decay of the Soviet proletarian state had to be realized within the formal Marxist ideological framework. Though emptied of its revolutionary content,⁵ this framework forced the bourgeoisie to adopt a two-faced political demagoguery during the period when the structure for foreign domination was being built. It was, indeed, the ideological and

5. The principle of a violent political power struggle to break down the imperialist capitalist state and create a new type of state through the growing participation of the popular masses themselves, led by the proletariat, had essentially been abandoned.

roduction:

"This work presents the conclusions of a study of the history of the Egyptian people in recent decades. It is only within the past years that two decisive events have enabled us to systematize these conclusions. The first event concerns the Egyptian people in particular — the growth of the patriotic and democratic mass movement. Stifled since 1954, it experienced an upsurge in June 1967, on the very eve of the defeat of Nasser's regime. This event demonstrated conclusively that the Egyptian masses are the only depositories of the national dignity. The second event is the work of the Chinese people, one which has already become the common property of all the peoples of the world — the great proletarian cultural revolution. The basic revolutionary concepts which it crystallized have demonstrated to the world that no power which represses the creativity of the masses can be revolutionary and that the revolt of the masses against such a power is always revolutionary."

This week's excerpt is taken from a chapter headed: "The New Contradictions of the Capitalist Road (1964-1967)."

political prestige of the Bolshevik Revolution and its Marxist claims that enabled it to disguise its imperialist designs as socialist aid.

While actually seeking to stifle revolutionary struggle and to consolidate through the local bourgeoisies the state-capitalist mode of exploitation, the Soviet bourgeoisie, in order to appear to conform to international Marxist principles, based its expansionist policies and its demagogic propaganda on the donation of large economic concessions to the countries it sought to dominate in exchange for the gradual establishment of political, military, financial, and technical ties. These concessions were presented to these countries as a major means of liberation.

In short, the Soviet Union claimed to be protecting the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples it sought to dominate. In order to be able to meddle in their affairs, it first pretended to espouse their patriotic aspirations. It then led them away from the mass struggle and from the pursuit of extended, violent, political war into the pacific realm of economic goals which served to demobilize the masses and to consolidate the capitalist privileges of the petty-bourgeois elites.

The patience displayed by the new Soviet bourgeoisie and its cautious approach of using aid to exert direct political pressures were an integral part of the Soviet socio-imperialist expansion strategy. Indeed, the second half of the fifties, when this strategy began to be used, was a period when the Soviet Union was extremely isolated from the local bourgeoisies and petty bourgeoisies of the countries the Russian bourgeoisie wanted to penetrate. It was the time of the Cold War, and anti-Communist and anti-Soviet feelings ran strong among these classes. In order to overcome their reservations, it was absolutely necessary for these bourgeoisies to perceive the Soviet imperialist penetration as supportive and advantageous from all points of view. It was a period of preparation and friendly gestures rather than of settling in outright.

During this period of expansion, therefore, the Soviet strategy could not be to establish ties similar, for instance, to those between American imperialism and the Arab oil kingdoms or puppet Latin American republics and to extract scandalous superprofits from them. It could only be to create extra-European areas of influence from which the Soviet bureaucratic bourgeoisie would derive first political and then economic benefits during the sixties.

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1956—Russian bombers arrive in Cairo during the "Suez Crisis."

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The political benefits came from the very existence of a series of client states tied to the bourgeoisie by numerous contracts, agreements, and trade networks. This Soviet bourgeoisie had prestige and increasing capacity to exert indirect pressures on each of these countries as their number and importance grew. These countries provided bases of political and ideological support, relatively stable maritime, land, and air transit channels, and bases of penetration and expansion into surrounding countries. Finally, they gave this bourgeoisie the invaluable capacity to maneuver against American imperialism—at once its ally and rival—to blackmail and bargain with it. In short, the Russian bureaucratic bourgeoisie could not accede to the status of superimperialist power without such zones of influence.

From this point of view, Egypt constituted a major asset in the Soviet social-imperialist strategy. This is a point which many people cannot grasp. When they ask whether or not the Soviet Union drew imperialist superprofits from Egypt, they misunderstand the specific character of Soviet expansionism during the sixties, which used the Egyptian regime as its major support base in Africa and the Arab world.

It is the consolidation of this regime, realized with massive help in capital and in military and civilian technical infrastructure to develop its military and economic foundations, that enabled the Soviet imperialists to extend their political influence and to multiply their financial and commercial ties; in brief, to expand so rapidly toward the west (North Africa), southwest (Black Africa), east (Arab Mashrek), and southeast (the Arabic peninsula, major oil reserve area of the world).

Fiercely nationalist in words, the Egyptian regime was increasingly indebted to the massive Soviet aid for its consolidation, and it thus constituted a Soviet propaganda showcase, displaying to the world the "miracles" achieved by Soviet aid as well as its "disinterested" character, illustrated by the regime's total political "independence." Nevertheless, even during that period the Soviet Union derived some purely economic benefits from its expansion.

These direct economic benefits accrued in the form of supplies of primary materials to the U.S.S.R. in exchange for largely depreciated industrial equipment or industrial and agricultural consumption goods unsaleable on its domestic market. Trade flows in both directions took place at prices approximating those on the world market—that is, at prices determined on the imperialist-dominated world market. Furthermore, the number and diversity of the countries with which these exchanges were taking place themselves represented an important economic advantage for an economic system as complex as that of the U.S.S.R., which was increasingly operating under market laws and conditions of anarchic production; they gave it the increased flexibility it needed by enabling it to import as many as possible of the goods it could only produce domestically in insufficient quantities or at higher costs and to export as many as possible of those which the domestic market could not absorb.

By and large the establishment of these relationships depended on the countries concerned receiving Soviet loans to finance the purchase of Soviet equipment—mostly entire plants to be built and operated and for which technical personnel had to be educated and trained—repayable on a long-term basis in primary products. Usually, the country had become specialized in that primary product under imperialist pressures and now depended vitally on its export. Such a structure of exchanges perpetuated the organic dependence of these countries on the capitalist world market as well as progressively shaping their new relationship of unilateral dependence on the Soviet Union.

If this was the general Soviet social-imperialist strategy, how did it unfold in Egypt? And why did Egypt progressively fall prey to it in the first place?

The regime's leaders never intended to substitute Russian for British dependence. On the contrary, they tried to acquire the maximum freedom by maneuvering between the two blocs to promote industrial diversification and capitalist national development. They saw these plans as leading to the creation of an autonomous base of capitalist development in the world market. The regime saw no way to construct this base except through mechanization according to capitalist norms and with the financial and technical aid of economically advanced foreign countries. Inevitably, therefore, the export of cotton, to which the whole Egyptian economy was geared, became the basis for such development as it was the major source of value exchangeable with foreign creditors. In other words, Egypt's integration into the capitalist world market—its organic dependence on it—was reinforced rather than broken.

The regime considered such policies as temporary, meant to last until the building of an autonomous development base was achieved. In the meantime, it believed it was protected against imperialist designs by its ability to deal simultaneously with both imperialist blocs and to play on their rivalry to preserve its freedom of movement. This stage, the leaders felt—ten to twenty years of dangerous political seesawing between the two blocs—would finally lead to increasingly independent development; only the payment of debts and a few final touches would complete the trick.

This dream crumbled, however, in the years 1960-1961, when the massive Soviet military and civilian aid began to inject life into the Nasserist plans, and in the years 1964, 1965, and 1966, when this aid began to become a fundamental economic and military factor for the regime. Reality was different.

What, then, were the objective causes of this failure and of Egypt's growing dependence on the Soviet Union? They lay precisely in those class contradictions which the regime's leaders were incapable of conceiving of when they launched their enterprise.

As seen above, during their first years in power they were confronted with both the interests of the traditional bourgeoisie and of the Western imperialist states. After 1955 they thought that the rise and

development of the state bourgeoisie, combined with the intervention of the Russian bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the world market, would deeply modify their objective situation. But as a class the state bourgeoisie was incapable of generating an autonomous capitalist development, and the Russian bureaucratic bourgeoisie of supporting such development. Their class interests dictated a different outlook.

We have analyzed the outlook of the Russian bourgeoisie as encouraging some development of state capitalism in order to enable it to penetrate Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. This did not differ essentially from the interests of the other imperialist powers. We have also seen that, once it had become a ruling class, the Egyptian state bourgeoisie's traits and interests were the same as those of the traditional bourgeoisie. Thus, at the end of the period the state power was in the same situation as in the early years, with the capitalist road blocked in basically the same way.

As long as the internal and external changes analyzed above had provided some leverage, the regime had been able to entertain great illusions as to the possibility of unblocking that road and overcoming the crisis. Toward the mid-sixties, however, these illusions were being destroyed one by one. Economic development and industrial diversification were failures whose economic and political effects were becoming increasingly threatening. Economic autonomy was changed into an increasingly direct and pressing dependence on Russian supplies.

Why was the state bourgeoisie, which had recently taken control of all the levers of command in the economy, unable to fulfill the Nasserist plan? We saw that its class interests did not entail total liberation—the destruction of the organic dependence on the capitalist world market; nor did they imply any hostility toward the imperialist states, as long as the country was not occupied in any form. On the contrary, it sought massive aid from all these states to consolidate the capitalist mode of exploitation of the Egyptian people.

Since the Nasserist schemes did not break the framework of organic dependence on the capitalist world market, they fell under the laws of competition, unequal development, and domination of the weaker by the stronger by which this market operates. More precisely, these schemes could only unfold insofar as they were made feasible on the one hand by competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and on the other by all the ties that linked the Egyptian capitalist economic system to the foreign aid necessary to its existence. Inasmuch as competition between the United States and the Soviet Union was turning increasingly to the advantage of the latter and the operation of the Egyptian capitalist apparatus depended more and more directly on its support, the dependence on the world market was changing into an increasingly unilateral dependence on the Soviets alone.

In trade between Egypt and each of the two blocs, the Soviet Union came to take a major share. After 1958, reliance on the Eastern countries tended to increase overwhelmingly, because they were objectively the only ones politically and economically ready to satisfy the needs of the nascent Egyptian state bourgeoisie in terms of industrial equipment and modern weapons. Western countries proceeded to satisfy these needs only when their hand was forced by the Soviets. In the area of army supplies, the Eastern countries, during the years 1956 to 1958, had laid the foundations of a military apparatus in such manner that afterward it could only develop along Soviet lines. This vital domain was now exclusively theirs.

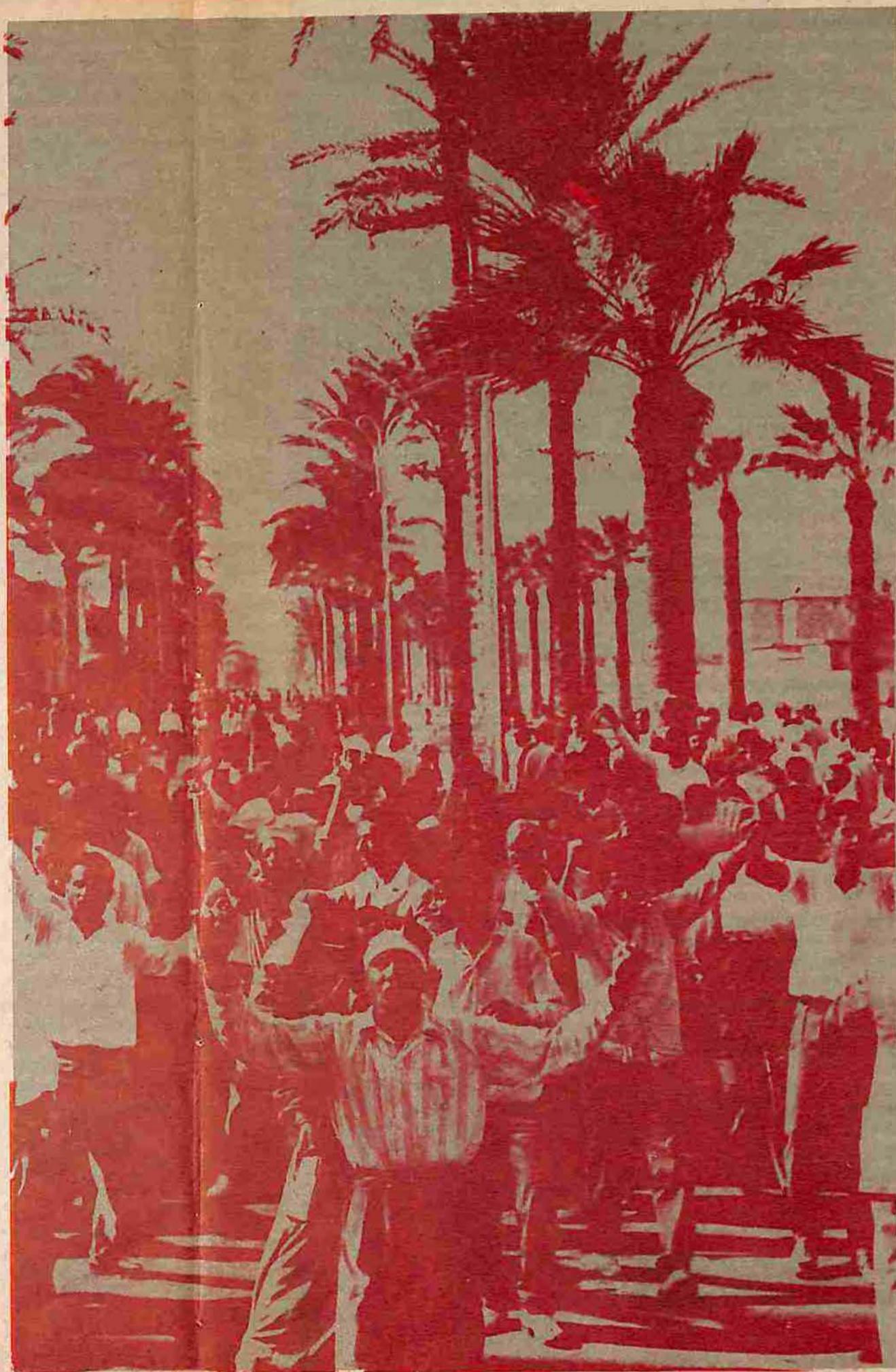
In the area of civilian industrial supplies, competition between the two sides was real. After 1959, not only were the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Japan encouraged to challenge the Soviet Union; even England was. Key areas, however, such as the High Dam, the chemical complex (K.I.M.A.), iron and steel (with which German capital was first associated but progressively replaced by Soviet capital), and other heavy industry materials were gradually handed over to the Eastern countries. Between 1961 and 1967, the Soviet Union came to occupy a predominant role even in the area of civilian goods, industrial as well as agricultural, and became indispensable in such areas as wheat supply, which had come from the United States until 1966.

Two major factors explain why the Soviet Union was led into this position. On the one hand, its overall imperialist designs, analyzed above, were perfectly adapted to fit Nasserist plans, unlike those of the Americans; on the other hand, the United States and its allies could not hold out indefinitely against the Soviet bourgeoisie's competition after this had taken the lead mentioned earlier and especially after it had decided to make a showcase of Egypt. This is where the major flaw in the Nasserist game of seesaw politics between the two blocs lay.

With the development of the new relationships with the Soviet Union, which, as we shall see later, determined new kinds of international competition less damaging to the two camps, the United States began to count on bases of support other than Egypt. Without breaking its ties with Egypt, it began to reduce its thrust in that unfavorable area and to try gradually to establish a network of solid bases in Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Morocco, and, above all, in Israel. It thus sought to stifle and break down the Nasserist experiment and, with it, the example it set for other countries—that is, ultimately, it sought to destroy the prestige of the Soviet Union.

After the turning point in 1955, therefore, United States policy went through the following stages. During the crucial years 1955-1958, it was characterized by its incapacity to comprehend the phenomena brought about by the Soviet emergence on the stage of the capitalist world market. As a result, its only stand toward the Nasser regime and other similar nationalist regimes in other parts of the world was either to win them over or to overthrow them.

After 1959, however, witnessing the failure of direct aggression or a blockade to overthrow the Nasser regime, the United States was encouraged by its anti-Communist policies to attempt to win over the regime again, particularly by supporting the reinforcement and develop-



Cover picture from "Class Conflict in Egypt."

ment of the traditional bourgeois sector, the stronghold of Western influence. The 1961 measures and Egypt's ever more massive reliance on the Soviet Union then led the United States to define a more limited line of action: it made loans which slowly nibbled into areas of definite interest, promoting American influence in Egypt and enabling the United States to take advantage of all the contradictions which inevitably broke out within the ruling class—and even the state bourgeoisie—and thus scoring as much as possible against the Soviet Union. Finally, after 1964-1965, it turned to a systematic policy of encirclement of the Nasser regime (to be discussed later), leaving the Soviets to play the major role inside Egypt itself.

It must be emphasized, however, that the United States did not seek to break all political and economic relationships with the Nasser regime. This was because the United States saw the Egyptian regime as effective in repressing the popular masses and as an element of anti-Communist repression in a certain number of Arab countries. The aim, therefore, was, if not to win over the regime, to replace it with a more submissive one—without fostering a true popular upsurge or the definite consolidation of the Soviet hold on the country by a drastic weakening of the regime. The contradictions of the regime were therefore to be used to regain the ground lost by the West after 1956.

While Egypt's freedom of movement grew narrower as a result of the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, ever tighter direct ties were being established between the Soviets and the Egyptian state economic apparatus. The Soviet Union had now become the cornerstone in Egypt's dependence on an external market for the sale of its cotton crop. This relationship could not be changed because the massive Soviet aid had been given in exchange for the mortgaging of the cotton crop for several years to come. Cultivation of cotton was

expanded in spite of the rising grain needs—especially for wheat, which was the staple urban food. Approximately half the country's wheat requirements had to be imported during these years. At first, the United States took advantage of this need to exert leverage on the regime. But as its policy of encirclement took clearer shape in 1966, it stopped supplying wheat just when the national stocks were almost exhausted. The Soviet Union then stepped in, thereby reinforcing the unilateral nature of its relations with Egypt.

Why, then, was it impossible, within this context, for Egypt, after a decade of concentrated effort, to construct a solid industrial basis by which it could progressively disengage itself from these constraining ties? Why was it that the Nasserist schemes had to create a dependence-generating process? It was because the class interests which dominated the Egyptian economy did not identify with the extended, concentrated effort necessary to achieve an independent economic base; because neither the Egyptian state bourgeoisie nor the traditional bourgeoisie had the class vocation to organize collectively or to arouse the collective enthusiasm of the working masses to implement such a policy. The capital provided by domestic capitalist accumulation and, above all, by the Russian bourgeoisie would not be systematically invested in the industrialization effort: on the contrary it would increasingly be swept up by members of the Egyptian bourgeoisie and withdrawn from the central productive apparatus, especially from primary industry. The centrally planned, expanded capitalist reproduction was therefore rapidly paralyzed.

Furthermore, the production apparatus was progressively disorganized and corroded by inefficiency. First of all, the productive masses were not concerned with the capitalist industrialization effort and even learned to use the "rights" granted to them in July to resist

work speed-ups, stronger disciplinary measures, or the pressures of the leadership. Besides, the economic leaders were concerned with accumulating personal wealth and escaping central control, worried about their personal future, and furthermore incapable of imposing absolute capitalist discipline on the workers; they were incapable of achieving a minimal level of capitalistic productivity within the state economic apparatus.

Hence, Egypt's indebtedness to the Soviet Union became a tie of financial dependence, not only because the early debts could not be honored, but because the development of personal wealth among the state bourgeoisie, and the accompanying anarchy, waste, and sabotage, increased the foreign debt, while also depressing the real purchasing power of the working classes. In the international context described above, the Egyptian state power turned to the Soviet Union to solve the increasingly tangled problems resulting from the anarchy of production—bottlenecks, shortages created by illegal stocking of consumption goods, raw materials, and spare parts necessary for production; and repeated state budget deficits resulting from the drain on public resources caused by the bureaucratic management of the various sectors of the state apparatus.

The same process now taking place under Nasser, with respect to the Soviet Union, had occurred before in Egypt with the growing dependence on England because of the foreign debt under Khedive Ismail. The High Dam was now replacing the Suez Canal as the symbol of the debt. Indeed, the Russian bourgeoisie could now exert pressure on the Egyptian bourgeoisie for the first time. Familiar unassailable arguments were presented to support these pressures: since the Egyptian economy now bore a huge debt, the intervention of Soviet specialists in the decision-making process for major economic projects was necessary to protect the Soviet people's interests; and, of course, their advice and preferences carried a special weight.

We will attempt in the next section of the book to evaluate numerically the financial and commercial obligations contracted between Egypt and the Soviet state; but we must first underline a special aspect of the Egyptian dependence often left unmentioned—the technical aspect. Foreign technical aid *as such* need not result in ties of dependence, although under certain circumstances it may; in the case of Egypt it did so.

It can be said that around the years 1965 and 1966 Egypt's modern industry and regular army depended on a technical apparatus concentrated in a single country outside Egypt, an apparatus which Egypt had no capacity to control or reproduce. Had the class in power in Egypt been able to organize a collective national production effort, this dependence could have been temporary. In that case the Egyptian people could have mastered the Soviet technical system after a decade or two through creative assimilation. Furthermore, their technical dependence would not have provided foreigners with leverage. The united and mobilized Egyptian people could have withstood such pressures, if need be at the cost of heavy sacrifices, by foregoing some technology.

The basic condition for independence—that is, the capacity to withstand various foreign pressures—and the only possible class basis for such independence—the organization of the creative collective effort of the masses—are emphasized here again. For a country to be independent the masses must be self-reliant, must develop their productive capacity, must rely on domestic capital accumulation and on national resources. That way their creativity can blossom, and they are protected against any form of dependence; for indeed, the end of self-reliance implies dependency on someone. From this point of view, foreign loans and credits not only must be a secondary and complementary means of promoting development, to be dispensed with if they threaten independence, but even foreign technical assistance must remain limited; otherwise it becomes a means of pressure in the hands of the "assisting" foreign class.

Under the Nasser regime it would have taken Egypt an extremely long time to master the technology on which it relied since, as we have seen, overall economic development was blocked. For Egypt to acquire the capacity to control the Soviet technical means on which its industry and army relied—that is, the capacity to operate without Soviet technicians, managers, technical patents, spare parts—necessarily meant drastic qualitative improvement in its economic potential. Without it, Egypt was trapped on its own soil in the enormous technical and economic apparatus which only the Russian bourgeoisie could control.

We must insist on this point.

The Soviet military industrial technology was the product of several decades of accelerated development. In basing its own development on such technology, Egypt did not merely import a few machines. Henceforth Egypt would be, above all, dependent on the Soviet Union for delivery of hundreds of thousands of special parts indispensable to heavy industry, which for a long time it would be unable to manufacture itself, since it did not possess the qualitatively advanced infrastructure necessary for their production. (There are tens of thousands of special parts without which machines or plants cannot operate.)

Furthermore, a technology entails not only production formulas, but also specific organizational forms of the production process. While it is possible for the local cadres of one or even a few factories to learn these methods of organization through a concentrated effort and with the help of a few foreign technicians and the required training programs, the problem is quite different where several hundred plants—a country's vital complex—are concerned. To be able to insure the functioning of this complex without having to depend on a foreign power requires the acquisition of the overall scientific and technological capacity needed to dominate the entire production system and its methods of operation. When the Egyptian economy begins to rely on the production system of a country such as the Soviet Union without being

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able to assimilate this system because of its own rudimentary economic base, it becomes meaningless to speak of autonomous Egyptian development.

It becomes even more meaningless when technical dependence extends to military matters where, even more than in the civilian area, technical homogeneity is a necessity. A large army should not be supplied with both Russian and American military equipment because the different branches—infantry, artillery, armored troops, etc.—and the various light and heavy armament levels are complementary. They constitute an armament system with all the organization and tactical methods that this word implies. The naval and the air forces may have relative autonomy from the army, but the latter must have a homogeneous technical structure.

The Egyptian armed forces were completely equipped, trained, and organized by the U.S.S.R. Whenever they needed to replace or modernize arms or urgently needed new ones, as after June 1967, there were only two possible alternatives: to manufacture them in Egypt using Soviet processes or to request them from the Soviet Union. They could not, for instance, turn to the United States. And in order to solve the problems of operating a Soviet-type military system and of training technicians and cadres at all levels, they could also only rely on the U.S.S.R. The Soviet influence would henceforth be predominant because of the technical reliance of the industry and the army, the two pillars of the regime.

Finally, how can the actual political relationships, the set of ties established between the Soviet Union and Egypt which determined the latter's overall concrete degree of dependence, be defined? First, it must be repeated that one cannot look inside Egypt to find the center of Soviet domination. Though it was increasingly consulted, the Soviet embassy in Cairo did not play a similar role to that of the British embassy before 1952. While no less real, Soviet domination was exerted from outside, through indirect means. As a result, the state power fell under its sway and was left defenseless.

These implicit forms of domination resulted from the fact that Egypt's dependence on the capitalist world market increasingly took the character of unilateral dependence on the U.S.S.R. and that the relations thus established concerned sectors essential to the regime, becoming, therefore, firmly stabilized. We must ponder on this transition from a multilateral to a unilateral dependence.

So far we have seen how the transition took place between one stage of the Nasser regime's consolidation and the other; now, however, we must try to take an overall view of the internal logic of this process. In other words, we must understand why the fulfillment of the petty-bourgeois elite's aspirations necessarily depended on its ties with the U.S.S.R. in particular; why the game of seesaw politics between the Soviet Union and the United States could lead to the state bourgeoisie's hegemony only if it actually reflected a process of satellization toward the U.S.S.R., regardless of the subjective consciousness and will of the ruling team.

Throughout the stage of competition between the two powers, the Soviet Union assumed the role of the driving force behind the interests of the rising elite, while the United States only acted as a counterweight in its various interventions, such as the economic blockade, the political encirclement, or its aid in the form of loans or wheat supplies. The necessary condition for the petty-bourgeois elite to become the ruling bourgeoisie was for the Soviets to become an overwhelming driving force in comparison with the United States' counterweight. The dependence of the petty-bourgeois elite on the Soviet Union lay objectively in the fact that the strategic interests of the Soviet social-imperialist bourgeoisie were the only ones to coincide with the elite's own class aspirations.

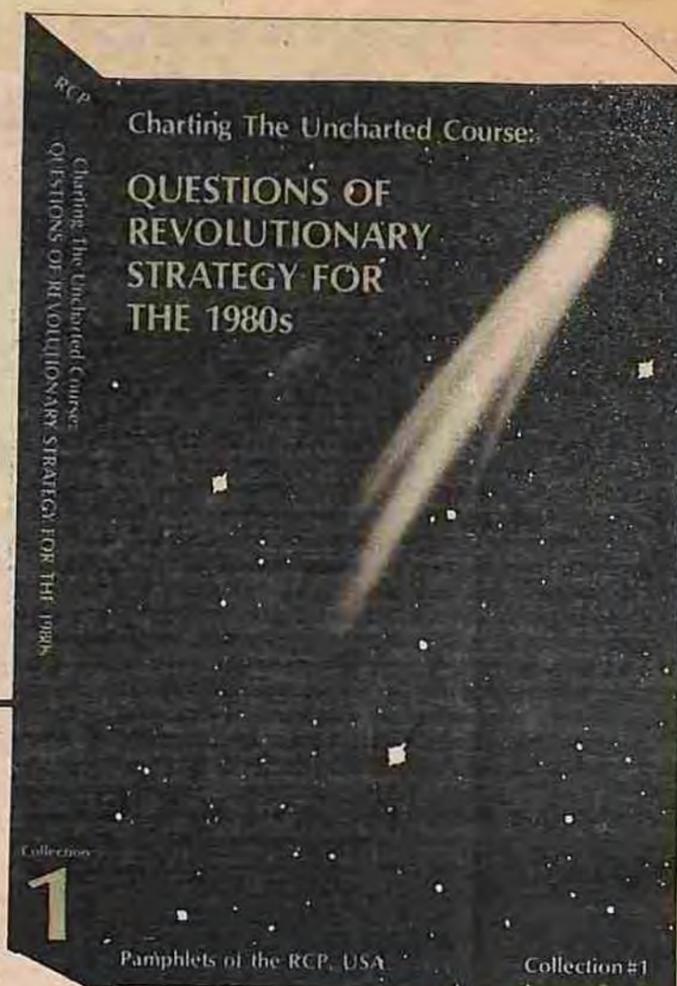
The role of the Soviet Union in the changes in Egypt was therefore decisive not only because of the importance of its financial and technical aid to the state bourgeoisie, but also, and more basically, because of its presence as a neo-imperialist power, which altered the political and economic framework of the American imperialist strategy, leading it to take some part in the temporary consolidation of the Egyptian regime. This phenomenon became clearer with the rise of the petty-bourgeois elite. It was obvious as early as 1955, when the West withdrew in favor of the Soviet Union from the competition for equipping the army.

Between the time of the Canal's nationalization and the tripartite aggression, the United States tried to save what it could by exerting a moderating influence on the British and the French while maintaining a constant pressure on the Egyptian government to make a compromise which the world would interpret as an Egyptian pullback. In contrast, on the basis of its long-term strategy, the Soviet Union sought to enhance the Nasser regime's image; to give it a prestigious aura by insuring its spectacular victory over the British and the French. And, as we have seen, anti-imperialist prestige was precisely the major benefit to the regime of the events of these few months, its major source of political good will. The United States was opposed to Egypt's gaining this prestige, while Russian plans required the regime to have it.

During the time of the Western blockade (1957-1958), the regime survived only because the U.S.S.R. broke the blockade and offered the money, arms, and crucial goods it needed. In 1959 this situation in turn led the United States, echoed by the Federal Republic of Germany and the other American satellites, to offer loans and heavy equipment.

From 1959 to 1963 the Egyptian regime was in sharp conflict, first with the Kassem regime, then with the secessionist Syrian regime. As the Soviet Union was seeking to build a base simultaneously in each of the three countries, it did not adopt the Egyptian viewpoint; Nasser then repeatedly tried in vain to reestablish more friendly relations with the United States.

From 1964 to 1967 the growing disorganization of the economy and the weakening of the regime led it to rely increasingly on the Soviets.



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This weakening was a source of concern to the U.S.S.R.; it threatened its plans for the penetration of the Middle East while it played into the hands of the United States.

In brief, for the state bourgeoisie to assume leadership of the country, Egypt had to submit to the predominant influence of the Soviet Union. But, once this influence had been established, the state bourgeoisie tried to oppose it as it began to realize that Egypt had lost its freedom of movement.

As the Nasser team, bearing the illusions of the petty-bourgeois elite, had, in 1952, believed it would be able to lead the traditional bourgeoisie on the path to industrialization, so the state bourgeoisie drawn from that elite, as it acceded to economic power between 1961 and 1963, believed that, once settled, it would be able to stop the Soviet penetration and reopen Egypt's doors to the West. Not only was it grossly mistaken, but in June 1967 Egypt would in fact find itself in complete military and economic dependence on the Soviet Union. The United States, through Israel, was now playing the role of aggressor, actually leaving the Russians and their satellites as the exclusive foreign presence in Egypt. For the first time, the country's leaders became sensitive to the direct presence of Soviet "advisers." Thus, Egypt's new dependence on a foreign country was taking shape. Ten years after it had broken British domination, Egypt was falling under Soviet domination.

Interview with Darnell Summers

The Political Police and

the Flip,

Flop,
Flip

The following is an excerpt from a telephone interview with Darnell Summers which aired on the "Inside Outside" show on FM station WPFW in Washington, D.C. The interview has been slightly edited for clarity by the RW.

Darnell Summers: This is Darnell Summers.

Ray Whitfield: This is Ray Whitfield. We have in the studio here with us Sean Levine, Alan Barysh and Ms. Lovette Dix, all part of your support committee. And we want to welcome you to the District via this telephone hook-up. Give us a little bit of your story. I'm very interested in a capsulized version of what happened while you were on leave in Inkster, Michigan.

Darnell: Let me start just a little bit ahead of that.

Ray: OK.

Darnell: I went into the army in November 1966. I think it was November, 18, 1966. And actually the day before I went to the army I was at an anti-war rally at Wayne State University; so when I went into the army it was with a definite position against the war. And based on some experiences that I had in the war in terms of the whole question of national oppression in the army and the thing they were running on the Indochinese people at that particular time, the Vietnam war and just a whole lot of things that were coming down, I began really to intensely hate the United States government and the army of course. So when I came back to Inkster, Michigan I was on leave. In fact, I had been threatened in Germany with either going to Vietnam or going to jail so I opted for going to Vietnam and at least being able to come home. So that was the kind of mood, the kind of ideas I had in my head right then.

Ray: That was your frame of mind right then.

Darnell: Exactly. I was really hostile to U.S. imperialism. So I came home in the summer of '68, which incidentally was about a year after the rebellion in Detroit and coming off of that experience. A couple of things in terms of the rebellion in Detroit. I was on alert at my last duty station before I went to Germany which was in the military district of Washington. So the experiences I was having as a soldier — being faced with the possibility of having to go into Detroit, my home town and having to turn this gun on the masses of people was a distasteful thought. So after I left Washington and went to Germany and had those experiences of being threatened with incarceration and the orders for Vietnam, and then coming to Inkster, my frame of mind was definitely hostile in terms of U.S. imperialism.

So coming to Inkster there was a whole lot of other people home for the summer. Naturally school was out. We had people coming from universities out of state, people who were out of jobs or people just out of high school and what have you and so when I came home in June of 1968 a lot of people were caught up into the '60s. There was a lot of political discussion going on and a lot of people were reading a lot of revolutionary literature. Mao Tsetung, people were reading Malcolm X, other people were reading some other things and it just so happened that some things were going down in the community that had a lot of people uptight about what we could do about it. And we began to meet with a lot of people, just basically at first informally; and then people started to say since we're meeting why don't we try to take some kind of an action so one of the things we tried to organize around was the institution of some kind of a cultural center where people could institute some programs that were community run. We were looking for a building to house this program and there was an old recreation center which had been closed down and was being used at that particular time as a warehouse and so we went to the city and demanded that they turn over this building to the community and after a lot of struggle and two or three meetings where we besieged the council meetings with about two or three hundred residents they capitulated and turned over the building to the people of Inkster. After we got the building we

decided we'll change the name from the Harrison Recreation Center to some other name and the consensus was that we should change the name to the Malcolm X Cultural Center, because I believe that a lot of people were accepting that particular analysis that Malcolm had at that time, in terms of like not prostrating oneself or supplicating oneself or just getting on your knees and begging the bourgeoisie, the ruling class, the government for anything and being more militant. So people kind of dug that kind of position and wanted to honor Malcolm and so we named the building the Malcolm X Cultural Center. Of course when the people who had given us the building, or from whom we had taken the building rather, got wind of that, they were very angry and said, "Why did you name it after Malcolm? How come you didn't name it after this guy or why didn't you name it after this person?" And then, in the final analysis, it was, "Either you change the name of that building or there's going to be a problem." So people just took up the struggle of fighting against the name change, against people coming into the Malcolm X Cultural Center and co-opting it and making people sell out. Things happened off of that.

Ray: OK. And what happened? Evidently there was a police clash or something there.

Darnell: Well, there had been police clashes a number of times... And we've since been able to receive some police documents, some police intelligence reports, and these documents indicate that the police even before we had the Malcolm X Cultural Center, before it was even part of the demands of a group of citizens that came together to institute a political and cultural program, even before any of this transpired, the police were there with their intelligence squads, the FBI, the CIA, the Michigan State Police and the famous red squad. In fact, the policeman (Robert Gonser) that was allegedly murdered was a member of this red squad. And so what we had was a situation where the police had already come into the community and a number of people were under surveillance. The police were just conducting a program of terror and provocation. I don't want people to get the impression that there was just this one clash, for there was a situation of continual clashes with police on the question of who was going to run the community... As I said before, we are in possession of documents which clearly indicate the thoroughness of the government's surveillance and other tactics to like thwart or destroy revolutionary activity in Inkster specifically and throughout the country. It's just amazing the kind of like things we're finding out. For instance, there were several meetings conducted in Detroit where representatives from many different organizations were present. We find that the lists of the attendance of the individuals is extensive. They even go into the meetings and try to imply that we were talking about guns and tanks and missiles and what have you. When I do have the material available I will gladly come and read some of the material to people so they can just hear the kind of nonsense that was being put out there. But it shows very clearly that they wanted to isolate people and criminalize a lot of the activity that was going on, I mean turn us into criminals so they could move on us, like they moved on Fred Hampton, like they moved on Malcolm X, like they moved on a number of people.

Ray: But eventually two things happened: a young boy got killed, I believe, and a policeman got killed. Can you tell us about your involvement in that?

Darnell: Of course my involvement with the police officer's murder is nonexistent. That whole case was manufactured and fabricated by the Michigan State police, the FBI and the United States government in general.

Ray: In fact, you were brought to court for that and the case was thrown out at that time.

Darnell: The case was thrown out not because our lawyers had made a motion for dismissal but because the prosecution had made a motion for dismissal. The Wayne County Prosecutor at that time was named Jesse Egleton. And Jesse Egleton petitioned the Court to dismiss the case because their eyewitness, Mr. Milford Scott, recanted his testimony and said that I had nothing to do with the murder. He wasn't there and couldn't testify to anything. And plus he said that he had been coerced by the police to give that statement. So that was pretty clear at that point and they dropped the case. On the question of Jimmy Matthews, the 14-year old youth, who was by the way coming up to the Center and participating in the Center programs, he was gunned down and I read a police report and nobody was ever indicted for his murder. The young man was actually murdered in the street and nothing was ever done about that.

Ray: And when you were charged with murder was there somebody else charged along with you?

Darnell: Sure. Another comrade, a brother who is now deceased — he died in a swimming accident that was very shady — this brother was charged with murder and Gail Simmons was charged with murder. Incidentally the main witness in the crime, Milford Scott, was never ever charged with the murder. He was supposed to have been one of the people who took a shot at the police officer.

Ray: What I'm trying to get the listeners to cue in on is Gail Simmons and Milford Scott. Milford Scott initially said that you had nothing to do with it and he was nowhere around so therefore he couldn't testify against you and Gail Simmons. Am I correct?

Darnell: What was the last part?

Ray: He couldn't testify against you and Gail Simmons because he wasn't around and didn't know of your involvement in anything like that.

Darnell: That's correct. And not only that, and I want to underscore that he was coerced. The story was a complete fabrication.

Ray: And what year was this?

Darnell: This was 1969.

Ray: OK. Now let's come up to 1981 and 1982 and let's hear about these new charges that caused you to be extradited from Germany.

Darnell: Well, essentially what happened was in June of 1981 a warrant was issued for my arrest.

Ray: For what?

Darnell: For murder.

Ray: Of who?

Darnell: Of this Robert Gonser.

Ray: That happened in 1968?

Darnell: Right. Fourteen years later. And what's interesting in terms of even the arrest warrant is that from June 10 of 1981 up until February 20th of 1982 they did absolutely nothing to attempt to extradite me. All right. There was no fugitive warrant issued or anything, just an open warrant against me for this murder. All right. It would seem to me that maybe they were trying to provoke me into running or something of that nature so they could come after me. But I think after they saw that I was just going to stay put, that I was standing fast and that I was not going to buckle, they went on another campaign and tried another tactic. In fact,

they tried to say that I was a fugitive which is utter nonsense because I've had a valid passport for over 10 years. When you go to Germany, live in Germany, you have to register and on January the 5th of 1982 which was in the period of them not doing anything about the murder warrant, I went to the Consulate in Frankfurt and applied for the passport and asked them did they have any intention of extraditing me for this murder charge. And they wrote me a letter and said no they did not. That was January the 5th of 1982. February the 19th of 1982, a little over a month and 10 days later, they arrested me and put me in jail in Mainz, Germany for 5 months. And it was after 5 months of extradition proceedings that they brought me back to the States. The question of the extradition — the Germans are supposed to require certain documents to prove that, number one, the incident took place, that I am the person that they seek in the warrant and also they must have an affidavit signed by someone that alleges that I committed the crime, a witness or some kind of material evidence. And the only statement that they had was from Gail Simmons and Gail Simmons had stated in her statement that I and Milford Scott and Carl James and herself were present in the car that she was driving and that I had shot Robert Gonser, along with Carl James and Milford Scott. At that particular time that she had made that statement, she was out on personal bond. When I came back to Inkster, or to the United States and subsequently to Inkster, Miss Simmons recanted that testimony and said that it wasn't true and the only reason she had said it was because that was the script that she was given to read and that she was coerced into it; she was threatened with prison and with death if she did not sign the statement against me. And she said, well they wanted to get Darnell, they wanted him real bad and for her just to stay out of jail she signed the statement and she went to the news, the *Free Press*, and to everyone and said, hey, this is a lie. And what happened after she recanted her testimony was they were forced to go back to the testimony of Milford Scott. When he came to the examination of the murder charge in July of '82, he testified to the exact same things he had testified to in 1969. In other words, he testified to the same lie. He had flipped and flopped and flipped again.

Ray: And currently that's what you're being charged with, the same murder and a rehash of discredited witnesses one more time.

Darnell: Right. I don't think we can over-emphasize that it was a flip, a flop, then a flip and that also that their main witness, the main witness that they used to facilitate my extradition said emphatically that it was all lies and that they had pressured her. The only thing the authorities have responded to in terms of the threat on Miss Simmons is, "Well, that's ridiculous. We won't even entertain that with a comment." And so they're trying to cover up this thing. It's a very vicious attack, you know, and it's the kind of attack being placed on revolutionaries throughout the country and the world. They're very serious about what they're doing and they know the stakes are very high. They know we've reached a period in history where things can go a few ways, all right, and it doesn't look like it's going to go their way and we're working so it won't, we're working so that we can overthrow them and they're worried about it and they're working on it in a very diligent and ruthless way.

Ray: Hey, Darnell, the program that follows us, we're supposed to be off the air at 11:30 and the program that follows us has been kind enough to allow us these few minutes, and I was going to ask you to say a last few words to our listening audience here in Washington, D.C.

Darnell: What I'd like to say is number one, I'd like to thank the people who run the program and yourself, for giving me the opportunity to speak. I think any time people have an opportunity to put forward revolutionary ideas it's a very important step forward. I want to say emphatically that I'm for revolution. I'm not going to let this turn my head and I think a lot of people should think seriously about the situation and not be cynical and not think that there's nothing we can do because I think that there's a great possibility for us to do things in the next period. And all I can say is that the only solution is proletarian revolution. □

Savannah River Nuke

Continued from page 6

various trends make their way into the hands of those who drop by for discussion and debate. Various trends are represented, including activity against U.S. involvement in El Salvador under the auspices of CISPES, which is dominated nationally by revisionists, and local prison reform organizations. There have been a series of political forums reflecting the proletarian internationalist trend on support for the Iranian revolution and the defense of Mao Tsetung, and a few who work at GROW have joined the battle for revolutionary May 1st in past years.

It is from the GROW center that the call went out for a major demonstration at the SRP, a call signed by 11 organizations from six states. The date was set for Memorial Day, 1982, which was chosen, as one participant quipped to the *RW*, because "We figured that we'd have to memorialize the dead from World War 3 now because nobody will be around to do it afterwards." The SRP had already been the site of one major demonstration in 1979, organized by various anti-nuclear power groups. But many of the leaders of the anti-nuclear power groups chose to steer clear of the 1982 demonstration because it centered on the question of nuclear war. An organizer of the Memorial Day protest said, "They try to differentiate between the peaceful atom and the war atom, in trying to appeal, in their terms, to a broader mass of people to get them involved against the nuclear power issue. That's been one of the hedging points in the Southeast in the anti-nuclear movement. But I think now we actually see a shift in activism from the commercial nuclear power plants to the military aspect of it." And it is exactly the growing threat of world war that is pushing ahead this aspect of the anti-nuke movement and pushing ahead the activity of those coalescing around the GROW center in South Carolina.

Under normal circumstances the anti-nuke crowd that converged at the SRP to demonstrate last May would have been most unwelcome, not only in the eyes of local authorities but in the eyes of local residents as well. Aiken, after all, is the kind of town where parents of returning Vietnam vets hang out the flag and spit in the face of their kids if they were against the war. Back in 1979, workers from SRP and other local yokels drove by the demonstration to shout obscenities, and the general mood in response to the demonstrators could safely be characterized as frothing pro-Americanism. This time around, there were a few noticeable if contradictory tatters in old glory, due to the growing realization that the government is poisoning the town and that SRP was going full steam ahead with its lethal production.

Not surprisingly, the Dept. of Energy denied a permit to demonstrate in front of their administration building, on SRP property. Du Pont sent a worker out in the street to paint a yellow line that was the supposed stopping point for the rally and the six activists who stepped across the line were immediately arrested and later charged under the misdemeanor trespass section of the Atomic Energy Act — a section that had previously been used only against poachers.

The 6, whose case is known as the SRP 6, were later tried, convicted and given the maximum sentence of a \$1,000 fine each, by the federal court in Aiken. There were, however, a few interesting twists in this otherwise straight-up railroad, which indicate a few potential problems for the authorities and hint of the potential in a revolutionary situation for winning over some and neutralizing others who have been, and by and large at this point remain, a reliable social base for the imperialists.

One of the SRP 6 defendants told the *RW*, "Afterwards, in a bar, a local farmer who's really mad at Du Pont and the plant and everything and feels like it's ruining his land, he set us up with a \$40.00 tab. He came to the trial and supported us and he said that we were doing this as much for him — and he felt glad that we were doing that!" Some of the jurors who had dutifully voted to convict "according to the law" came to meet the defendants at this tavern and told them, "They would have

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been proud to have us as their children." Clearly it would have been better if they'd refused to convict and skipped the drinks, but it is revealing of both the nature of the particular contradictions in Aiken, and the times, that they went by the law and shook hands later. The SRP 6 defense fund in Columbia has also received financial contributions from the area.

The overall effect of the trial went far beyond the individual characters involved, since it received media coverage throughout the Carolinas. One lengthy article on the sentencing ended with a description of the following:

"Magistrate to one of the defendants, 'You keep saying that the law and Congress is wrong and you have the right to do what you did. Well, I happen to believe in capital punishment. Would it be right for me to go down to the penitentiary and blow the brains out of 60 people?'"

"To this query, the young woman defendant quietly replied, 'I didn't hurt anybody!'"

This type of reporting served to heighten the exposure of two starkly different viewpoints at the trial — that of the state, and the anti-war demonstrators — a lesson not lost on many of the people who had jammed into the courtroom. As one of the defendants told the *RW*:

"A lot of us had parents or relatives there. Like my sister was there and a lot of our relatives are really conservative and we asked them to come as character witnesses... and like my sister believed that the government wouldn't let any-

thing go on that was dangerous to people, and after the trial she was just completely turned around."

Meanwhile, the U.S. government is moving full steam ahead to step up production at the SRP. It is with the greatest of imperialist urgency that the old SRP reactors are being sped up and reworked to get out 30-50% more plutonium than is now possible, all in the next three years.

The U.S. Congress recently allocated \$370 million (in addition to the regular \$350 million a year budget) to update, clean and restart one reactor at the SRP that has been dormant for 14 years. Scheduled to go into operation in October 1983, the L-reactor will be the first reactor ever to be started back up once it had been shut down. And like all other reactors on the SRP complex, it was originally built with very few of the safety features (such as they are) which are now mandatory on all nuclear power plants. And none are planned. As the acting plant manager at the SRP, Richard Denise bluntly put it, "After all, when they passed the seat belt law, they didn't say all the old cars need seat belts." The hundreds of thousands of gallons of water that flow through the reactors every minute of every day will keep being pumped straight back into the creeks and swamps and will, by the well-known law of gravity, make their way back into the Savannah River, as the U.S. imperialists crank up to redivide the world and keep America No. 1. □

Witch Trial

Continued from page 5

child residing for the last year and one-half in a comfortable, suburban setting, in sunny California, and taking her immediately to Chicago?" But, mind you, there's nothing political here, just what's a respectable and acceptable way to live and what's not.

Despite Ragan's best efforts at restricting testimony and hiding the political attack, through the proceedings much of the veil was torn open, and the government has been backed into a corner. In tentatively ruling on the motion for jurisdiction that was filed at the beginning of the hearing by Tina's lawyers, Ragan ruled last Thursday that in fact Judge Browning was not acting properly when he decided one and a half years ago that an emergency existed which gave a legal basis for Browning to claim that he had jurisdiction and could legally kidnap Tina's daughter — but Ragan went on to say that "I may stretch the jurisdiction law even more." After admitting that there was never a legal basis for this entire case to even be heard in California, Ragan is now trying to find some jurisdiction for keeping Riva in Ted's hands.

No jurisdiction, no emergency, and beyond that, no legal precedents for keeping Riva. The Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act as well as case law calls for the child to be returned to the custodial parent (still Tina) and legal action to resume in the home state of Illinois. But, to go against this law, Judge Ragan is considering digging up as justification another emergency — that uprooting Riva from Ted would be traumatic. This even goes against his own ruling that Browning's ruling had no basis! In closing arguments, Murphy could not even raise a single legal precedent to help Ragan out of his predicament, so Ragan gave him until Monday, December 20 to come up with something, and ordered both lawyers to file final briefs by then. This incredible self-exposure on the legal front is one more indication of the seriousness of the government's intentions in this case. It is all the more clear that the government is doing everything it can to uphold and make permanent the kidnapping of Tina's daughter, with all the implications that the original kidnapping served. And further, they are trying to lay the legal and political basis for such kidnappings in the future.

It is not yet known when the judge will issue his ruling. Funds are still urgently needed, and letters of support should still be sent. Both may be sent to the Committee Against the Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Daughter, c/o 17 Brenham Place, San Francisco, CA 94108. □

Set of Teeth

Continued from page 4
 tended forever, and also, whenever a warrant for the arrest of someone on extradition charges is issued and the whereabouts of this person are unknown, now his or her name will automatically be entered onto the computers of the National Crime Information Center and the Treasury Enforcement Communications System.

As mentioned earlier, in instituting these new provisions the U.S. is not only seeking to tighten up its own ship, but is trying to further this same process throughout the Western bloc. Passage of the bill will be a demonstration to the U.S.' allies that the U.S. fully intends to play its role as leader of the bloc in every sphere. The Hughes Bill is being advanced as a model for others to follow in accordance with their own specific conditions in order to serve the interests of the entire alliance. It is one more aspect of the serious and urgent all-around preparations being made by the imperialists for the period ahead — a period of world war and great political upheavals in many parts of the world, including within the imperialist countries themselves. □



Berkeley

by Nazim Hikmet

The following poem, Berkeley, was written in 1926 by Nazim Hikmet, a Turkish communist poet. He spent periods in Turkish prisons in 1928 and 1933 for his political activities and was sentenced to 35 years in prison for "inciting Army and Navy cadets to spread communism." An international campaign for his release was begun in 1949. It was not until 1951 that he was released as part of a general amnesty by Turkish authorities. The subject of this poem is the 18th-century Anglican Bishop and reactionary philosopher George Berkeley, who was a die-hard propagator of theistic idealism. Berkeley held that nothing exists but minds and their ideas, which are products of God. Not only did he attack materialism vociferously in the theoretical realm, he sought to viciously persecute its adherents during his time. Berkeley wrote in 1710, "For as we have shown the doctrine of Matter or corporeal substance to have been the main pillar and support of Scepticism, so likewise upon the same foundation have been raised all the impious schemes of Atheism and Irreligion How great a friend material substance has been to Atheists in all ages we are needless to relate. All their monstrous systems have so visible and necessary dependence on it" An enslaver in all respects, Berkeley came to America toward the end of his life and even wrote a poem in praise of America which is chiefly remembered for its line: "westward the course of empire takes its way."

Heey
Berkeley!
Heey, philosopher bishop
of the eighteenth century!
The smell of the incense of your philosophy
only makes our heads dizzy
makes us drag ourselves
on our knees
in our great struggle to live.

Heey
Berkeley!
God's Angel of Death
in the guise of Gabriel!
The most philosophical murderer
of the eighteenth century!
The sound
of your footsteps
still haunts the Irish villages
and a bloody-haired dog
still ululates.

Even this day
every peasant trembles
at night
at the sight of your dark shadow;
the mark of your bloody five fingers
can still be seen
on the frosted-glass horizon of the North.

Heey
Berkeley,
the frocked gallant of tavern maids,
the Knight of the King,
the golden sound of capital —
and God's bishop!
The smell of the incense of your philosophy
is to make our heads dizzy
to make our knees drag us
in this struggle to live.

While every word you say
handcuffs our wrists,
your sentences
wriggle
like serpents
to sting our hearts.
You walk like a warrior Jesus.
Your name emerges tapered from books

like a green tooth
that juts out
dripping with blood
from a mossy gum.

All your books
bow before your great God
like a row of black-belted monks.
But did you think you could deceive us
in such a mockery of clothes?
We are not nuns
waiting for the orgasm of Jesus.

Heey
Berkeley!
The cleverest king of the kingdom of foxes!
Whenever you feel you have triumphed
a small stone appears in your way
as an emperor.
At once you want to negotiate
and, opening a door to God,
you jump on Him
and back you gallop.

Don't run!
'Every road leads to Rome'
—this may be true—
but
every philosophy that accepts the Idea
a priori
can sail only
to a land of sophistry.
This remark is real
and absolutely so!

This is what you think:
the apple
you hold in your hand
round
bright
you call
a 'compound of ideas'
You deny the existence
which exists
outside ourselves.

This blue sea, for instance,
and the sailing boat on it
are only ideas you perceive
from your own self.
Is that so?

Well, if you say so
if you argue
that the sea is your own idea
the boat is your own idea,
Time doesn't exist
Space doesn't exist
and nobody exists outside your own self,
no one existed before you
nor will the universe after you
but only you
and God are real . . .

oh, but you the drunk bishop of dark taverns:
wasn't the publican's young daughter
who kept wriggling in your hairy arms
outside your own filthy body?
Or, should we assume that you slept
with Bishop Berkeley?

Let's suppose you had no father
like Jesus —
but not even a mother through whose legs
you came out?

Let's suppose you're all alone
on Mount Sinai like Moses,
shame! is there no one to read the Torah?
Oh, Berkeley, you've said plenty of lies
but be sure

"Dew drop" by M.C. Escher.

your share in this
piece of writing
that looks like a poem
is a couple of slaps
without gloves on . . .

Listen Berkeley
(but if you don't it doesn't really matter)
our minds are hives
life is a bee which makes honey there.
The Universe
is the infinite source
of perception.

The Universe is limitless
deep
without end.

We are only its particles;
we love the Earth and embrace it
with arms as thick as hawser.

When tractors with steel teeth
sparkle and wrench
the secret of the soil from her bosom
we watch
the birth
of a world
from another —
in the silver dimness of the Milky Way.
We have seen
we still see
young girls with red velvet lips
turn to earth.

Marks
left over from the long hair
of comets
draw for us
the meaning of action
in the endless sky.

Every grain hides a dome within itself.
The sea
and the whirring wind that blows like a sea
over it . . .

a drop of water
that drips
as if from a broken pearl necklace
conceals a close reality
as it recedes.
A newly discovered ocean
begins a new possibility.

The Universe is limitless
deep
without end.

Heey
Berkeley!
You dwarf who dared to deny
the majesty of the Carpathians,
if you are in purgatory now
send us a crown for your god on Earth.
But take everything you can
from this world
auction it all:

the throne in heaven
which represents
a reign on Earth —
and GET OUT!
There's no other power
over the power of Nature.

Nature is limitless
deep
without end.

Poland

Continued from page 1

people killed in anti-government riots in 1970. A brief clash between the riot cops and Gdansk shipyard workers was reported.

Like flies to shit, innumerable commentators in the West were drawn to print assessing the non-lifting of martial law. The public, already having been subjected to another round of revisionist imperialist hypocrisy, was now subjected to another round of Western imperialist hypocrisy: witness, for example, the observation of a Hoover Institution think-tanker that lifting martial law in Poland would have "virtually no significance" anyway since "such law is the permanent feature and the normal state of any totalitarian dictatorship." Actually, on this count, the West and the U.S. in particular should congratulate Jaruzelski & Co. for rather skillfully combining some remaining democratic structures with the open fist of martial law over the last year. It is, after all, the Polish parliament which will rubber stamp the new measures as it votes on legislation sent over by Jaruzelski. The U.S. hasn't been able to get away with this kind of thing in places like Turkey and Chile.

And likewise, all the hysterics over the revisionists' new "social parasite" law? The *New York Times*, outraged, notes, "The measures include procedures for the summary dismissal of any worker who 'sows disorder' in his factory, presumably by demonstrating, organizing or complaining. Similarly, students can be expelled from school . . . Anyone who is dismissed and does not find a job may be labeled a 'social parasite' and be sent fixing roads or, perhaps worse, lose his apartment." Countless reactionaries in the U.S. should applaud this in particular, since it was they who railed, "Get a job, you bum!" against anti-war demonstrators in the '60s. The revisionists are trying to appeal to exactly the same kind of social base — one grown up in Polish soil — with their "social parasite" law.

Despite all denunciations of the junta's action (like that of Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Percy, who called it "a sham"), it should be recalled

that the overall U.S. posture has been in another direction in recent weeks. The bargain struck between the Catholic Church and the revisionists, the bishops' opposition to demonstrations, the freeing of Lech Walesa and his clear groveling at the foot of both the altar of the state and that of the church (and the role of the latter in blackmailing Walesa had he any second thoughts) — all this signaled a U.S. reassessment of objective and subjective developments in Poland, the recognition that there would be no forthcoming return to the days of "August '80." The western hook into Poland would cut a different gorge. *The Economist*, incidentally, happily reports that presently "One idea is to set up a new Catholic quasi-party, which would control about 25% of the seats in parliament and act as a loyal opposition." (The magazine, correctly no doubt, also points out that there's significant opposition to this within the ranks of the revisionists and from some clergy.) The most recent antic of Archbishop Glemp was to admonish the members of the Polish Actors Union to "get back to where they belong." (They have been refusing to perform under government auspices.) And who does Secretary of State Shultz talk to about urgent matters of Western strategy vis à vis Poland? He talks to the Pope!

The immediate moves of the U.S. regarding sanctions against Poland — ostensibly the topic of discussion between Shultz and the Pope — are not clear. Sanctions against the Soviet bloc are a topic of continuing struggle within the U.S. ruling circles and between the U.S. and the European imperialists.

In any event, the "sober assessment" of "harsh reality" in Poland was best summed up by the *New York Times* in an editorial on December 3 headlined "Defeated Solidarity": "The bitter news is that General Jaruzelski has beaten Solidarity . . . America's effort to salvage a political role for Solidarity has failed . . . If there's a combination of domestic upheaval and Western pressure that can promote democracy there, it remains to be discovered . . ." A "recalculating" of the purpose of sanctions is called for, and the column concludes: "The Soviet tyranny over Eastern Europe is beyond our reach, but not beyond our influence." Yes indeed. (This basic view may actually not

be so new. For all the U.S. "support" for the "freedom-loving Polish workers" exhibited at the time martial law was declared, and for all its shock and surprise last December, it turns out that the U.S. had a complete copy of Jaruzelski's working plans for its implementation a full month before it occurred! The plans were delivered by a CIA agent — a highly placed colonel in the Polish Army.)

But this pre-war realism — the essence of U.S. strategy — is rampant; the U.S. holds no monopoly on it. Jaruzelski has cautioned realism and prudence, extending martial law and with it the exposure of the ugly face of revisionist rule. The junta's recent action — indeed the whole past year — has shown that severe contradictions faced by the revisionists — in Poland and, of course, the Soviet Union — are fundamentally unresolved. (The Polish party lies in shambles, a recent report setting resignations at 20,000 a month. Splits and conflicts haunt the ruling junta, and this is bound to grow more intense. Sections of the masses clearly remain in a rebellious mood; the situation is punctuated with minor outbreaks by "social parasites" against whom laws must be written and ZOMO's mobilized. The economy is rotting, and on and on.)

The revisionists have worries, but it must not be thought that these are "revisionists without reserves." They are, after all, a bourgeoisie with state power, allied with and backed by Soviet social

imperialism. They leveled the weight of this power against the Polish workers and were able to beat down the massive surge.

But all this hasn't been about getting coal production back to normal, boosting output in agriculture, re-establishing financial solvency tomorrow, or shortening lines for consumers; the substance isn't economics narrowly defined. Martial law in Poland has been part and parcel of the all-around preparations — the tightening up and clamping down — in the Soviet bloc for world war.

"Whenever a rich America was able to hurt a weakened Poland, it has already done so," Jaruzelski told coal miners in Katowice recently. And there is, of course, no reason to think that appeals to the national interests by revisionists in the various Soviet bloc countries will be any less strident than those by the imperialists who rule in the West. The idea of fighting a war against the West to defend the Soviet Union might not get far in Poland, but the idea of fighting a war to defend Poland could — at least among some people and especially when "suggested" at gunpoint.

Jaruzelski and his Soviet mentors want to be realistic; the U.S. and its allies want to be realistic. And what is the realism of these bourgeois? Nothing short of the forcible hurling of workers against each other in a mutual slaughter to determine which imperialist will dominate until the time comes to do it again. □

Vultures

Continued from page 2

And then there was the deep concern voiced by the *Washington Post* in chorus with all the other birds of prey that, "We may have witnessed the birth on live television of terrorist pacifism. And if it is somehow perceived that it has accomplished its goal we may be seeing more of it." But, come, come, such self-doubt is really quite unnecessary, particularly when the press went out of its way to protect the image of the anti-nuke movement by trotting out respectable spokesmen to denounce Mayer with such profundity: Council for a Livable World spokesman said, "It was an obscenity to use dangerous weapons in a campaign against dangerous weapons"; "Some feel it might tar the movement," moaned Ground Zero spokesman; and so on. And if that wasn't enough, the press simply became spokesmen for the anti-nuke movement themselves pointing out, "It's something most anti-nuclear activists say they want to forget as quickly as they

can." Really, it was a model effort in telling people what to think.

As usual, Ted Koppel's *ABC Nightline* was in the vanguard of critical thought, kicking off the debate on the role of the press as soon as Norman Mayer had been disposed of. And the essence of the matter was whether or not the brilliant display of all-American press ingenuity and all-American individualism and competition in getting the big story was getting in the way of the all-American imperialist necessity to put such unwelcome exposure of their world-class madness to rest and do it with dispatch. Here a fine line had to be drawn, unless it might seem like these agents of the "free press" were talking about doing something that sounded too much like one of those "totalitarian" dictatorships where the press is run by the state and just mouths the party line. And really, in the final analysis, with all-due care to demonstrate moderation and good taste, isn't it a far more democratic and effective way to parrot the U.S. party line and *proof* that the "objective" truth is being sought and reported to the public, if everybody in the "free press" just says the same goddamn thing. □

That's the Question

from page 3

workers think, at any given time but what they will be compelled to do by the objective development of the contradictions in society and the intensification of those contradictions.

So we can say that obviously the role of the class-conscious proletariat will be extremely important in the period ahead, and perhaps even decisive, if things develop in a certain way and toward a revolutionary situation, and specifically if they develop to a revolutionary situation. And within that a very important role will be played by the basic proletarian masses of Black people. In another way this is something that of course has been consciously recognized and acts as a fetter and something to hold back many of these masses; this situation, as has been true in the past, will again put a tremendous burden on them — especially a burden for those who *do* rally to the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist pole. This is in fact taking on a further burden and consciously doing so.

But it should be said straight up, it is *not* too much to ask. There is in fact an objective basis for these, as well as proletarians of other nationalities in the U.S., to play a vital role as a driving force and spark to move broader masses into struggle and win broader masses to a revolutionary position whenever the objective conditions for that do develop. Here I'll just cite an example that was recounted to me some time ago of a white miner in West Virginia turning to another white miner and saying, "Hey, I heard them niggers up there in Detroit got something they call a caucus, maybe we should get something like that down here." Now when instead of a caucus — and of course this was already beginning to be true in the '60s — but when in an even more profound way instead of caucuses what is involved is uprisings, and perhaps the actual struggle to seize power, this will have an even more profound influence even upon people like that miner. And in *that* struggle, a struggle that will change people, and their ideas too, very profoundly maybe they'll not only learn to do something like that too but they'll learn to discard much of the backward ideology that still shackles them. In other words, they will learn not only not to say, but more basically not to think, "nigger" any longer.

On the other hand the driving force or spark can only be as powerful as it potentially can and must be if it is really internationalist, and in the U.S. this means that the Black people must not be left out by themselves on the line, assuming the advanced position, but that class-conscious proletarians, people who are awakening to political life among the proletariat as well as from other strata of all nationalities, must step to the front lines as well, and must take up and be at the front lines of the battle against all oppression, including and especially an important part of that, the battle against national oppression, discrimination and racism. At the same time, and from the most fundamental and overall perspective, there must be the unity of especially the advanced class-conscious forces around a firm orientation of actually fighting for the interests of the proletariat on the *world* level and for the *world* proletarian revolution above all. *This* is the burden that these advanced, the class-conscious forces who must be brought forward and rallied as the leading core for the broader masses, this is the burden that they *must* carry — literally the weight of the world's destiny. □

Charged

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testified that he told his superiors the revolutionaries would be at the project the day García was murdered." Although the agent subsequently had difficulty making up his mind over whether he had actually informed his superiors in advance, he finally concluded that he had indeed notified them. The *Times* article further reports, "The revolutionaries — in their newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, and in interviews — say they believe that uniformed police deliberately stayed away because they knew the revolutionaries would be attacked."

The article also reports that "about a dozen revolutionaries" were in the project when they were set upon by a particular gang, one of whose members, George Arellano, was later announced by police to be Damián's murderer: "The police did not reveal this publicly until after Arellano was stabbed to death in a fight six weeks after García's murder." It quotes Carole García, Damián's widow, saying this was "terribly convenient." And it reports that Eduardo Aceves, also a member of the gang according to the *Times*, was charged with Arellano's killing, claimed he acted in self-defense, and was subsequently released when a "judge dismissed the charges against Aceves for lack of evidence." The article continues:

"Cmdr. William Booth, the police spokesman, dismissed as absurd suggestions that the police murdered García or had him murdered.

"Asked if either Arellano or Aceves had any ongoing relationship with the police, Booth said, 'We don't respond to

such questions'."

The *Times* also reported that Lizarraga "after first consulting with his superiors . . . regularly engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman party member (sic) because he believed that if they had sex he could get more information out of her" — a further exposure of these guardians of the public morality who are so fond of pointing an accusing finger at their Soviet opposite members for such lewd and devious conduct in their little spy stories. The Feminist Women's Health Center in Los Angeles responded to this in a press statement saying "We are disgusted with the lewd behavior of Lizarraga . . ." and denouncing the use of "the pretense that he had some authentic, human feelings for her" and the fact that "this same police officer who dishonestly obtained sex from this woman is now empowered to arrest women who offer sex for money." The article did not mention that the agent moved in with this woman whom the *Times* incorrectly calls a party member, and "volunteered" to join the May Day Brigade *immediately after* Damián and two other revolutionaries raised the red flag over the Alamo (no mention of the Alamo was made) apparently in order to get closer to his principal target and undoubtedly also "after first consulting with his superiors."

There are several inaccuracies in the article, including a description that "Lizarraga testified that he was busy fighting one gang member" when Damián was stabbed. The agent's actual words were that he was "Looking around a lot . . . to make sure nobody came up on me . . . make sure nobody did to me what they did to Damián or reasonable fac-

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Charged

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simile." But the overall effect of the material presented has been to further expose the political police.

The article appeared under the heading, "Use of Special Prosecutor in Spy Case Urged," with a kicker that read "Revolutionaries Want Probe of LAPD Undercover Operation" — all in all a strange heading for this article. Of course, the RCP has never "urged" the use of a special prosecutor or any other official investigation; we weren't born yesterday. These operations are notorious for both refining the whitewash of, and covering up, all truly incriminating evidence against the forces of the state, and most especially to turn around and further carry out the political police's operations by investigating the revolutionaries who have all along been their targets. Exactly why the *L.A. Times* wants a special prosecutor remains to be seen. As for the RCP, the "probe" that we have and continue to call for, even more strongly today, is for progressive and revolutionary people including journalists and others who are familiar with such matters to dig into the police murder of Damián García and further carry forward this vital exposure.

In addition, the *Times* article also took note of the activity of Lt. Thomas Scheidecker, who, as chief file keeper for the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) at the time, was responsible for the "safekeeping" of certain sealed court records in the May Day '80 case. The records included Secret Police files that the defense has never been allowed to see; in fact, there has been a continuing and massive effort by the forces of bourgeois justice to keep this incriminating material hidden from public view. The contents of these records were shown to the judge on the case in a confidential hearing in the judge's chambers. After the hearing, these records were put in a sealed envelope and handed to Scheidecker, who later admitted that he had opened the envelope to "add" something. Whatever was actually added or subtracted is unknown, but this is a clearcut case of tampering with evidence and at least grounds for the lieutenant to be charged with contempt of court. But no charges were ever filed.

Highly Charged, Charges & Counter-charges

This article in the *Times* appears in the context of a highly charged atmosphere in Los Angeles over the activities of the political police. Charges and counter-charges involving Chief Gates and his most trusted hit-men have been accelerating, helped along in part by a significant lawsuit, filed by the ACLU on behalf of a large number of activists in various social movements, that has brought new exposures to the surface. Gates and/or the LAPD have been caught removing files that were officially ordered destroyed by the Police Commission, and offering them first to the school district and finally to military intelligence! Briefing reports have surfaced showing that Gates knew about and authorized spying on certain "legitimate" groups that are supposedly immune from such activity, according to official guidelines and Gates' own previous statements. Because of this and other revelations, the police commission ordered Gates to "audit" the files, conducting an "exhaustive inspection," in the words of the *L.A. Times*, "scouring files, desks, lockers, and even briefcases for materials that may not meet department regulations." The reported result of the audit was that "they had found nothing unusual!" No, probably just a few murders.

These charges and counter-charges now focusing around Chief Gates and his cronies are coming precisely at a time when the ruling class has greater and more pressing necessity to strengthen and expand these operations and increase their efficiency. This necessity has been symbolized by the widespread public discussion in the media over preparations by the police, FBI, etc., for the 1984 Olympics in L.A., with its continually accompanying focus on "preventing terrorism." The broad opposition to undercover and related police operations has definitely hurt the bourgeoisie's ability to

unite all those that they need to behind the clampdown that is required. In the midst of this, contradictions between Chief Gates (and others) and the *L.A. Times* (and others) have surfaced over the scope of such operations and how to tighten them up, limit damaging exposure and related matters — with some calling for the admission of, and the appearance of dealing with, certain "excesses" in order to move ahead. One indication of the scope of these operations about which there is certainly infighting is the fact that Lizarraga worked at a *Los Angeles Times* circulation office from December 1978 to March 1979. The recent *Times* article notes that the police department refused to answer questions about any information about the *Times* that Lizarraga might have passed on to his superiors — undoubtedly creating high anxiety even in the upper echelons of the newspaper.

Of course, there is no contradiction among these forces about the need to escalate activities against revolutionary groups as the *L.A. Times* has amply demonstrated by their past performances. But there is a problem here. The widespread exposure of the murder of Damián García and the continued investigation into this and related ongoing activities by the political police directed against the RCP has put those activities in the middle of the public controversy, drawing forward a broad spectrum of forces in opposition to this blatant police spying and murder. And at the same time, the mortal fear of more exposure, particularly around Damián's murder, has led to the dropping of certain court cases because the work in these cases was leading inexorably toward either further revelations around this, or the most blatant and obvious violations of their own "normal procedures" — which itself would reveal that there was a great deal to hide, and further tear the democratic curtain behind which the bourgeois dictatorship hides. This is especially true of the May Day cases, since it was a vicious but futile attempt to stop the gathering momentum for May Day '80 that was, in particular, the immediate aim of the police hit-job on Damián.

Significantly, while the *L.A. Times* article mentions the dropping of May Day '80 cases last April, it was printed shortly after a judge dismissed charges against all arrested participants in May Day '82 — even though the article had been finished and ready for publication several weeks before. (Interestingly enough, one of the weeks that the article was on hold was the week the LAPD "audited" their files—a job they finished before the May Day hearings began.) The actions of the "liberal" judge in the pre-trial hearings, where the question of what secret files should be made available to the defense was debated, revealed some of the contradictions that the ruling class faces here.

Of course, as has every judge and every court since 1980, Judge Nunley ruled against a defense motion for disclosure of all records regarding Damián García, including records of the police investigation of his murder. The judge's answer to this motion — Item 9 — is itself quite revealing: "Item 9 is not really material here. You are not ever going to prove that on the discovery motion in these cases... Let's be realistic about Item 9. You are not going to be able to get that." When the defense attorney argued that it was very "material" to the present case, since it would show the height of "discriminatory law enforcement" which the state had resorted to against the RCP and supporters, the judge replied, "You will never get anyone to admit that," and denied the motion.

Yet through the course of the proceedings it was obvious that the judge was desperately trying to deal with some serious problems, particularly in the field of public opinion. At one point, he commented, "You know you can almost take judicial notice of the meaning that May Day has become to have (sic) in the country. And some people don't take highly of it." At numerous points in the hearings, the judge offered the prosecution advice on how to clean up its act and not leave the door so wide open for the defense claim of "discriminatory law enforcement" and its demands for the files to prove it. Yet each of the judge's "suggestions" only opened up new questions and failed to resolve the matter. At several points he began to weigh the

bourgeoisie's bottom line. The defense had submitted affidavits about COINTELPRO and similar activities to show how the political police operate. But the judge's response was: "When you were talking about unequal enforcement — if I recall that affidavit, it also mentioned the Black Panthers groups and the other groups where the FBI had collected thousands of papers of material. That would tend to show, unless you could segregate it, that you are not treated any differently than any of these other groups that they thought in some way threatened the security of the country." And he added, "I think you may find out, if the FBI defines it, that all these groups they feel presents some kind of a threat has been treated the same."

Yet in the context of the current necessities and controversy, and the "judicial notice" and so forth with which all these proceedings were being carefully watched, Judge Nunley declined to simply rule that anything done to "those groups" was okay. He finally ruled in favor of the defense on a number of matters, including the demand to turn over all the admitted 59 reports that Fabian Lizarraga had turned over to PDID. In similar cases, PDID and their city attorney have then gone into chambers for a private meeting with the judge to show that none of this material should be turned over, like they did in the Scheidecker incident. But in the wake of a file "audit," file removal charges, etc., the city attorney was conveniently late to the hearing, and the judge decided (or was given the word) that this was an opening for getting rid of this particular problem and dropped the cases. Meanwhile, the city attorney finally did show up to press a related case which is still pending and other fabricated charges, including felonies from a pre-May Day demonstration at an immigration detention center, are proceeding full speed ahead; and of course, it still remains possible that there will be an appeal on the dismissals and a cleaned-up new trial on the same charges. At any rate, it was after the difficulties with the hidden files resulted in the dropping of the May Day '82 charges that the previously written *L.A. Times* article appeared.

Chief Gates' Counter-Attack

Two days after the article's appearance, a scheduled meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission was held. Some of the numerous forces who have expressed outrage over the revelations joined with the RCP in coming to the commission meeting and/or a press conference that was held just before it, and statements were issued by the Feminist Women's Health Center, the Citizen's Commission on Police Repression as well as a statement that was read from the L.A. chapter of the National Lawyer's Guild, whose executive body was hastily polled by phone the previous evening.

Michael Balter from the Citizen's Commission delivered a significant statement to the police commission in which he stated: "Commissioners, the date of April 22nd, 1980, has a special significance to the matters we are discussing today. On April 22nd, 1980, the RCP and its supporters appeared before this commission to ask for a permit for a May Day march on May First of that year... the permit was denied because representatives of the police department said they had information the march would in fact be violent. Present at that April 22nd police commission was undercover officer Fabian Lizarraga and his key target Damián García. At that same meeting the 1980 Interim Operational Guidelines for PDID were approved. Later that same day, April 22nd, Damián García was murdered in a housing project..."

During the course of the meeting, one commissioner interrupted to ask Carol Downer of the Feminist Women's Health Center what she knew about current PDID "harassment...terroristic behavior." After pressing on this point, it soon became clear that the commissioner was desperately trying to find out what else she knew about their undercover operations. When she said that she hadn't seen any moves to rectify such activity, the commissioner started talking about the lengthy proceedings they had had to weigh PDID practices and come up with new guidelines.

Ah yes, new guidelines. Well, thank you very much commissioner but talk

about "new guidelines" is not new. Anyone familiar with your murdering practices will remember that such "new guidelines" went into effect on April 22, 1980, with Damián's murder being their first official act. When Downer asked to have access to all the proceedings, the commissioner had no more to say.

The commission's only other responses to the issue were so blatant and ridiculous that they defy comment. Indeed, at this point any comment would be superfluous to the commission's request that Chief Gates conduct an "inquiry" into Lizarraga, Scheidecker and Damián's murder! Commission president Yslaf's statement, amid the turmoil of repeated factual accusations being hurled at Gates and the commission from all over the room, that "this commission and this department is and should be dedicated to... vigorous law enforcement efforts conducted with the highest ethics within the letter and intent of commission policy," drew loud guffaws from those present.

After squirming in his chair throughout the proceedings, Chief Gates was finally given his opportunity to respond. Referring to the recent article in the *Times* as a "story that I consider outrageous, outrageously reported, by the *Los Angeles Times*," Gates offered:

"To give you a perspective on what this group is all about, the National Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Bob Avakian, speaking in Los Angeles in August 1979, made the following statement. This is what the *Los Angeles Times* quotes: 'The masses must arm themselves and kill their slavemaster. I mean we won't kill some dumb jerk just because he jumps us when we passed out our papers. He can probably be re-educated, but it's another story with these hired thugs and killers like the police and the leaders of this country like Mr. Carter.' That's what you've given a forum to."

It is somewhat mind-boggling that Chief Gates would once again dredge up from the slime pit this fabricated "quote" that was printed/planted in the *L.A. Times* in 1979—about which the *Times* was later forced to print a retraction! That, of course, didn't stop the Secret Service from launching an "investigation" (read: attack) on the Chairman, using this fabrication as the pretext. Nor did it stop Gates from repeating it once again at the commission meeting. But it must be said that if this already discredited and retracted lie is their basis to further attack the RCP, they are really letting their shit stink in the open.

Having had a couple of days to consider the appearance of the recent *L.A. Times* article it would appear that Chief Gates' decision to respond with this particular fabrication was very deliberate. First and foremost, in the context of the charges tendered around the murder of Damián and the current controversy over the political police, it is a particularly blatant statement of the view that any means—whether political executions or COINTELPRO fabrications — to attack the RCP is justifiable by the political police. And secondarily, it is a little public reminder to the *Los Angeles Times*, which published this fabrication in the first place, that they really are in this together, and that no "criticism" of Gates for doing his part in the division of labor will go unanswered. In a subsequent article about the commission meeting, the *Times*, well aware that the quote was a lie, reported that Gates "began reading remarks by the revolutionaries' leader advocating the violent overthrow of the government." And Channel KABC gave Gates' fabricated quote full play at the top of the 6 o'clock news.

In this light, it is not inconceivable that one way or another the pigs are planning to turn this whole controversy into a public reaffirmation of their bottom line necessity to attack the RCP. We are not so naive as to think that the imperialists don't have some strategy at work here, or that in the wake of the *Times* article, Chief Gates might now come out with a big rebuttal to the article to justify further attacks on the RCP and our Chairman. But all of these bourgeois feathers flying provide further great opportunities and necessity for exposing their bloody hand to millions who may just be beginning to get a glimmer of what U.S. democracy is all about. And this is heavily concentrated in the planned political execution of Damián García. □



MAJOR PARTY FUND DRIVE!

The world is rapidly entering one of those rare times in history where the future will be decided for decades to come. For beneath today's tremors lies a conflict of profound and literally earth-shaking dimensions: the clash between world war and revolution. How far will the forces of revolution and progress worldwide be able to go in breaking the chains of imperialist exploitation and degradation, to forge a future free of all exploitation and oppression of man by man?

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