



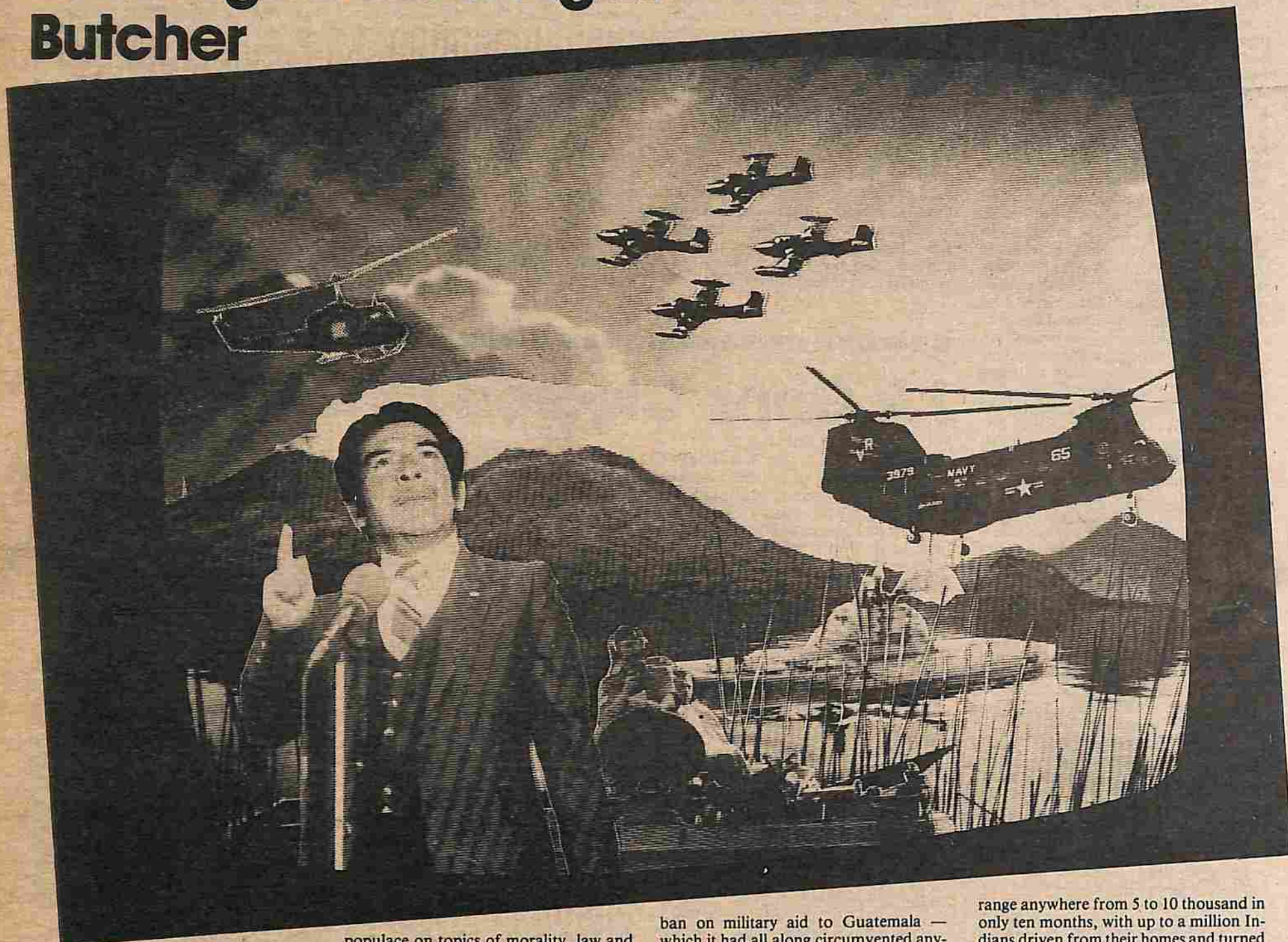
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Guatemala: God's Blessing for Born-Again Butcher



Each Sunday evening at 9 p.m., Guatemalan President Rios Montt appears on national TV to deliver a spiritual talk. The program opens with a scene of sunset over the famed Lake Atitlán, followed by Rios Montt in civilian clothes standing serenely in a garden filled with trees and chirping birds. "Good evening," he begins typically. "I sincerely thank you for the opportunity that you give me to be with you tonight. It cannot be any other way." A sermon follows, punctuated with scriptural citations, exhorting the

populace on topics of morality, law and order, the family, and other favorite subjects of the evangelical movement.

Rios Montt is in fact the example *par excelencia* of fundamentalism enthroned, of the full unleashing of the spirit of militant American Moral Majority-style Christianity. He is a model henchman of U.S. imperialism of the Central American variety as well. And, in early January, the U.S. government appropriately enough awarded him one of its highest tributes: the affirmation of "progress in human rights." The State Dept. announced that it was rescinding its

ban on military aid to Guatemala — which it had all along circumvented anyway — and was okaying the sale of \$6 million in spare parts to Guatemala, chiefly to rehabilitate helicopters for use against the Guatemalan masses. "While we want to see further progress in Guatemala in promoting respect for human rights, President Rios Montt has taken significant steps in this area," the State Department said. "Progress has been made." Indeed, so much "progress in human rights" has been made that most observers have lost count of just how many corpses this born-again butcher has put into graves — estimates

range anywhere from 5 to 10 thousand in only ten months, with up to a million Indians driven from their homes and turned into refugees or else incarcerated in "model villages," surrounded by barbed wire and M-16's. It was certainly high time that all this received the official American seal of approval.

The State Department action passed through the media quickly and quietly, reflecting, first of all, that it was not that big a step since it had already been widely publicized that U.S. aid was continuing surreptitiously anyway, and secondly, that the bourgeoisie is only too aware of the notoriety of the Guatemalan govern-

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Rebellion at Sing Sing

Sing Sing prison, officially called the Ossining Correctional Facility, is a 158-year-old dungeon in New York State, a 55-acre prison camp fortified on one side by a 24-foot concrete wall and on the other side by the Hudson River, and carefully monitored by 22 watchtowers with armed guards. But on January 8th, the brutal grip of the authorities broke down in Cell Block B as 500 inmates, among them, Latinos, Blacks, Haitians, Rastafarians and some veteran inmates from Attica broke loose and rebelled. This marked the first major uprising in

Sing Sing prison since the prison sitdowns in the 1960s. And as the takeover at Cell Block B continued, the spectre of the Attica rebellion once again reared its head.

Very much in the forefront of the authorities' press and police work when Cell Block B was seized was the Attica uprising in 1971. For years, through sociological studies, articles, TV movies, and so on, the U.S. rulers have tried very hard to stomp out the message of Attica — "It's Right to Rebel!" and pound home their summation: rise up again and we will crush you again like we did at Attica.

Indeed, as Cell Block B erupted, it posed serious problems for the authorities and the newly-elected, "I love the poor and oppressed" Governor Cuomo of New York. This rebellion recalled memories the bourgeoisie would just as soon have the people forget. Publicly Cuomo worked quite hard to put some distance between 1971 and 1983 — to minimize the exposure while keeping the threat of armed suppression very much alive. "Since Attica, A Willingness To Talk" read one headline. And while negotiators were "willing to talk" Cuomo ordered from

between 170 to 270 correction emergency response teams (CERT), a prison version of the SWAT teams, known as the "orange crushers" inside Sing Sing. While negotiators were "willing to talk," heat to Cell Block B was shut off, food was denied, and periodically electricity was shut off to literally leave the prisoners in the dark, as well as to cut them off from media coverage of the takeover. Water was shut off in an attempt to prevent the inmates from using fire hoses to defend themselves in the event

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Deportations Threatened in Pimlico

One afternoon a local TV news team pulled up to the corner of Elmer and Belvedere in the heart of the Pimlico community of Baltimore, the corner where the rebellion had sparked off in September, 1982 in response to the murder of a Rastafarian brother, Rupert Campbell. With cameras whirring, they focused on the people hanging out there and on the corner store which has been the target of constant harassment by the police ever since the rebellion and attempted to interview the store owner and others. The store owner quickly removed them from his store and others picked up bottles and stood on the corner silently watching, remembering full well the web of lies and distortions the news media had spun back in the fall to cover up the police murder, spread divisions and justify police raids in the community. The TV cameras retreated to the other side of the street and filmed the scene from afar.

That night on the TV news the basic message was that drugs and Jamaicans are still running rampant in the community but the authorities were doing their best to clean them out. The news segment entitled "Deportations" opened up with the scenes of the Sept. 15th clampdown when SWAT teams descended upon the community, busting down doors and dragging people out. This scene was over-dubbed with a report about the fact that there had been talk about deportations of Jamaicans arrested at the time of the Sept. 15th raid but that really only one Jamaican was facing possible deportation. True to form, there was no mention of the fact that the Sept. 15th raid was an attempt to clamp down on and retaliate against the rebellion nor was there any mention of the brutal police harassment and murder that had led to this righteous outbreak. According to this media fairytale it was a drug raid pure and simple.

But the bottom line was the undisguised threat of jail and deportations against immigrants who dare to go up against them in the central nerve center of their worldwide empire. One Jamaican brother whom the news media singled out in their report, implying he was busted as part of the raid, is someone who has been looked to as a fighter in the community. He is being held in shackles in a detention center on an earlier charge unconnected to the Sept. 15th raid. (The RW is investigating the circumstances around the deportation threats and legal action being taken against him.)

This TV news report comes in the context of an increasingly tense situation in the community: a number of people are coming up for trial at the end of the

month on charges stemming from the Sept. 15th raid; there is stepped-up police harassment on the streets; and in the wake of the Miami rebellion many of the sentiments still simmering in the community, ever since the night they unleashed fierce resistance against the murdering police, were rekindled.

At least two people are already serving time for charges arising from the police clampdown. One of them, a U.S.-born Black man, was described as a Jamaican during his trial, a tactic being broadly employed to foment divisions and to try to get U.S.-born Black people to place the blame on Jamaicans for the punishment they are facing at the hands of the cops. The police, however, have made it quite clear that when it comes to meting out punishment for rebelling against the order of things then everyone is "Jamaican."

One youth who was arrested in a raid on his house several days before the broad-scale sweep of the community has had his trial postponed twice because it seems his attorney, a public defender, is not just going along with the whole program. He has challenged the illegal search

and seizure methods used by the police in the original bust. This small detail is apparently proving to be a bit of a sticking point holding up the otherwise well-greased wheels of "justice," and one that has broader legal implications for their ability to lock up all of the people they grabbed as they went hog wild breaking down doors, waving guns in people's faces and grabbing those they hoped to make pay for the rebellion.

Ever since the police clampdown, the corner store and anyone who goes in it have been the key target of police harassment. People have been arrested and convicted for loitering for the "crime" of standing at the telephones next to the store. The store owner has all of a sudden aroused the interest of city health officials and is himself facing fabricated drug charges from Sept. 15th. He has remained defiant in the face of this, continuing to stand with the people and display and sell the *Revolutionary Worker* in his store. Of late the police have taken to occupying the corner as they did in the days just following the rebellion, and recently the brother of Rupert Campbell was arrested in the

area. One particularly disgusting tactic the police have been employing is to stop women on the streets, plant marijuana on them, and then drag them into the back seat of their squad cars to search and molest them. And it was recently reported that one of the cops responsible for the murder of Rupert Campbell paralyzed a youth in another community while he was off duty and is now afraid to set foot in Pimlico.

News of the Miami rebellion has electrified this community and the police know it and fear it. Not since the days just following the rebellion have so many people gathered around in open and excited discussion on the streets. As we reported last week, 56 people in one hour on the corner signed a statement in support of the Miami rebellion and there is a strong feeling of solidarity with Black people in Miami who have risen against their oppression. It has brought to the surface again the burning outrage people feel about the murder of Rupert Campbell, the vicious national oppression they experience daily, and also the feelings of triumph they felt as the police were sent fleeing from the community. Despite, and in fact as a result of, the lengths to which the authorities have gone to try to drive their message home that the bourgeois state will spare nothing in enforcing its vicious national oppression and its rule over the people, and will exact a price from those who challenge them until it is overthrown, the spirit and defiance of this community have not been broken. □

LA Cops Cleared to Kill Again

On January 3rd, the Los Angeles District Attorney's office called a press conference to announce that no charges would be brought against the two pigs who beat and choked a 28-year-old Black man, Larry Morris, to death the evening of June 17, 1980. Never mind that the D.A. now admits Larry Morris "had broken no law." Never mind that they admit the cops illegally busted into his apartment, "without probable cause." After a two-and-a-half year "investigation" the D.A. concluded in a 60-page report that "criminal prosecution of either officer is not warranted."

On that night in 1980, the two cops pulled into the driveway of the South-central Los Angeles apartment where Morris lived to "investigate gun shots" which were nothing more than some firecrackers set off nearby. Morris and a number of his neighbors stood on the second floor balcony of the apartment watching as the cops jacked-up three youths for this "crime." Sick of this typical activity, the residents yelled at them to get out of there. A neighbor recalled Morris saying, "Get your ass

away from here, you motherfucking honky," at which point one of the cops started up the stairs yelling, "You got something to say, boy?" To which Morris replied, "I ain't your boy, boy. You're the boy." The two cops went up to his apartment, smashed in the door, clubbed Larry's brother David in the face, and cornered Larry himself in the bathroom. Five minutes later, Morris was "subdued" — he lay dead on the living room floor. One witness saw one of the cops shove Morris up against the bathroom wall with his baton across Morris's neck while the other officer shoved his baton into his stomach. Others saw Morris pinned face down on the living room floor while the cops beat and choked him.

More than two years ago a coroner's inquest jury ruled 9-0 that Morris died "at the hands of another... by strangulation," that is, murder. That verdict was overruled by L.A. County Coroner Noguchi who listed the cause of death as due to heart failure. The new D.A.'s report concurs saying, "The inquest verdict is merely advisory and has no legal

significance." The D.A.'s office openly admits now that "the police did not have probable cause to arrest Larry Morris," noting that he was some distance away from the firecrackers, and that police put in a "routine" call before attacking Morris (in other words, their returning to his apartment was coldly calculated), that Morris had retreated to his apartment "arguably to avoid any problems," and that the police "struck David Morris without legal justification." They say Larry Morris "himself had broken no law." Despite all this, the D.A.'s report chortled, "Larry Morris should have known that the officers were seeking to arrest or detain him even if he did not actually know it." It continues "The legislature makes the laws by which we are all governed," and the law "prohibits forceful resistance to unlawful as well as lawful arrests." (D.A.'s italics). This is just the latest in more than 200 "investigations" of police murders since the forming of the D.A.'s "Operation Rollout." This program has so far endorsed the police's right to kill every time. □

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Bob Avakian on Radio WRFG

Class Forces and Leadership in the Revolutionary Struggle

The following is the second in a series of excerpts from an interview with Bob Avakian conducted by Ron Gibson on radio station WRFG in Atlanta. This interview was done in June, 1982, but for various reasons was not aired until Nov. 19. This series of excerpts represents the first part of that interview; more may air in the future.

RG: OK, if I can cut in real quick and ask what you see or are there any current examples of successful revolutionary struggle taking place in the world — Nicaragua, for example?

BA: Well again, here is an example where a revolutionary struggle has succeeded in overthrowing a particularly firmly and long-entrenched dictatorship of the Somoza family in Nicaragua, but where that revolution has in fact been stopped halfway and is being aborted. It's not a question of going forward in a straight line — there are twists and turns in the struggle, there are great difficulties to advancing a revolution. In particular this is because of one of the main things I mentioned before — the lopsidedness in the world — that in general, the areas where the people are most desperate, most desirous of a radical change and of hurling the whole world in the air and turning it upside down, are at the same time those areas where if a revolution succeeds the conditions are most backward and it's most difficult to stand up against the rest of the world (or most of the rest of the world) that moves to try to choke and suffocate and often even outright attack and drown in blood those initial revolutionary breakthroughs — sort of the revolutionary baby in its cradle, if you will.

So I'm not presenting it as easy, but nevertheless the problem in Nicaragua as in some other places is that in the leadership of the struggle the dominant forces that have won out are more or less bourgeois forces. They represent interests that were held down under the conditions where Nicaragua was in fact dominated by imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism (Yankee imperialism), and where the local Somoza dictatorship was in fact the servant of the U.S. monopolies and U.S. imperialist interests while of course taking a slice for themselves as part of the arrangement. Because of that situation, there were local bourgeois forces in Nicaragua who were cut out of the action or who really didn't have a chance to develop, and many of them were motivated by genuine nationalist sentiment and bourgeois-democratic sentiment, that is the idea of wanting to get rid of a dictatorship and see more freedom, more economic freedom for capitalism to grow but also a vision at least of more political freedom for the people to have certain basic rights.

Those forces, some of them with a fairly broad view and some of them more self-seeking, nevertheless don't have the interest as a class and don't have the outlook therefore to carry through the struggle all the way — all the way in the sense of not only uprooting exploitation and oppression in Nicaragua, but making the revolution in Nicaragua in an overall sense part of, even a subordinate part of, the advance of the world revolution and a base area for that. There were forces with this proletarian internationalist line in the Sandinista movement in Nicaragua, but unfortunately they have not been able to come to the fore and the line has won out that, well, the only way to stand up to the powerful monster Yankee imperialism is to rely upon, and come more and more under the sway of, the Soviet Union. Now U.S. imperialism is a real monster — its nuclear weapons are real, they are not imaginary (and, a point we should talk about later — the danger of nuclear war is real, and having a real fear of this is not just paranoia). The tremendous military arsenal and economic might and political clout of U.S. imperialism is a real thing, and it's not that it's easy to stand up against it and easy to continue even after winning initial victories. But, again, in Nicaragua, rather than an outlook of advancing in the way that I was describing and summarizing as the proletarian internationalist, the revolutionary communist line, bourgeois forces have won out which on a pragmatic basis have been sold on and/or have sold to others the idea that the only way you can stand up against one powerful monster like the U.S. is to rely upon and really come more and more under the sway of the rival imperialist bloc. At this point, this line is not as fully developed as it is and has been for quite some time in Cuba. But in Nicaragua it is moving toward a situation where you come under the sway, even the domination, of the rival imperialist power with a socialist mask and socialist pretenses — "all the better to eat you with" as they say in the fairy tale — and I'm talking of course about the Soviet Union.

End of part 2



RURAL RUMBLINGS

The recent surge of sharp and often violent outbreaks by farmers against a growing wave of bankruptcies and foreclosures casts light on some potentially explosive contradictions in U.S. society.

Only two weeks ago, over 200 farmers in Springfield, Colorado tried to block a public farm auction. The 320 acre wheat farm of Jerry Wright, a founder of the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), was put up for sale because Wright had been behind on his mortgage payments for three years. He owes \$85,000 to the Federal Land Bank and \$125,000 to the Farmers Home Administration.

Farmers from six states, some as far away as Missouri and Illinois, converged on the town driving scores of tractors and blocking the highway. The county treasurer's attempt to read the public notice of the auction was met with shouts of "No Sale! No Sale!" by the farmers. After announcing that the sale had gone to one lone bidder, the Federal Land Bank, the treasurer ducked inside the courtroom.

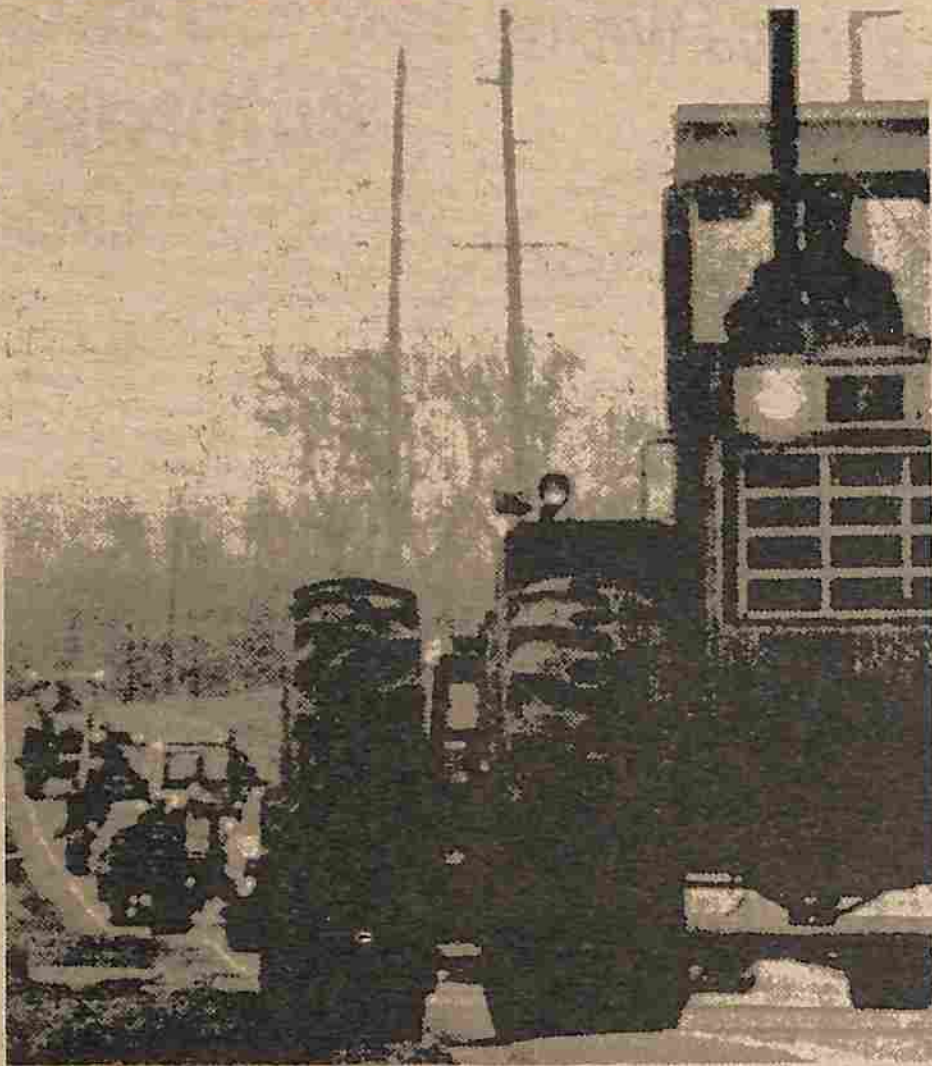
In an attempt to destroy the notice of sale the angry farmers rushed toward the door, trying to keep the sheriffs from closing it. At the door and inside the courthouse a fight erupted as sheriffs in riot helmets and flack jackets tried to beat people back with mace and clubs. The farmers fought back with their bare fists, bloodying the nose of the Baca County Sheriff, while others threw homemade stink bombs.

Three farmers were arrested inside the building. Two were held on \$100,000 bail each and later released after bond was lowered. The third was handcuffed, beaten with fists and clubs and kicked by the police as he lay on the floor. With handcuffs still on, he broke free and escaped by jumping through the screen on the first floor window of the courthouse. Later other farmers cut off his handcuffs. He was eventually arrested, charged with assault, and released.

As the crowd outside moved forward again, some throwing eggs and Christmas tree lights, the sheriffs flung several teargas cannisters from the roof. The farmers retreated, hung around for several hours and eventually left. But as the sheriffs finally emerged from the building they found that their vehicles, parked in such a way as to block access to the courthouse grounds, had tires slashed, headlights smashed and were generally wrecked.

In another significant incident, on November 18 in western Illinois, 175 farmers and some others converged on Randy Carson's dairy farm and successfully forced the cancellation of an auction of Carson's equipment. The auction had been scheduled by the Farmer's Home Administration (FmHA). This is a Department of Agriculture agency which makes real estate and operating loans to farmers when they cannot borrow from anyone else. FmHA has come to hold the mortgages on hundreds of thousands of farms that are on the brink of bankruptcy.

The FmHA demanded more and more



control of the financial operation of Randy Carson's farm as he went deeper into debt to them. "Farmers Home was taking almost 60 percent of the milk check each month," Carson pointed out, referring to the \$4100 per month that he owed them as repayment for their loan to him. "...But 50 percent of that check needs to be put back into feed for cows."

Earlier this year the FmHA further restructured Carson's farm by auctioning off most of his dairy herd, reducing its size from 120 cows to the present number of 30. By the time they moved to foreclose and auction the rest of his equipment Carson owed the FmHA \$342,642. In addition he owed a long list of banks, equipment and feed supply outlets another \$469,683 for a total debt of \$812,325. His assets were \$598,070.

The demonstration was initiated when Carson and his neighbors called the Illinois Farmers Alliance which includes the AAM. (This "Alliance" is, in turn, a child of the Illinois Public Action Committee, a social-democratic set-up which draws inspiration from Saul Alinsky and aims at the "development of a progressive movement," etc.) A "penny auction" was planned to keep bids so low

that Carson's equipment would be withdrawn from sale.

When the auction started, the farmers began shouting down the auctioneers and threatened the bidders, only one of whom said anything. Despite this the two auctioneers tried to continue but a group of farmers pinned them against Carson's hog houses — quite an appropriate location. Pushing and shoving broke out. At this point the Farmers Alliance leaders initiated a chant on the bullhorns, taken up by most of the farmers, of "renegotiate, renegotiate," and FmHA officials on the scene used this opportunity to call off the auction. Huddling with the demonstration leaders they worked out an agreement — one of the FmHA officials signed a yellow piece of notebook paper in which he said that before initiating foreclosure on Carson again the agency would allow him to submit another application for a loan and give "consideration" to any proposal he might have about how he could restructure his debt in order to guarantee repayment. Of course they already have sold off most of his cows and taken 60 percent of his income so this was like turning the gun over to Carson and asking him to pull the trig-

ger himself.

Heavy Debt

The situations of Carson and Wright are hardly atypical. In fact, at press time there is news of an effort by another organization, the Family Farm Movement, to block a foreclosure slated for Friday, Jan. 12, in London, Ohio. A few facts will indicate the basis for these outbreaks and show the depth of the contradictions.

Farm production costs have been rapidly rising over the past few years, while income is decreasing. In 1975 production costs were \$75.9 billion rising to \$141.5 billion in 1981; at the same time net farm income fell from \$32.7 billion in 1979 to \$22.9 billion in 1981, to \$19 billion in 1982.

1982 is the third year in a row that the cost of producing on a farm is more than what the farmer got for growing it. To grow corn, for example, the largest cash crop in the U.S., it cost \$4.25 to \$4.75 to produce what was selling for \$2.75/bushel. The only other comparable period where there were even two back to back years like this was 1933-34.

Farmers have been falling deeper and deeper into debt to keep growing crops. By the beginning of this year U.S. farmers owed \$194.6 billion, more than double the debt of 1975 and more than triple that of 1972. High interest rates have compounded this. In addition while farmers were able to sustain this growing debt throughout the 1970s by mortgaging their land (land prices tripled and even quadrupled from the early 1970s), over the past two years land prices have fallen by about one-third. Now the banks and the farm credit system are either demanding increased equity to cover existing loans or simply refusing to give new credit.

The result has been a record number of farm sales, the liquidation of assets to pay off debts or to keep up with credit payments, and a soaring number of bankruptcies and foreclosures. The national rate of delinquencies on payments on loans from the Farmers Home Administration, which lends money to nearly 10% of the farmers, was at 58% in March, compared to 25% in 1979. In the past three years the number of its delinquent loans has tripled and their value has multiplied nearly five times to \$14.9 billion. From January 1, 1982 to September 30 the FmHA had 844 foreclosures, 2753 liquidations for financial reasons and 1245 bankruptcies, totals representing 2.9% of its borrowers. In all of the previous years they had 127 voluntary liquidations and 133 foreclosures. And the FmHA is only one lending institution.

"For everyone being foreclosed there probably are 10 who are on the brink and ought to be — not in a moral sense but in a balance sheet sense at present prices," said Harold Breimeyer, a University of Missouri agricultural economist earlier this year. "There is an enormous amount of gambling that conditions will improve. There are literally thousands who cannot survive another low-income year...I'd say that a fourth of all the farmers are in trouble, are on a fairly thin edge financially."

"Production Credit Associations, co-ops, the Federal Land Bank, those people tell me that by this fall (1982) half their borrowers could be in trouble," said John Stencil, president of the Rocky Mountain Farmers Union in Denver. "I always ask them what they mean by trouble, and they say, 'Well, half of our borrowers might not be able to continue.'"

In other words, the problems faced by Carson and Wright — who are characteristic of middle-strata farmers — are more of a rule than an exception, despite the widespread view that farmers have brought all this on themselves through "mismanagement." Through the 70s, survival for these farmers meant borrowing, and this was linked to bigger contradictions — and political contradictions — of the U.S. imperialist system, a subject which will be addressed in a future issue.

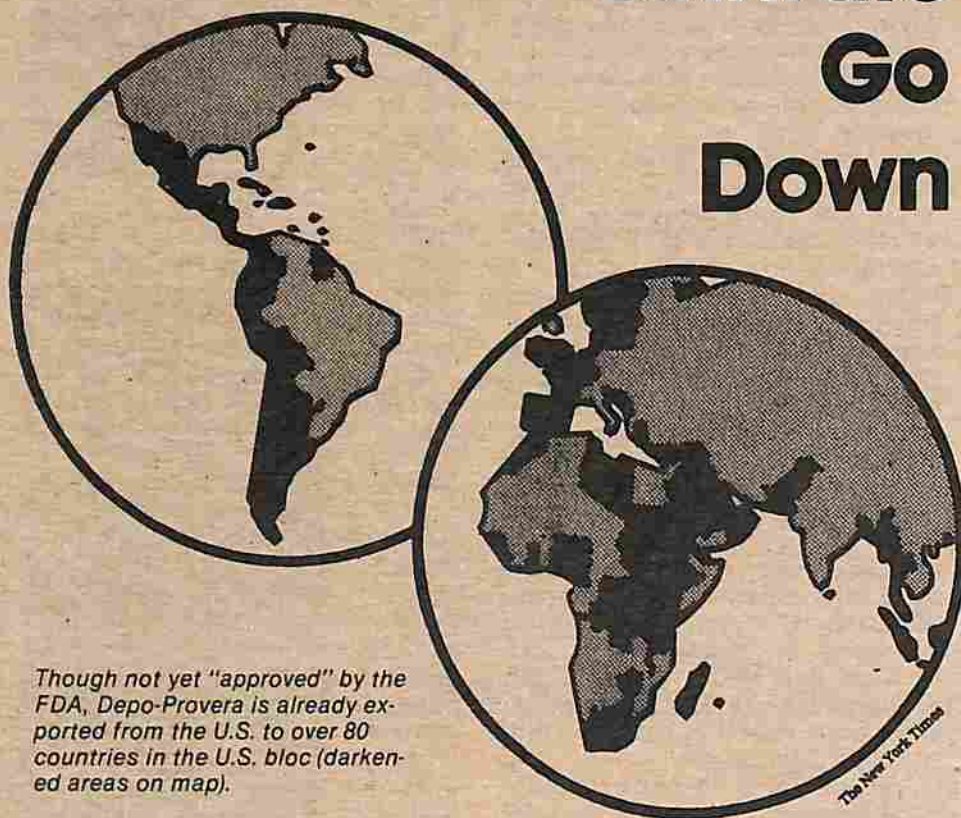
What is happening now is that the most financially fragile farmers, like Randy Carson and Jerry Wright, are being foreclosed on or asked to liquidate. Mainly these are middle-sized farmers who expanded or bought farms and farming equipment in the middle and late 70s. During this time, as agricultural ex-



75 protesting farmers surround an auctioneer in an attempt to block a farm foreclosure sale.

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Depo-Provera: A Spoonful of Poison Makes the Birthrate Go Down



Though not yet "approved" by the FDA, Depo-Provera is already exported from the U.S. to over 80 countries in the U.S. bloc (darkened areas on map).

Depo-Provera, a long-acting female hormonal contraceptive, has been banned in the U.S. since 1978. One injection of the drug causes infertility in women for 3-6 months, and sometimes much longer. It was taken off the market in the U.S. by the Food and Drug Administration when tests by its manufacturer, Upjohn & Co., showed that Depo-Provera had produced cancer in two sets of animals given long-term exposure to the drug. It produced breast cancer when administered to beagle dogs for seven years in the original tests and later again in a follow-up test. And it produced cancer of the endometrium (lining of the uterus) when administered to rhesus monkeys for ten years.

Now a big push has come from the leading lights in imperialist medicine and population control to legalize the drug in the U.S. as a key instrument in their worldwide attacks on women, especially in the oppressed countries. At hearings begun on January 10 in Washington, D.C., such paragons of medical ethics as the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology, the World Health Organization of the United Nations (WHO), the International Planned Parenthood Federation and the Population Crisis Committee all enthusiastically endorsed the drug as a birth control method. It has also been approved by an advisory committee of the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID). "Depo-Provera is the most effective method of reversible contraception available today," raved Dr. Daniel Mishell of the University of Southern California School of Medicine, speaking on behalf of Upjohn, and other scientists echoed his review. After the conclusion of the hearings before the FDA's Board of Inquiry, a final decision on whether to approve the drug will be made by the FDA commissioner.

The purpose of the push to legalize Depo-Provera is in order to facilitate its wider use in this country and in order to aid in even more widespread use in third world countries, where it has been sold and "tested" for years. The government and the drug companies are simply trying to implement a consistent policy for using this drug in maiming and injuring women worldwide. While technically drugs that are banned in the U.S. cannot be directly exported abroad, that hasn't stopped Upjohn, along with the population control agencies named above, AID and various foreign governments, from distributing Depo-Provera widely. It is on the market in over 80 countries, overwhelmingly in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Upjohn estimates that 10 million women have used it (or been forced to use it).

Upjohn simply sells the drug from its foreign subsidiary in Belgium. In the La-

tin American countries of Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica and Honduras, Depo-Provera was found to be sold freely over the counter at drugstores in 1979. AID's method of distributing the drug is "on the request of a foreign government," to see that it is made available through an "independent" population agency such as WHO or Planned Parenthood. AID has also gotten directly involved through distributing Depo-Provera under the guise of "research" to communities of 8,000 in Mexico, 20,000 in Sri Lanka and 250,000 in Bangladesh.

Although for obvious reasons there is little public documentation of the drug's effects in these oppressed countries dominated by the U.S., its effects on women have come to light because it was sold in this country for years when the FDA approved it for experimental use in birth control before 1978. Even after 1978, the fact that the drug is approved for limited

use as a pain killer for terminal endometrial cancer means it is impossible to control its use. Physicians who wish to prescribe Depo-Provera for birth control are free to do so, and the FDA estimates that in the U.S. 10,000 women each year are shot up with the drug for contraceptive purposes.

Despite its relatively limited use in the U.S., Depo-Provera has left in its wake hundreds of documented cases of women who have suffered serious and potentially fatal side effects from the drug. The National Women's Health Network, which has spearheaded opposition to Depo-Provera along with the Ralph Nader Health Research Group, testified in the hearings that the organization has catalogued 520 instances where women linked their use of the drug to various illnesses. Three days into the hearings, 50 more women had called NWHN to register similar stories.

The most common and immediate side

effect of the drug is disruption of the menstrual cycle. Some women's periods cease altogether; others bleed continually and profusely. Other side effects are similar to those noted in oral contraceptives: headaches, weight gain, nausea, cramps, hair loss and decreased sexual desire. But besides the tests on animals, there are other indications that the long-term risks of the drug are much more serious than the immediate effects. At a press conference called by the Women's Health Network, three women who were all given Depo-Provera for reasons other than cancer treatment described their experience with the drug. One woman said she subsequently gave birth to a son with deformed legs, the second said she developed cervical cancer and the third said her previous menstrual problems worsened and that cysts in her breasts increased.

In the face of overwhelming evidence in favor of banning Depo-Provera, AID, the drug companies, and various population control agencies are rabidly insisting that the drug be legalized. Why? A statement by Ray Ravenholt, director of AID's Office of Population from 1966 to 1979, begins to get at the answer. In a 1977 interview with the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, he said that the U.S. must lead the world in population control because without it "the world would rebel against the strong U.S. commercial presence. The self-interest thing is the compelling element." Genocidal population control, through forced sterilization or birth control, has been an important aspect of U.S. efforts to suppress the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially in the post-World War II period. These programs were first developed by the Ford, Rockefeller and Mellon foundations in the late '50s and gradually introduced by U.S. government agencies. AID, the U.S. agency that administers non-military "foreign aid," is responsible for most of these programs.

One method of population control was described by Ravenholt as "the inundation approach." Depo-Provera is only the latest of a whole series of unsafe birth control devices that have "inundated" the third world. With the aid of the U.S. State Department, A.H. Robins Co. dumped the Dalkon Shield in South Vietnam after it was banned in the U.S. because of dangerous side effects. Syntex dumped cheap, high-estrogen dose (80 microgram) pills when low-dose pills were recommended by the FDA as safer. These pills were available to women in countries like Bangladesh without any medical supervision and were sold at local shops with cigarettes and food.

But Depo-Provera has been hailed as the ideal contraceptive for the third world because it does not require daily use, like

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Nuke Masters Cry "Radiation!"

"We have no way of knowing if the Soviets have it under control. We hope so," huffed Benjamin Welles, a spokesman for the Pentagon.

"Our information is different, and we want to talk about that with them and, of course, we want to make known our concern," chimed in John Hughes, with that cryptic, menacing tone State Department denizens are wont to speak in.

The object of so much attention by these and other representatives of the U.S. government is the predicted tumble to earth of the Soviet satellite Cosmos 1402 and its nuclear reactor packed with 100 pounds of enriched uranium. It seems that in late December, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) detected some erratic behavior and loss of altitude by Cosmos 1402. According to NORAD, a Soviet plan to propel the satellite's main sector — including the reactor payload — into an orbit 500 miles above the earth where it would remain indefinitely, failed. Soviet efforts over the course of a week to reignite the booster rocket were also unsuccessful and the satellite slowly began its descent. U.S. spokesmen of various departmental and agency persuasions were quick to switch into their best "sky-is-falling" mode, prophesying radioactive debris scattered over the planet by Cosmos 1402's expected re-entry into the atmosphere in late January.

The Soviets, for their part, turned a few 360s over the span of 24 hours in an

effort to apply their own brand of imperialist doubletalk. Initially, Vladimir A. Kotelnikov, a vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, described the entire episode of Cosmos 1402 as "a pre-planned operation" and "not a dangerous situation." Then, the following day, the Soviet news agency TASS announced that yes, indeed, Cosmos 1402 was falling but measures were being taken to insure that its radioactive components would definitely burn up before reaching earth, etc., etc., etc.

Citing another Soviet nuclear satellite that broke up over Canada in 1978, U.S. spokesmen have been quick to raise a hue and cry of mock concern over the real potential of radioactive contamination from the falling satellite. Various agencies denounced the Soviets and expressed the heartfelt concern for the world of the U.S. government, including offering aid to any and all countries that "might suffer damage or casualties" as a result of the crash of Cosmos 1402. Conveniently, of course, they have never mentioned several instances of U.S. satellites returning to the atmosphere with nuclear material.

On April 21, 1964, the U.S. launched a Transit navigational satellite from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. The Transit's power supply, called the SNAP-9A, was a radioisotope thermoelectric generator fueled with approximately one kilogram of plutonium-238. The rocket's engines failed and the Transit plunged back into the atmosphere over

the Indian Ocean. It was assumed, after sophisticated testing, that Transit had completely burned up and the plutonium had dispersed as a fine dust into the atmosphere. But over the years, the plutonium dust began to settle so that by 1970 about 95% had returned from the atmosphere onto the earth. While obviously plutonium fallout is hardly unprecedented with all the nuclear tests over the decades, this accident resulted in a three-fold increase in the contamination levels of plutonium-238 — particularly in the southern hemisphere. Plutonium-238 is one of the world's most toxic metals, with its radioactivity concentrating in the bones and lungs. True to form, a 1974 study done by the then-named Atomic Energy Commission concluded that the health effects of the Transit accident "appeared to be minor."

Two other accidents involving U.S. nuclear-powered satellites are also on record — although not talked about very much. One, in May 1968, involved the crash of a Nimbus weather satellite into the Santa Barbara channel. Its SNAP-19 plutonium power pack was recovered, supposedly intact. The other incident was the crash landing of Apollo 13 moon mission in April 1970. In that case, the lunar lander segment of Apollo 13 was not picked up and sunk to the bottom of the Pacific with its SNAP-27 plutonium pack — where it will remain "safely" contained for about 860 years — hardly even a dent in the half-life of plutonium! It is not

too surprising that mum's the word when it comes to this chapter of U.S. failures with their nuclear-powered satellites.

Needless to say, it is more than a little difficult to take either the U.S. or the Soviets very seriously in their oh-so-sincere concern for the possible spread of radioactivity from the Cosmos 1402 accident. After all, these two predators are both up to their eyebrows in accelerating preparations for spreading radioactivity intentionally all over the globe. That is what their massive nuclear arsenals are all about. Or are we supposed to overlook this minor fact. The U.S., for example, has already quite intentionally dropped a bit more than 100 pounds of enriched uranium — enough to cause two nuclear explosions and the death and maiming of hundreds of thousands of people in Japan. Again, just a minor detail we suppose. Really gentlemen, spare us your pious concern about spreading radioactivity around the world! In fact, the charges and countercharges and the finger-pointing from both sides around events such as the descent of Cosmos 1402 have everything to do with the preparatory propaganda work for unleashing large quantities of nukes and all the rest in a world war in the name of saving the world from the danger of the other side. In this pre-war contention, clearly no amount of cynical posturing is enough for the beasts of either bloc. □

Miami: Pigs Will Oink

The executive editor of the *Miami Herald*, John McMullen, is a guy who apparently likes to brag about being a whore for U.S. imperialism, as the following story which appeared in print on January 9th illustrates: "Shortly before noon last Monday, the voice of City of Miami Police Chief Kenneth Harms came over the telephone. In seemingly high humor, he boomed, 'as one arrogant, insensitive, sonofabitch to another, I just thought I'd wish you a Happy New Year!' We shared a laugh." This not only shows that pigs will oink, but such togetherness between the uniformed pigs and their editorial counterparts is typical of the police and press work carried on by the authorities in the wake of the cold-blooded murder of Nevell Johnson by Miami pig Alvarez, and of the Overtown rebellion. And if one can detect a nervous squeal behind such self-congratulations among murderers that it's another new year and they still have state power, in the past week, the authorities have been hard at work to preserve that order and to reinforce the business-as-usual working of the state — the kind of business that resulted in Nevell Johnson's murder and the murder of Arthur McDuffie before him.

The quite visible and vicious hand of the police patrol could be felt in the projects of Liberty City and Overtown. In Liberty City, the regular patrols were increased and undercover cops roamed day and night through the heart of the area that had been the center of the 1980 rebellion. Not coincidentally, the Caleb Center, where the funeral for Nevell Johnson was held, is only blocks from that same area. In Overtown, while the day and evening street patrols were kept very low key, there was at least one case where the pre-dawn hours saw pigs breaking down doors and terrorizing people, under the ruse of searching for "looted" property.

The cue that the city of Miami is gearing up for another "accidental" and "justifiable homicide" ruling came right from on high. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which had only just sent its investigators to Miami along with various other investigative teams, announced this week that they are already bowing out. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission will not investigate this case because they "thoroughly investigated" the McDuffie case and in their opinion things in Miami are still the same. How convenient, and how exposing, gentlemen — since the results of your investigation in '80 resulted in the finding that the police did nothing wrong... so now the cops have your full blessing to murder Blacks again and again — Miami "hasn't changed" and things are as they should be!

Police Chief Harms, who had been kept in the background for several days after the rebellion, has now become a central figure in a big media campaign, featured in interviews and articles that go hand-in-glove with the stepped-up police harassment in the communities and the mobilizing of the police behind their man Alvarez. Chief Harms' comments on the Overtown murder and rebellion could easily have been ghost written by the U.S. Justice Department, since they were in many respects a carbon copy of the speeches made in Atlanta by a top Justice Department official after the suspicious explosion of a day care center that killed five and focused worldwide attention on the Black youth murders there three years ago. In the words of Chief Harms and whoever else, there is just too much talk of the "perception" of racism, not enough of the "reality" that no such thing exists. Harms goes on and on about such unfounded "perception" of injustice — all to the plainly stated end that the only thing which has gone amiss in Miami is that the oppressed dared to rebel against the armed enforcers of the state. "It is not me who is embattled, but the law enforcement itself," intoned the chief. This was an open appeal meant to rally the pigs and their reactionary social base in preparation for the future — both long term and immediate — for in no way can the events in Miami be considered over. No one has forgotten that the 1980 rebellion broke out when the cops who killed McDuffie were acquitted of all

charges. So far, on that score, the only mistake Alvarez made in the eyes of the police chief was that he was outside his assigned patrol (which it is well known was common practice for this pig and others) — an "infraction" in the words of the police department that may warrant a handslapping of some kind. As for Alvarez's present status, the police department will not say. As one official said a few weeks ago, "He has not been suspended but he has not not been suspended either."

It is in this light that the police officials have begun a campaign to mobilize behind their model pig Alvarez. It was with some fanfare that the white patrolmen's association, the Fraternal Order of Police, hired a well-known criminal lawyer to defend Alvarez. Shortly afterwards, a "mass meeting" was held of Latin police officers, largely Cuban, who make up 49% of the street patrols in Miami, including in the Black neighborhoods. A few hundred of these cops came out to let it be known that they will not stand idly by if Alvarez goes up on any serious charges. While such maneuvers under the auspices of voices from above are certainly attempts to hold the fort and deliberately try to present a unified front of reaction in the face of the recent rebellion, it is also a none-too-subtle warning to the masses in these neighborhoods where these cops patrol that such "accidents" are the rule.

A similar bottom line on the murder of Nevell Johnson is being echoed by other strata in the city, including some who

dress themselves in liberal garb. One noted example is the widely quoted Dr. Marvin Dunn, a Black psychologist and author of a soon-to-be-published book on the 1980 rebellion. While thousands of Black people in Miami have felt tremendous pride at the rebellions against oppression there in '80 and '82, Dunn is a man who has spent many a month moaning over, "Is something peculiarly wrong with us as a community," only to find himself traumatized once again. But with some determination to show that he can still float, Dr. Dunn wrote a lengthy piece for the *Miami Herald*, billed as "An Opposing View" to that of Police Chief Harms, in which he pleaded, "We must prepare the Black people of this community for the possible and truthful finding that Alvarez killed Johnson in a stupid, reckless and tragic accident."

And prepare they must, because there are thousands of people in Miami who have demonstrated quite well their utter contempt for such verdicts on the systematic national oppression meted out by this archaic imperialist thing called America. Indeed, there seems to be an appraisal from on high that another "routine" investigation will only make things worse, and this reveals their weakness and fear of the masses of people who hate them and their whole set-up throughout the world. It was significant that Black City Manager Howard Gary, whose face was flashed all over the world as the man who had "brought Miami back under control" could not show his face at the funeral for Nevell Johnson. It

was also significant that the city authorities went to great lengths to openly and not so openly call for the cancelling of a funeral march called by a coalition including SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) spokesman Ray Fauntroy. Fauntroy called off the march the day before the funeral. At the funeral itself, where over 1,000 people from Overtown, Liberty City and the Haitian neighborhoods filled the Caleb Community Center in Liberty City and spilled out onto the streets, the Dade County Community Relations Board director and the police "crisis response team" weaseled their way through the crowd, making their ugly presence known.

Meanwhile, as the authorities are attempting to scuttle any investigation of this murder, many people are asking their own questions and snooping out their own answers through these twists and turns. Already some people are asking what happened to the film in the 5 security cameras in the video arcade where Nevell Johnson was murdered! And these and other unanswered questions are bound to continue to arise over the next period of time going into the state's decision about possible charges or trials. So far, none have been announced, but the authorities' recent maneuverings in Miami are an indication that they plan not only to let cop Alvarez get away with murder, just like they did back in '80, but that they have serious stakes in making such verdicts stick. □



"I Knew There Had to be a Name For Us"

It was with a sense of revelation that one young Black man in Overtown responded to the words "international proletariat" as he stood in the small group gathered around one revolutionary. "Damn, I knew there had to be a name for us," he said. When his friend broke in, "Don't you know what you are, man, you're Black!" the first guy answered, "No, I mean all of us, I mean all over the world. I knew there had to be a name for everybody who's catching hell." And throughout the rest of the evening, he used his new-found name every change he could get.

The shoots of internationalism rearing their heads in Miami have prompted such joy of discovery among the young and some old folks as well. One banner signed by 90 people from Atlanta with a quote from Mao Tsetung was the scene of much discussion after the funeral for Nevell Johnson. A 70-year-old man, who had formerly been a revolutionary himself, told an *RW* distributor, "That's what we need now in this country, somebody like Mao." After buying an *RW*, he advised, "It's these young people you gotta be talking to, the ones that ain't afraid." Two banners signed by over 300 arrived from California; one written and signed in the Mission District of San Francisco in

Spanish and another from Oakland in English, Chinese and other languages which said, "In support of the Miami Rebellion—Prepare for Proletarian Revolution." These were taken out in the housing projects in Overtown and Liberty City. One banner which both surprised and hit a chord with the youth read, "To the Youth of Miami, Go For It—From the Rebel Youth and Punk Rockers of Atlanta." This banner had been taken out by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade to a D.O.A. concert in Atlanta and was signed by 40 punk rockers, including the band.

Out on the streets and in the projects, heavy topics and events were on the agenda, as small clusters of people gathered around issues of the *RW*, read the party Programme and rapped with RCP supporters. In one discussion where about 15 youth were looking through the Programme, talk ranged from Brixton to Beirut where it was a unanimous opinion among the youth that the PLO should not have left Beirut. As things turned to the draft and World War 3, a Vietnam vet, one of the oldest in the group argued that "Turn the Guns Around" was not at all an "out of this world idea" citing examples from the Vietnam War. But one of the hottest topics was on revolutionary

strategy and in particular the question of winning the majority. Or was that necessary to begin a revolutionary assault? In this context, Martin Luther King was raised by some, not to uphold his non-violence, because no one in the group was for that, but because they had been taught that at a certain point he'd won the majority of Black people. Much debate raged over such questions of strategy and the necessity for revolutionary leadership and organization, as these youth seriously discussed the need for a party for the first time.

In Little Haiti, the Overtown rebellion had particular significance. A number of Haitians went to the funeral for Nevell Johnson and in other ways showed their support.

This political ferment has had its effect on broader strata as well. Some former '60s activists, both Black and white, were jolted. Only two weeks before, one of these had flatly dismissed the rebellion, insisting, "They don't even know what they want." Now this person was digging into questions for the 1980's with some like-minded friends who especially wanted to talk about whether or not the Black masses have to go through a stage of nationalism before they can be internationalist. □

Famous Imperialist "Liberators"

The Claws of the Pink Panther in Africa

As we continue our periodic look into great imperialist "liberators," France immediately comes to mind as one imperialist power which has managed to hone this role into an award-winning performance. The entire course of the last century bears ample witness to the ravages of French imperialism in every part of the world. Of course, for the most part this has all been carried out under the banner of extending the benefits of the French republic and the virtues of French civilization to the masses of "underprivileged people" in the world. Today, with its role as an "enlightened and reasonable imperialist power" developed to the hilt by the added factor of a "socialist" president, François Mitterand, and a "socialist" majority in parliament, the French imperialists continue to pursue their thoroughly imperialist interests with a vengeance. And, although in today's world the French imperialists can only really pursue and advance their own interests as an integral part of the U.S. imperialist-led bloc, nonetheless within this context the French are quite feverishly maneuvering and competing to advance their interests to the maximum degree possible. Needless to say, in the fashion of all great imperialist liberators, this is being carried out in the guise of aiding the liberation and development process in the world. There is not one imperialist "hot spot" or potential "hot spot" in the world today where the faded pink banner of French imperialism is not highly visible and active. In the aftermath of the U.S.-engineered Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the French have played a front-line role in helping to secure the area for the U.S. bloc. As French troops joined the "international peacekeeping force," Mitterand declared that, "France is the main factor in the search for peace in the Middle East," and that the French were pursuing a policy of rescuing the Palestine Liberation Organization politically intact from Lebanon!

But perhaps the sharpest example of the French as imperialist liberators, both historically and currently, can be found in a long-standing relationship between France and the continent of Africa. The French imperialists have more than a century of experience in Africa under their belt. Under the signpost of bringing civilization to Africa, the original French activity involved setting up the infamous "Triangular Trade" — kidnapping Africans from West Africa, trading them as slaves in the West Indies in exchange for spices and tea which were then sold in France. By the late 1800s the French had carved out a gigantic colonial empire covering more than one-third of the entire continent. The French colonial possessions covered an area of 10 million square kilometers in West and Central Africa, an area which is inhabited today by more than 85 million people and includes 17 different nationalities. It is this empire which, for the most part, the French have managed to keep practically intact today.

And, although the French have maintained most of their empire with only the thinnest veil of neo-colonialism — much more straight-up colonial than neo — still, there was a period following World War 2 and on up into the early '60s during which the French made a great show of "decolonizing" Africa. The most severe blow dealt to the French empire in Africa was the Algerian war for national independence. Beginning in 1954 the French waged an 8-year-long savage war of repression against the Algerians. It has been unofficially estimated that during the course of this war 1 million Algerian

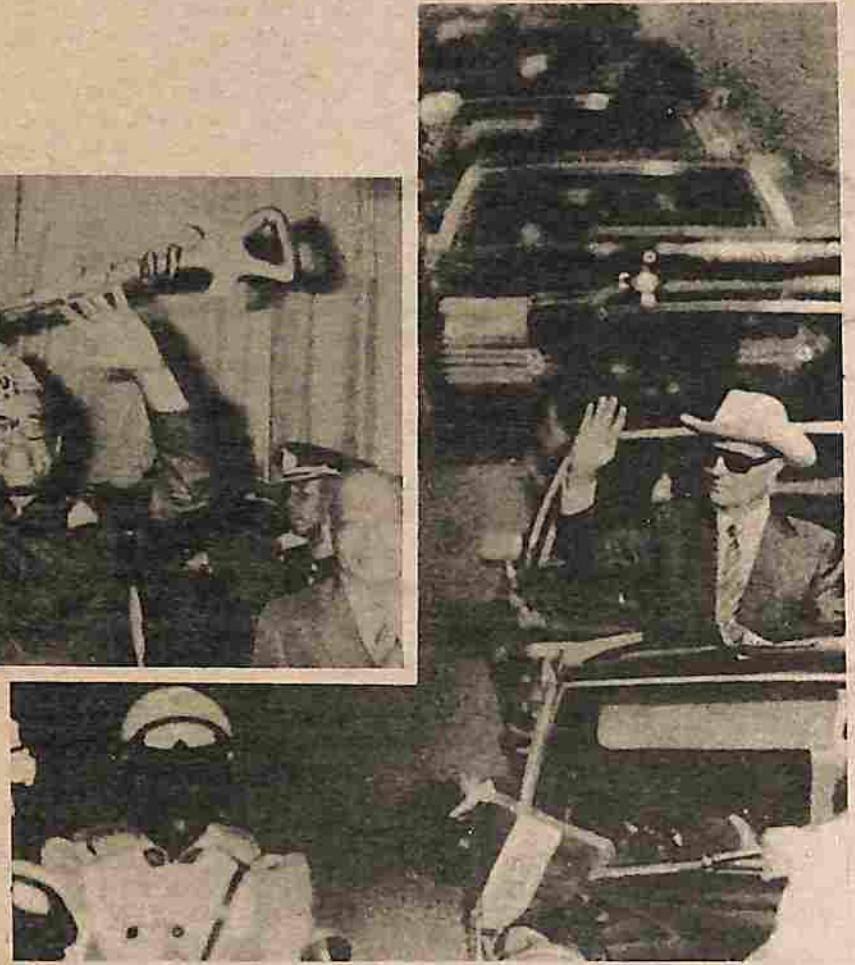
people were killed. Finally in 1962 the French were forced to concede formal independence to Algeria. While the full story of the Algerian war and France's role in it cannot be dealt with in this article, there are a few points about the role of various French officials, namely Mitterand & Co., which are well worth getting into, especially in terms of putting the role of France in Africa today in the proper perspective. In the early 1950s Mitterand, the "socialist," had served as the Minister of Overseas France, the post responsible for the administration of all French colonial possessions. By 1954 and the beginning of the Algerian war, he was Minister of the Interior under the Mendes-France government. At the beginning of the Algerian war, Mendes-France made the position of the French imperialists impeccably clear. In a speech to the French assembly, he stated: "One does not compromise when it comes to defending the internal peace of the nation, the unity and integrity of the republic. The Algerian departments are part of the French republic. They have been French for a long time, and they are irrevocably French Between them and metropolitan France there can be no conceivable secession." The Mendes-France position was quickly and loudly backed up by Mitterand, who stated, "The only possible negotiation is war!" A short time later, Mitterand expounded on his view during a speech to the French assembly: "Algeria is France. And who among you, Mesdames and Messieurs, would hesitate to employ every means to preserve France?" Two years later, Mitterand's own party, the Socialist Party, took over the reins of government. Once again Mitterand served in a cabinet-level position as the Socialist Party presided over the intensification of the war in Algeria, including stepping up conscription and calling up reserve military forces to active duty. Under the Socialist Party the level of French military personnel in Algeria reached 500,000, nine times more than what it had been in 1954.

Peaceful Decolonization

In addition to Algeria, there were also a few other colonial wars that the French had to wage at that time, specifically in Madagascar and Cameroon, although on a smaller scale, and there were also a number of localized rebellions that the French moved to crush throughout their



Mitterand and Mobutu



Mass uprising in Algeria, 1960.

empire. But, in the main, the Algerian war had the French imperialists pretty thoroughly tied down and this, together with their defeat in Vietnam, pushed them to search for some means to avoid the recurrence of similar situations in other parts of their empire. It was off of this that the French developed their "peaceful decolonization" plan in Africa. The key principle in the French colonial theory was to attempt to portray the French colonies not as colonies per se but instead as integral parts of the French republic — "overseas France." Along these lines the French imperialists even extended the right to vote to a large number of their colonial subjects following World War 2, and it was not uncommon for each new parliament to contain a small, although limited, number of representatives from the various African colonies. The official decolonization plan, known as Loi Cadre, was a sort of twist-off from this basic principle; it was authored by Mitterand, working together with notable French colonial puppets such as Leopold Senghor. (Senghor also holds the top position in the Socialist International today and had gained quite a bit of notoriety back then on the basis of attempting to convince the people of Se-

negal that they were actually French. Senghor even came to power in Senegal demanding that the people of Senegal be granted French citizenship and "respect" under colonialism.) The plan was eventually implemented by DeGaulle and earned him the nickname of "the Great Decolonizer." The gist of the plan was simple, not to mention blatantly neo-colonial — step-by-step progress from direct colonial rule to autonomy and then independence and reorganization into a French commonwealth in Africa. One crucial part of the plan was to break up the two large French territories, French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa, into numerous small states in order to remove the threat of a challenge to French neo-colonial rule from a large, formally independent state. In 1958 De Gaulle held territorial elections to form the commonwealth or some sort of confederation of French African states. Of all the former French colonies only Guinea, under Sekou Toure, refused outright to accept the French plan. In retaliation the French withdrew from Guinea, literally taking everything they could out of the country with them, including even ripping the telephones out of the wall. (It

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Soweto — since the June 1976 uprising of youth and students, Soweto has been a symbol of the continuing resistance of the Azanian people to the apartheid South African regime and its U.S. imperialist backers. One of the largest black townships in Azania, Soweto also crystallizes what life is like for millions of urban Azanians. The RW recently had the opportunity to speak with an Azanian youth from Soweto. A high school student in 1976, this brother was involved in the uprising and later arrested. After 12 months in jail he was released, returned to school and continued his involvement. In 1980 he was compelled to leave Azania and enter a refugee camp in one of the surrounding countries. Upon entering the country he was detained for 2 months before joining thousands of other Azanians, many of whom were driven out of Azania for their activities in 1976 and beyond, in a refugee camp. These camps have become active centers of political discussion and struggle between the various political trends in Azania as well as organizing centers for the liberation of Azania. What follows is this brother's comments on the life of Azanian youth in Soweto:

I came from Soweto, born and grew up in Soweto. Soweto is actually an abbreviation, it means Southwestern Township. It is composed of a number of very small towns, small towns where blacks are located. Blacks are housed in these towns and they (the towns — RW) are very, very poor. It is not like in the towns where you find white people. There are roughly about 3 million people living in Soweto. Soweto developed when all these other towns were moved there. For instance there was Sophia Town which was a very, very old town that was moved to the Soweto area. There was the town of Worst, most of the people who lived there are now in Meadowlands, one of the towns in Soweto. It was a black town but the government wanted to use it since it was a good area, a productive area. They didn't want blacks to stay there so they moved them to Soweto. Right now that area is a town but it is a town where only whites live; you can't find a black man there now. In other places in Soweto there are people who come from other towns and parts of Azania. These towns were just small areas where blacks were living. That was the intention of the government, they wanted small towns where their domestic servants and factory workers could live near the white cities but not in them. Blacks work in the white towns but they are not permitted to stay in town the whole day; they are just permitted to stay in town for maybe 8 hours. Blacks are expected to work the whole day in the town and then he back in their town during a certain period of time. Then, when Soweto was developed, blacks were removed from these towns and moved far away from the white cities. This is because the government wanted to use this area for the expansion of their cities. So these black towns were moved to the area called Soweto. The purpose was to move blacks as far away from the white cities as possible and yet keep them as near as necessary in order to keep the factories working. In the area of Soweto there are many people who work in the factories and others who work for the government, lower level government jobs like clerk or security guard

Many people in Soweto do work, they are hired; but there are also many, many unemployed. With all of the unemployment there is also a lot of crime going on. You'll find a family of about 15 — the parents and 13 children — in a house and the mother is maybe working as a servant and she gets about \$30 a month and the father is getting maybe \$40 a month. That money won't be able to feed the whole family. So the family has to divide themselves up in order to get enough food in the house. Some have to leave school and go and work — even though when they work they will only get a small, small salary that won't be able to feed the family.

In Soweto we live in houses that are only 4 rooms, and the rooms are small. We have lights and use electricity but we are only allowed to use a very small amount. For instance we are just allowed to put one lamp in each room. When you use things like an iron or an electric kettle, that is going to cost a lot of money and we don't have any money. So most of the

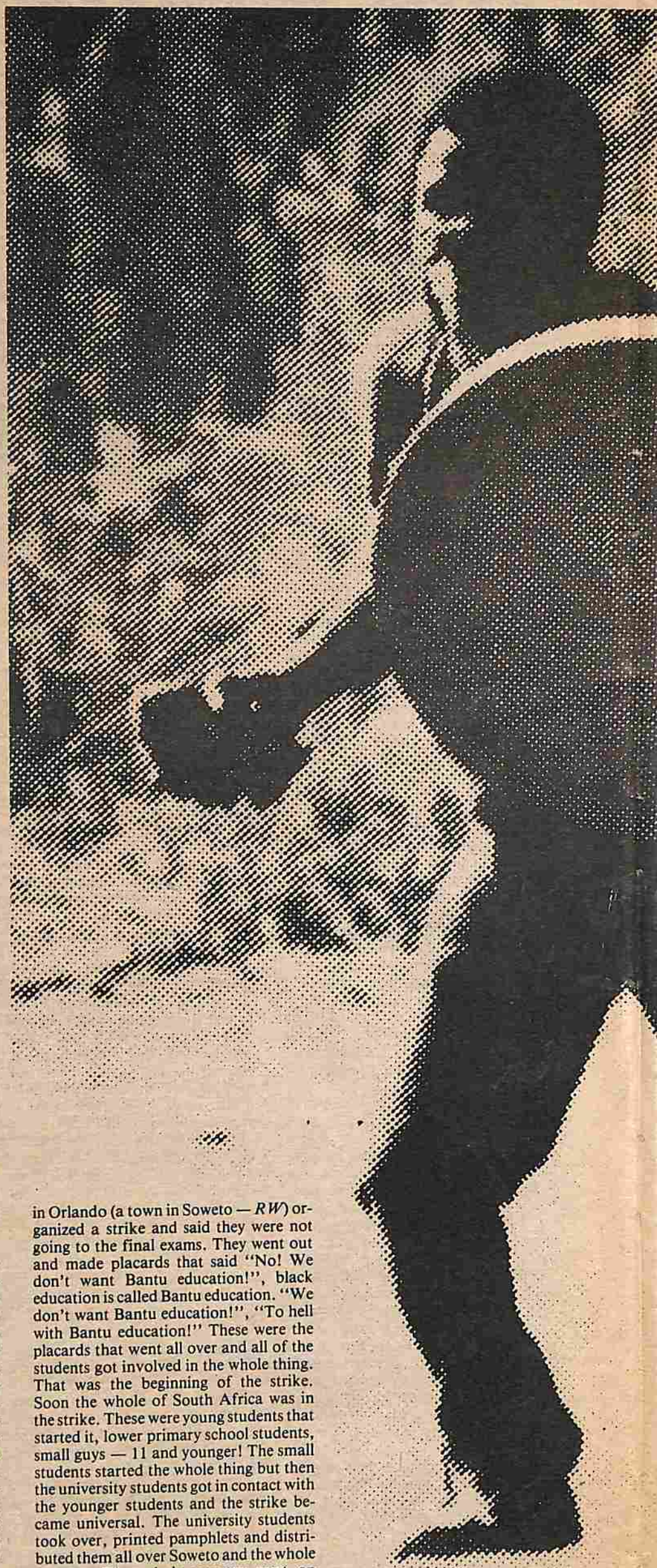
people don't use the electricity. And again, water is very, very expensive. So most of the people don't use the electricity or the water. Maybe in a month you would have to pay \$10 for electricity and still you are supposed to eat even though you get maybe \$40 a month. You can't manage to pay the rent, say maybe \$30 a month, you can't manage to buy food and pay for the electricity and the water all at the same time. Not on \$40 a month, you can't do it. The houses are double houses, they are like a box of matches; in fact that is what we used to call them. They are divided up to house two families with a wall separating them. The houses are very small but the yard is spacious although you can't plant anything there. The houses are made of bricks and the tops are made of something like thin strips of asbestos or tar paper. You can break the rooftops with anything, sometimes when it snows or hails the roof will just rip apart. When it breaks you have to go and report it and then it takes about 2 months to get it fixed and then you have to pay for it. The streets are always congested, full of children playing and other people. The children play in the streets, we have grounds for them but there are no facilities on these grounds so the children play in the streets. There is no resting on the streets in Soweto. It is always noisy day and night, sometimes you can't tell when it is day or night — the noise is the same. There's also a large police presence in Soweto but they can't control anything. . . .

When you grow up in Soweto it is very, very hard. You survive by chances. When you are about 11 or 12 years old they are not able to take much care of you at home so you have to sort of help in the family and do something. You have to work or get some kind of part-time job. Like I was washing cabs for money. It was during the time when I left school so I had to go and wash some cabs to get some dollars to eat each day. Most of the youngsters, when they work they don't bring this money home, they just decide to stay out of the family. When I did this, I had to sleep in the water pipes at night. In the summertime that is very dangerous because sometimes the pipes will flood when the water is turned on during the night and you can't hear it. I slept in the pipes for some times and other times I would sleep in the toilets in town or sometimes in old scrap cars. This is very common in Soweto. These are the "bad boys" — and they are not bad boys as such but they are made into bad boys. Maybe you don't have the money to go to school and so you go out, nobody cares for you, you are dirty, you don't wash and don't do anything, you can only do what you can to survive, that is how you survive. When you work if you are lucky you can keep the money for yourself — a lot of times the gangsters take it from you. I started doing this when I had finished Standard Three, or Grade 5 and I lived like this for two years. Then I went back home and returned to school. I studied as far as Form I, Grade 9, and then went to Grade 10 — that is as far as I went because then it all broke out, the Soweto riots.

In June of 1976 the youth and students of Soweto shook the imperialist world as they rose up in defiant rebellion. What initially began as a protest against the apartheid educational system quickly broadened into something that brought into question the whole nature of the South African regime among students and youth throughout all of Azania. Beyond the students and youth, the uprising also served as a powerful spark for very broad forces among the Azanian people including the Azanian working class. Although the South African government attempted to crush the rebellion, murdering 600 or more youth and students in the process, the Soweto uprising became a battle cry and gave birth to a whole new generation of Azanian revolutionaries and intensified the political ferment and struggle among all Azanian revolutionaries. All of this lives on today and is growing and developing in a radically changed world, one in which both the dangers of world war are intensifying and the prospect for revolution are being magnified in an unprecedented way and on a global scale.

The thing that provoked the students to boycott in 1976 was the language, the official language, that is Afrikaans. The students at one of the schools

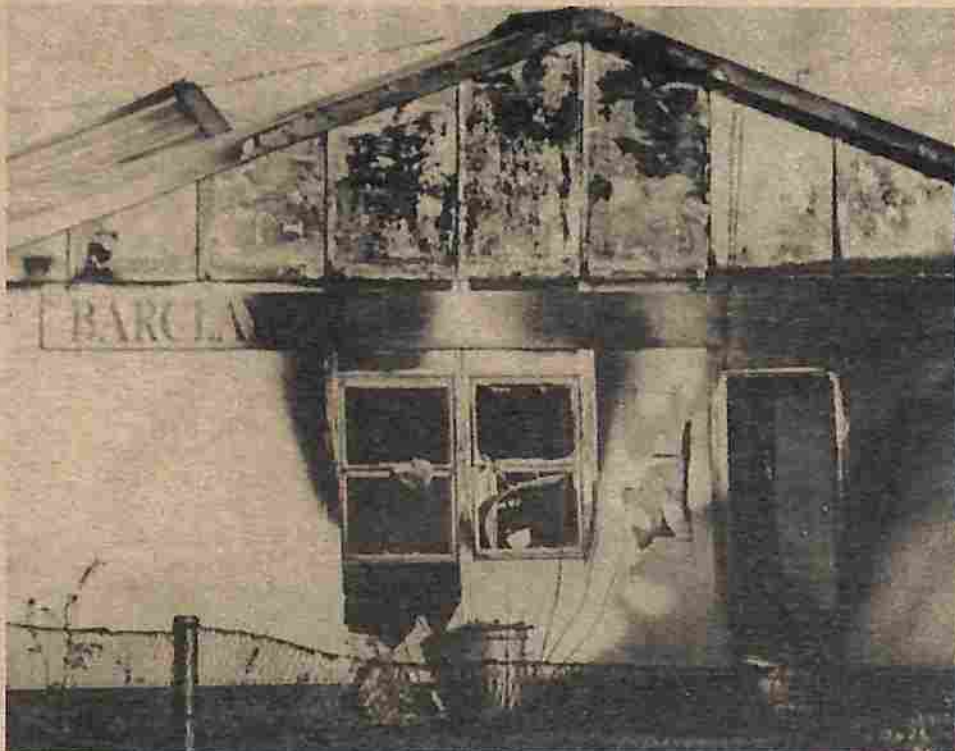
the youth of s



in Orlando (a town in Soweto — RW) organized a strike and said they were not going to the final exams. They went out and made placards that said "No! We don't want Bantu education!", black education is called Bantu education. "We don't want Bantu education!", "To hell with Bantu education!" These were the placards that went all over and all of the students got involved in the whole thing. That was the beginning of the strike. Soon the whole of South Africa was in the strike. These were young students that started it, lower primary school students, small guys — 11 and younger! The small students started the whole thing but then the university students got in contact with the younger students and the strike became universal. The university students took over, printed pamphlets and distributed them all over Soweto and the whole country. The whole country went on strike and then the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) was formed. The strike still continued from 1976, it went on in '77, '78, '79 — still the same strikes. When the date of June 16 comes, it is still the same thing. On that day we are supposed to try to stop our parents from going to the job too. Now they are no longer supposed to be strikes against the Bantu education system. Now it is sort of something that goes against apartheid. The question was where does Bantu education derive from. And the source is

the system. The system is not a good system and in order to wipe out Bantu education you have to deal with the whole system. Bantu education is part of the oppression of the people. Bantu education itself is inferior education, it is inferior to the white education. It is not equal to the white student's education; you are taught certain subjects and you are not taught certain subjects. It makes you concentrate only what is going on in the country, for instance it makes you learn about the

soweto



"We broke into and burnt banks. We burnt trains and buses, like the bus company PUTCO bus; we burnt and crippled a lot of that company's buses and properties. We burnt offices and government stores. Wherever there was something of the government in Soweto we'd burn it..."



Top: Barclays bank didn't make it through the first day of the 1976 Soweto rebellion. Bottom: Thick smoke pours from a government owned beerhall. Smoke was so thick during the rebellion that the police found it difficult if not impossible to coordinate their activities from the air.

presidents of the Bantustans. You are taught about the presidents inside the Bantustans but you are not allowed to learn about the international world, the people outside. The students wanted equal education and equal rights. When you deal only with the language, the language itself leads you to a lot of other questions.

Union workers got involved in the strikes too. And the strikes continued until the government began shooting and

many students died in that year (1976 — RW). Even many of our parents died because we were trying to stop them from going to the job. When we tried to stop them from going to the job they would try to struggle with us to let them go to the job. They would say: "Without going to the job we won't survive, we won't eat. If you stop us from going to the job then what do you expect us to eat?" What they were saying was to leave the government to function the way it was. They are

frightened, whenever they think of the field of politics they think of Robben Island and then they don't want to hear of politics, they just want to go and work for the master. Then there was the Zulus who used to work in the mines and live in hostels. They formed a union to fight against the students and they killed a lot of students. They killed many students with long sticks, they would go patrolling early in the morning and go to the bus stops. Whenever we tried to stop them from go-

ing there they would rebel against us and try to beat us and kill us. And the government would protect them. And the protection was to kill the students...

Then we did a lot of mess in the government's buildings and properties for instance. We broke into and burnt banks. We burnt trains and buses, like the bus company PUTCO bus; we burnt and crippled a lot of that company's buses and properties. We burnt offices and

Continued on page 11

The Nature of Judge Ragan's "Precedent-Breaking" Custody Ruling

In the December 31st issue of the *RW* we called Judge Gerald Ragan's ruling in the hearing for permanent custody of Mao Defendant Tina Fishman's daughter Riva "as cowardly as it was vicious." But given the press and media's distorted reporting of the decision many came to believe that Tina was awarded custody of her daughter even though it wouldn't happen for 6 months. At a feminist party in San Francisco, the night of the decision, a member of the Committee Against the Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Daughter was congratulated by many present on the "victory." Tina's lawyer even received congratulations from other lawyers not familiar with child custody cases or the specifics of Ragan's ruling.

In examining the Catch-22 of bourgeois law in general, and this ruling in particular, it becomes strikingly clear how Ragan, in the service of the state, quite purposely ruled in such a way as to give the impression of impartiality (and thus hopefully cool down the broad and growing outrage at this political kidnapping) while maneuvering to continue this political attack, including clearing a way for Ted Fishman to get permanent custody. The ruling was most definitely both a vicious and cowardly one and warrants further exposure along with the rest of the attacks in this case.

Judge Ragan is well known in legal circles as a "fair and liberal" judge; in the words of Tina's lawyer "they couldn't have given us a harder judge" precisely because of this nice guy facade. By the time of the trial many progressive forces were pretty clear on why Judge Browning (the man who aided Ted initially with the kidnapping) did what he did. But Ragan's ruling is diffuse and cloudy; lawyers familiar with child custody cases, for example, asked Tina's lawyer how Ragan could have been so "confused" or "just plain stupid."

A more detailed examination of some precedent-setting child custody cases makes clear that Ragan's problem is neither stupidity nor confusion but cowardice and reaction, and a very conscious attempt to confuse and defuse the broad political outrage surrounding the Fishman case. The case examples below were all well-known to Ragan, and were in fact all used in legal papers filed for Tina. For Ragan, the political particularity of Tina's case was decisive, and not the precedents set in somewhat parallel cases, nor the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act (UCCJA).

The first point in the UCCJA is that of "jurisdictional precedence" — i.e., where a case gets battled out. *Ferreira vs. Ferreira* was a classic 1971 case cited in many child custody cases. In fact, it was used as a precedent to help shape the UCCJA, and Judge Ragan used it himself in his final ruling.

In *Ferreira vs. Ferreira*, the father while visiting his children, took them to California from Alabama where they lived with their mother who had custody. The father petitioned the courts to give him custody, because there was a question of the stepfather abusing them. The mother made a motion to California to dismiss because Alabama was the home state of her and the children. The court agreed and ordered the father to surrender the children immediately. Instead, he filed in another California court, so the mother petitioned for *habeas corpus* (i.e., order him to give her the kids right now or be in contempt). Because of the possible issue of abuse the court gave the father temporary custody and was overruled on appeal. The higher courts said he had no case precisely because he had kidnapped the children and only Alabama had jurisdiction to hear his claim for custody. He was ordered to return them immediately.

In citing *Ferreira vs. Ferreira*, Judge Ragan said, "As pointed in *Ferreira*, even when the non-custodial parent comes into the California court with unclean hands (i.e., he has committed the crime of child abduction — *RW*) the safety of the child prevails, but the final adjudication should be in the foreign state (home state). So, in the present case, this court

finds that Ted has consistently and repeatedly sought out a forum (a place to hold the hearing for custody — *RW*) that would transfer custody of Riva to him. He finally succeeded by his allegations of emergency. The court finds his use and misuse of this court to be offensive. Clearly, he should have sought relief in Illinois, the irrefutable home state of Riva." Ragan goes on to call Ted a liar for writing to Tina that he'd return Riva to her when in fact he was filing a court action with Judge Browning. But instead of telling this liar and kidnapper to give back the child immediately as clearly indicated by the case he cites, Ragan declares yet another "emergency" and extends the kidnapping for 6 months!

In the UCCJA, it clearly states that the loophole of emergency, which might conceivably allow a parent without custody even to abduct his child and seek jurisdiction in another state, is defined as the child being "subjected to or threatened with mistreatment or abuse." Ragan agrees that, "Emergency means imminent child abuse" and that it did not exist in this case. "The facts are that Tina was ready, willing and able to continue the rearing of her child."

Let's look at another case to examine this emergency situation. In *Martin vs. Martin*, the father charged among other things that the mother had numerous love affairs in the presence of her two children. The lower courts in New York, where the father lived, backed his action of stealing the kids from her and seeking a new custody hearing in New York. The higher courts threw the case out, making it clear that "...if the mother be an unfit parent, that is a matter for the Florida courts to decide."

Judge Ragan correctly said that "Commissioner Browning assumed jurisdiction on the basis of an emergency which as a matter of law did not exist..." and turned around and declared a new emergency. What emergency? That since Riva has been kidnapped for one and a half years already, "To uproot Riva at this time would be psychologically traumatic to an extreme degree..." which is certainly stretching his own earlier definition of emergency as "imminent child abuse."

Ragan goes on to leave no doubt that he hopes to give Ted every opportunity to make Riva's return to her mother even more "psychologically traumatic" as further justification for continuing this kidnapping. "Riva has been under very intense and effective influence of her older sister Shanti, as well as the influence of Ted and Harriet. The court recognizes that at this stage of her life, with these strong influences, she adamantly, emotionally and intellectually, wants to stay in California." He goes on to note that "in the absence of maternal contact" this influence can only get stronger. So what does his honor do to cement this maternal contact? He gives Tina one 10-day visitation period (possibly two) in the next 6 months. This is hardly 6 months of time to prepare the child for a return to Tina but it is 6 months of time to put further pressure on Riva in order to create better conditions for a decision to award permanent custody to Ted. Judge Ragan would call it "in the best interests of the child."

A 6-month "readjustment" period is legally unprecedented. In every case the lawyers and Judge Ragan cited (over 20), once the business of emergency and jurisdiction was settled, the abducting parent was ordered by higher courts to give back the children immediately. No one could find a single example where kidnapping was extended. Let's look at *Fry vs. Judge Ball*, a very interesting case in this light. Gwen Fry was given legal guardianship for her grandson Scott by the California courts while his mother was in a drug rehabilitation clinic and his father was up on charges of pushing heroin. The grandmother took him to her home in Colorado. Then she petitioned the court in Colorado to award her permanent custody. The father showed up, assaulted the grandfather and threatened the little boy with harm and was arrested. Despite the fact that the grandmother was legally his (temporary) guardian and there clear-

ly was an emergency existing, Colorado's higher courts told her she had to return the boy and petition the California courts, which had jurisdiction. But "(The) facts raise a genuine concern for Scott's welfare. We, therefore, conclude it is proper for this court under its equity powers to permit Scott to remain in the temporary custody of Gwendolyn Fry, pending the institution of a petition addressed to the Superior Court of Orange County, California, requesting a modification of its custody decree entered on June 3rd, 1975." The court gave Scott to his grandmother for 40 days, during which time she had to seek custody in California or lose him. No 6 months here, and *Fry vs. Ball* was the only exception to the immediate return order we could find.

The case that best illustrates all these items together is *Hopson vs. Hopson*, which Tina's lawyer was able to use as an example again and again. The Hopsons were married in Arizona and had two children. After the divorce, custody being awarded to the mother with visitation rights for the father, he returned to his home state of Tennessee and she moved to California. Eight months later, he visited the children and took them to Tennessee without her consent — a kidnapping. He then began proceedings in Tennessee, which upheld his right to take the kids since both wanted to stay with him and not the mother. After nearly 4 years of trials, petitions, counter-petitions, and a maze of rulings from both California and Tennessee, the mother appealed to a higher court which upheld her custodial rights. The father was ordered to surrender the children immediately. The Tennessee courts were chided for even hearing (let alone upholding) his original petition since he was clearly a kidnapper.

It was not even considered that it would be "psychologically traumatic to an extreme degree" to uproot these children who had lived in Tennessee for nearly 4 years. Nor was there need to make allowance for a 6 month "gradual readjustment between mother and (child)... to close the rift that has

developed," as Judge Ragan stated in defending his extension of the kidnapping. In fact, in the Hopson case the court ruled that "there was insufficient showing that harm to children if they were returned to mother was any more irreparable than caused by father in creating situation in the first instance..." In fact, the court in the Hopson case cited yet another precedent to the effect "a change in custody may prove temporarily disruptive to the children is not determinative, for all changes in custody are disruptive."

As for the fact that Ted claims Riva wants to stay with him anyway, *Hopson* says, "justification for kidnapping based on a child's request or a parent's belief that he was acting in the child's best interests, is nowhere found in the UCCJA." So according to a precedent case backed up by the wording of the UCCJA, Ragan 1) had no jurisdiction to even hold the hearing in the first place, 2) shouldn't touch this case because Ted is a kidnapper, 3) should immediately give Riva back to Tina regardless of any claims by Ted.

Not only is Ragan's decision not a victory, but it leaves open the distinct possibility of Illinois getting rid of this political hot potato by giving jurisdiction to California on the basis that now California is Riva's home state, not Illinois. And we don't have to guess twice to figure out what Judge Ragan's ruling would be in a custody case where he would have legal jurisdiction. He has already called Tina a woman with a "fanatical obsession with a political issue which has blinded her to the true needs of a 10-year-old child. Tina has become doctrinaire and as a result is losing the love of her children." All this only shows again that what is determining things in the Tina case is not the laws, rules and precedents of child custody, but the government's political vendetta against the RCP and women revolutionaries. As the battle against this blatant political kidnapping continues, all of these cowardly and vicious maneuvers need to be fully exposed and opposed. □

Depo-Provera

Continued from page 5

the pill, nor insertion at the time of intercourse like other birth control devices. Also, it does not carry the politically explosive consequences of a kind like those of forced sterilization programs tried in India. Any paramedical personnel can give the shot easily. As one doctor at a Planned Parenthood conference said in praise of the drug, "No woman in the world is more than a kilometer away from somebody with a syringe." Plus, there is the added advantage, as noted in the AID-funded publication *Population Reports*, that "Injections are associated with safe, effective, modern medicine." Such humanitarians have gone to great lengths to promote the drug. Dr. Malcolm Potts, director of the International Fertility Research Program (AID-funded), suggested advertising one of the drug's adverse side effects, swollen breasts, as a virtue! He suggested the following marketing slogan: "It makes your breasts more beautiful and is good for everyone — including the tailors who have to make bigger brassieres."

A strong reason for the push to legalize Depo-Provera in the U.S. is that the American government's policy of dumping drugs in the oppressed nations that have banned here has spurred tremendous outrage. The FDA's approach, it is hoped, would demonstrate that the drug is safe enough even to be used commonly in the U.S. and therefore fine for use elsewhere. Depo-Provera has been banned in India after it was noted that mothers who inadvertently took the drug without knowing they were pregnant produced deformed children. Women in England, where the drug is approved for limited use, led a fight to keep it from being legalized as a contraceptive. And many feminist groups in the U.S. dealing with women's

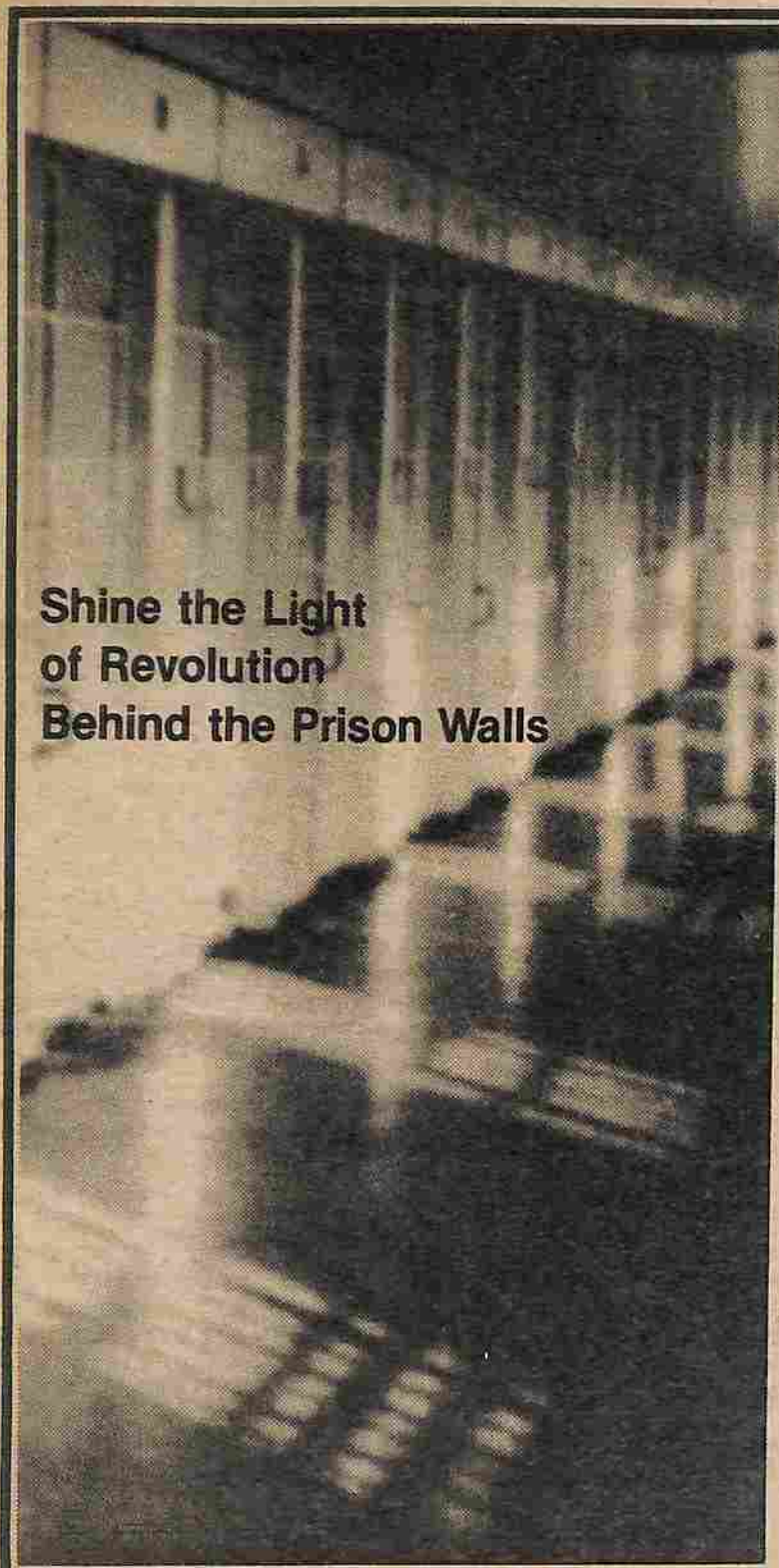
health care have vowed that they will not accept this double standard and will fight to see that the drug is not sold anywhere in the world.

There are also indications from some quarters of plans to use Depo-Provera for population control schemes within the U.S. Dr. Malcolm Potts put it this way:

"I'd like to suggest that even among the vast population of the United States you can find subgroups of people who have the same problems as people in the Third World. They may not be so large, but you know you have several million immigrants from Mexico, who bring with them the same health problems, the same cultural assumptions, the same need for fertility regulation as they had in Mexico."

"I think that if the FDA were to turn its attention to the needs of some of the subgroups within the United States, we would not be faced with the situation in which we can be accused of having a dual standard of medical practice and drug regulation around the world."

Of course, the government is not mainly defending Depo-Provera in such blatantly political terms in the current hearings. As the *New York Times* reported, "The chief focus of the hearing will be the validity of the animal and human studies." Depo-Provera's supporters say that animal results are not relevant to humans and that millions of women throughout the world have used the drug safely — perhaps like the starving women of Thailand who were coaxed by AID officials to take Depo-Provera in exchange for a free chicken. Opponents of the drug have pointed to the animal studies as irrefutable evidence of the drug's dangers. It was this that prompted Ray Ravenholt during a 1978 hearing banning Depo-Provera to rail against "the tyranny of the beagle dog." After all, the tyranny of U.S. imperialism over women in the oppressed countries, as well as in the U.S., is far too important to be interfered with by such obstacles. □



Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

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

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

Dear R.C.P. Publications:

I'm presently incarcerated in a concentration camp here in Illinois, one of the many endless camps coast to coast in "the land of the tree." Which is why I'm writing in an effort to start obtaining your publications to help broaden my international revolutionary understanding and those of others as well. Because a lot of good people have been so brainwashed, indoctrinated and disillusioned that they don't know what direction they are traveling in. So they don't even realize that they have an oppressor enemy let alone who they are — "U.S.A., U.S.S.R., C.P.C." and the rest of the imperialist oppressors and "revolutionary" revisionists of the world. So I would appreciate it very much if you will start sending me your new publications so I can better de-westernize as many proletarians of all colors as I can. In the name of solidarity of all the proletarians struggling for their freedom.

Political Prisoner

To My Beloved Comrades in Arms—

While reading the Dec. 17th issue of *Revolutionary Worker*, it came to my attention that you were offering "Boxed Collections" of pamphlets by the RCP, USA. And as a forerunner of the revolutionary minds here within the "Belly of the Beast" I would like to make a request.

I have tried to petition the funds for the two priceless collections among my constituents, but attempts have been to no avail — and it is understandable since we are only paid 35¢ a day. So with this in mind, I would like to make an open plea for the forwarding of the above literature, as I

sincerely believe that it would serve as a stimulus to the development and growth of the revolutionary minds that have enrolled themselves within our "political awareness" classes here in this institution. So if it is financially feasible, we would appreciate the cooperation of our brothers and sisters on the other side. And before I say Thank You, I would like to say — "Though we are physically apart, we are and will always be together in mind and in struggle."

Speaking for the body of revolutionaries here who are truly dedicated to change.

Dear Comrades,

I recently read Bob Avakian's speech "Iran: It's Not Our Embassy" and it opened my mind to some things I didn't think of before. He has the right idea, but like I have said before, I support the revolution that caused the overthrow of the Shah, that capitalist puppet who oppressed the people, the workers and our comrades in Iran. But our leftist brothers in Iran are being killed by the present government there, and something has to be done; it is true that our Iranian comrades fought in the '60s and '70s with us against our common oppressors on campuses all over.

Comrade Avakian is a man of his word, and what he says, he does. We can learn a lot from him.

These capitalist fools have to be destroyed totally. We can overthrow these capitalists by force, and possibly without even force it can be done. There are ways and I'm with you all the way.

I also got the other book by Bob Avakian, "On the Mao Tsetung Defendants' Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead." There is one more book I could use: it is "The Science of Revolution." I appreciate it, if you can send it like you sent the last two books, because if it comes through the package room, I will get it, but if it comes any other way, they will censor it. I enclose the decision of these capitalist dogs on the previous two publications that you sent me. (Enclosed document showed that prison officials denied *New Programme and New Constitution* of the RCP, USA and the pamphlet "If There Is To Be Revolution, There Must Be A Revolutionary Party" — *RW*)

The U.S. government will fall, with force we can do it. Revolution, Socialist Revolution is the right way, so let us join forces and be one and destroy these imperialists who oppress us. Let us follow Comrade Bob Avakian to victory. Long Live Socialism.

In Solidarity "We Stand As One"

P.S.: The Disposition Notice — keep it as evidence against these capitalist guards. They let capitalist, religious and sex books in here, but deny the truth which is socialism is the right way.

Soweto

Continued from page 8

government stores. Wherever there was something of the government in Soweto we'd burn it, including municipal buildings and police stations. A lot of police stations were burnt during that time. The police had to protect all of this property and in protecting that it meant to kill the students. And most of the police that were inside Soweto then were black police but they were compelled to shoot the students because they were told by the government to do what the government wanted them to do. So they went on shooting and we went on striking. When they killed students we went on strike.

Many people went from striking students to revolutionaries because of the feeling of oppression. The people in Azania are very militant and are very aware of the situation even though they are not all politically wise. They had heard of freedom but they had never experienced that kind of freedom. They don't know what freedom is but they know the word. When you talk about freedom people want to know more, they become very interested. . . .

I didn't know a lot about politics and the outside world at the time, I just found myself doing it, being part and parcel of the whole thing. Sometimes I didn't know what I was doing but the people who planned the strikes and everything knew what they were doing. You just found yourself involved in the whole thing.

The police arrested students everywhere — along the streets, at the bus stops. I was arrested during the strike and spent 12 months being detained. There were a lot of students in each cell and there was also a lot of beating, every minute with jamboks. They called us "stone throwers" because of what we used against them and the buses and trains. But we went on, continued to sing freedom songs inside the cells. We never relaxed even though we were not given food, we would go three days without a meal. The cells were congested, no win-

dows — we were packed in there, sweating, hungry and many are dying. Your comrades are dying in the cell with you. Most of those who died in my cell, the police would come and assign maybe three students and say go and bury him, just dig a hole outside and bury him.

When I got out of jail I became active again with the SSRC. I was still in school in 1979 so I was selected to distribute pamphlets to the different schools. We held meetings and tried to get the whole students to be politicized. Not everybody knew things about politics, the ones who did would print things up and we would hold meetings to let all the students know what was happening. There was not really a lot of school going on at that time. There was a lot of political confusion and fluctuation. That led to a lot of students going out of the country because there were a lot of arrests from 1976, 1979 and 1980. And every June 16th we would hold memorials. The big place for the meeting was Regina Mundi. People like Bishop Tutu would chair the meeting and we would go there to commemorate our fellow brothers who died during 1976. This day is marked on the calendar of revolutionaries there. It is a day when many of the students died and a day that has to be respected. So every June 16th is the day that is put aside for the people not to work and although the government tries to make us go to work most of us don't go to work and recognize it as commemoration day. . . .

When I left the country in 1980 the situation in Soweto was very much the same — the students were still not too interested in going to school because of the strike and things going on . . . and the government is trying hard to discourage the whole thing . . . the government even uses black people to destroy the movement. Like for instance the system of making Bantustans. Soweto itself accommodates different races of blacks, so if you are from Zululand you are supposed to go to Zululand. The government is trying hard to create boundaries between blacks, to separate blacks under small governments, and encourage fighting among each other. When blacks are toge-

ther in Soweto they don't recognize themselves as a Zulu or whatever but they regard themselves as one nation. You'll find somebody there talking many languages. We have one language that we communicate with and that is called Tsotsi Tal, and that is known by everybody. It is a language that is composed of many languages like Zulu, Tswana, Sutu, Afrikaans, English and what-not. So all the people know this language, everybody who comes from South Africa knows this language. They learn it from Soweto. In Soweto your nextdoor neighbors may be Zulus on one side and on the other side another neighbor may be Ndebele or Xhosa. So they developed this language to communicate with each other. . . .

There are also rallies and demonstrations held in Soweto but the government is trying hard to suppress these kinds of things. There is also revolutionary literature available but if you are caught with it you go to jail. The people like this kind of stuff but they must make sure that they are secure about it. The stuff is really hidden but it is passed around house-to-house. But you have to be careful since there are blacks who are the enemy, who work with the system. The works of Marx, Lenin and Mao are not readily available — it is there but those who have it cannot expose it. Sometimes discussion groups and meetings are held among the youth but we have to hold the meetings in the schools or on the streets. Sometimes

we only have an hour for these meetings and then we are chased away.

The government tries to stop this. It has tried to create a class to help it. It uses passbooks that give you a certain time limit on wherever you may stay before you get sent back to the Bantustan or your country. Education is used by the government to make you ignore what is going on in the world. The government also uses its papers to label the freedom fighters as terrorists and tries to turn the people against the freedom fighters. And, the government promotes among the youth the idea that social life is the most important thing, to forget about everything else. . . .

In the refugee camps we do try to keep up with what is going on in the country through various ways like for instance visits from friends and relatives and reading various newspapers and journals. We also hold some meetings in the camps but the governments are trying to stop this. And, in some camps the South African government still has access to you. But in the camps the Azanian people remain militant and feel like a revolutionary. You get impatient though and want to get a gun and go back and liberate the people. And there is a lot of training for this that goes on in these camps, both training to go back and reading revolutionary literature. In the long run the country will be liberated! □

Revolution

CONQUER THE WORLD?

The International Proletariat Must and Will

This special issue of *Revolution* contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Its sections are:

- * Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road.
- * More on the proletarian revolution as a world process.
- * Leninism as the bridge.
- * Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up.
- * Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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Sing Sing

Continued from page 1

the cell block was stormed. While negotiators "talked," other officials scrutinized prison files trying to identify key troublemakers and potentially "dangerous" leaders including former Attica inmates. While negotiators "talked," Cuomo made it clear that the bottom line was that he would make no agreement that would "unduly erode respect for the state's authority." So while the state ran its line of "we'll talk, we'll listen," the threat of "we'll crush you by force" was ever present. In fact that was the whole point when Governor Cuomo said he just couldn't get Attica off of his mind — the tiger had not changed its stripes.

Exactly how the Cell Block B rebellion began remains unclear. According to the bourgeois press, the rebellion began when an inmate dared to disobey a prison guard's order, which rapidly erupted into open rebellion among hundreds of inmates. Nineteen guards were taken hostage and the cell block was seized and held by inmates for 53 hours. Given the role the media has played in this whole thing, it is safe to say that the story of the rebellion remains to be told by the prisoners themselves.

Immediately a wall of silence was thrown up around the prison. (And that wall of silence is now being enforced with Cell Block B completely sealed off from the other inmates. All visitors remain barred.) It was not until after midnight, Sunday, January 9th, that the authorities would even confirm that the cell block had been taken over. One of the first orders of Governor Cuomo was to deny prisoners access to the media. A conscious decision from the very beginning was made to prevent the inmates from having any voice.

And herein lies a jarring exposure and searing indictment of this democracy U.S.-style, incarcerated in this "land of the free" where hundreds of thousands of oppressed are crammed into these concentration camps and routinely subjected to the most vile and degrading conditions and tortures: when those caged in a prison which the guards like to call the "animal house" dare to stand up and refuse to be whipped again, in this "best of all possible worlds," they have no right to speak! "Interview them," a reporter quipped, "that would be like interviewing Attila the Hun." And from the mouths of those who enforce a most brutal dictatorship come the charges against those who refuse to live like animals, that they are "beasts" who must either be soothed with conniving psychology or subdued by force.

That the authorities moved so swiftly to cut off the prisoners from the outside underscored the state's vulnerability. As they could not immediately put it down, they first tried to silence it, and when that did not stop it, they only allowed that information out that the authorities wanted out. This tactic was used in an attempt to isolate the prisoners, to prevent a spillover effect in Sing Sing, and in other prisons and to limit support from "the outside." The entire population of Sing Sing was immediately locked in their cells at the outbreak of the rebellion. Though the prison administration chanted repeatedly that the majority of inmates were not supportive of the uprising, at least two incidents managed to leak through when one inmate threw soup at a prison guard and



"... Where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself."

another set a mattress on fire in protest.

Denying the inmates a platform from which to speak was a calculated move on the part of the authorities to put *them* in a position to regain control, to attempt to define the terms of the rebellion and attempt to chart its course. This did not always work. At one point just when the prison negotiators were about to announce that a deal had been made and the rebellion would soon be over, a state senator got on TV and announced that amnesty would not be negotiated. Immediately all hell broke loose again as the prisoners refused to call off the rebellion.

The prison administration and the "objective" press picked and chose what to report, what to emphasize and what to ignore. Prison officials agreed to air on TV a list of demands but this was not done until late Monday night, and only after an inmate had gotten on a bullhorn and read the demands to the press. In contrast, the contents of communications between inmates and prison officials and between inmates and the press outside in the initial hours of the takeover was only described as "rhetoric," "mysterious demands," and so on. Typical was the response of one reporter who said that he did not "understand" the prisoners' statements made over the bullhorn during the first day of the takeover. It is both quite likely that the "objective" press did not "understand" and that they did not want to "understand." Only one ABC TV crew was allowed to witness and film the negotiations and they were ordered out when prison officials wanted them out. In addition, apparently some of the inmates identified one among the TV crew as being a prison guard. The only footage to be aired from ABC's filming was that of the release of the prison guards.

Again, the spectre of Attica was raised, from another angle, as the prison guards who had been held hostage emerged before the TV cameras, ripping off the prison clothes which indicated a little too much table turning and yelling at prison officials to stop lying to the prisoners. This was a reminder that from their own self-interest pig point of view they had not forgotten that when the troopers' bullets flew at Attica killing 43, some of their own pigs got killed, as the U.S. government demonstrated that what was at stake was the authority of the state and not a few replaceable piggies. These guards were all immediately declared to

be suffering from the infamous "Stockholm Syndrome" and sent for psychiatric counseling.

Whether or not the prisoners made statements broadly indicting the system in some way remains to be answered, as does the question of what conscious political forces and viewpoints were involved. One of the many bedsheets that hung from the cell block windows read "BLA/FALN Unit." A photo of this appeared in one New York newspaper once, and no mention was made of it again. The demands finally listed by the press focused mainly on conditions in the prison and conditions for ending the takeover: the transfer of prisoners according to how long they had been waiting in Cell Block B; recreation time; receiving mail; medical attention; the presence of the Inspector General's office as witness when the CERT team re-entered the prison; media presence during the hostage release and amnesty for those who had taken part in the takeover. In yet another incredible turn of hypocrisy, the authorities and the press attempted to downplay the reported demands of the prisoners by comparing them to the anti-imperialist political consciousness expressed at Attica, and Governor Cuomo ran around talking about how all this rebelling wasn't necessary because he would have granted the prisoners' "requests" as he called them without a "strike" as he termed the takeover, if only he had known! This was both the height of hypocrisy and a damned lie.

Like most prisons Sing Sing is a roach-infested, crowded, filthy, old, decrepit hell-hole. Cell Block B is filled with people who are supposed to be awaiting transfer to other prisons. Because of their transient status, Cell Block B inmates have no access to job training or schooling, the lack of which effectively keeps them in prison when they go before the parole board, and the waiting time for transfer is sometimes six to eight months! The prisoners are kept in virtual lockup except for meals; visitation rights are severely restricted; and they get no mail.

Sing Sing is also known for the drug operations run by prison guards. Five guards were indicted last year on 20 counts of narcotics, corruption and accepting bribes for favors to inmates, methods routinely deployed to sow divisions among the inmate population. Last summer this current of sowing dissension resulted in two prisoners being killed

reportedly by other inmates. And these are the guards, the "family men," etc., who everyone was supposed to weep for when those who live under the rule of their nightsticks dare to take them hostage.

Anyone who has ever been in prison and many letters and testimony received by the *RW* can well testify to what happens to prisoners who attempt to pursue protests against even the horrid conditions, not to mention the brutal retaliation from guards at the slightest raising of the head. Now why would anyone rebel in a situation like that! Apparently the fact that oppression breeds resistance is as incomprehensible to Governor Cuomo as the demand raised at Attica for the prisoners to be released to a "so-called non-imperialist country," as the "objective" media is fond of saying. And just in case somebody missed the point about just how "Liberal" the likes of Governor Cuomo are, they have attempted to twist all the exposure of the prison system, including the fact that in the last four years in this bastion of "freedom and democracy" the number of prisoners in New York state prisons alone has increased from 19,000 to 29,000, into a rationale to build more prisons!

No sooner were the hostages released than the government demonstrated just how well they would fulfill the prisoners' demands — especially the one about no reprisals, as CERT troops, gas canisters in hand, conducted an immediate cell-by-cell strip search of inmates in Cell Block B. It does not take much imagination to figure out with the cell block still sealed off and no one allowed in and out but prison guards just what is going on there. Reports of having confiscated weapons from prisoners, and sad tales of the "mental trauma" suffered by seized guards are already setting the stage for legitimizing brutal retaliation against the prisoners. Furthermore, a number of guards have apparently been instantly cured of their so-called "Stockholm Syndrome" and have been trotted out on TV to personally thank "those inmates who protected their lives," and by implication to finger others for special retaliation. A one-month investigation of the uprising is underway with the government already floating out prospects of multiple felony charges. As more details of this rebellion come to light, we will continue to report them in the *RW*. □

RUMBLINGS

Continued from page 4
ports became a major feature (and weapon) of U.S. imperialism (today one-third of all U.S. agriculture is exported), land prices skyrocketed, leading many farmers to borrow heavily to expand their operations or start new farms. Now with land prices dropping, high interest payments and low market prices, the middle-sized farms with the largest debt burdens are being liquidated. It is this strata of middle (and some larger) farmers who formed the base of organizations like the AAM and actions like the tractorcades of 1977-79 and who are mainly in motion now.

Volatile Group

This is a volatile group — ground down and crushed by the system on the one

hand, stalwart defenders of the "American free enterprise system" on the other. Many are ardent supporters of the reactionary John Birch Society. But the material basis for the illusion which harkens back to the "good days" of pre-imperialist capitalism lies not only in the fact that these farmers' conditions of life and relationship to production are those of petty capitalists, but moreover, ironically enough, in the very international position U.S. imperialism has occupied. The boom in farming, for example, of 1973-74 was hardly a result of the "rugged individualism" of the American farmer who "feeds the world," but of U.S. global strategy vis a vis its allies as well as its enemies.

The farmers fell into some funny problems here. After the confrontation in Colorado, Jerry Wright said, "I'm not saying I didn't owe money on this contract. But...President Carter put a grain

embargo on to punish the Russians in Afghanistan and that lowered the prices of agricultural products \$1 per bushel and agricultural people were the only ones who suffered from that embargo." Later he said that if foreclosures are not stopped then "...this country will go to embrace communism just like Poland today, and people will be standing in line looking for food and looking for jobs."

Actually, if you think about it, Poland might be a pretty good model for the vision of some of these farmers. There, the government, due to political considerations, has gone out of its way exactly to maintain the small family farm through a system of state support and subsidies and to the detriment of overall capitalist development, as academics in the West are fond of pointing out. In any event, there are larger forces shaping international economic relations than the simple desire of the farmer to produce and ex-

change his commodity, and this is shown by the very conflict which is now developing in the rural areas of this country. (It is also shown by the fact that particular interests of the farmers on occasion bring them into opposition with overall necessities of the U.S. rulers — as with the Carter embargo.)

All this, though, is to say that there is a contradiction between the farmers and the imperialist system — and the role of these farmers is of strategic significance to the proletariat in making revolution and transforming society. The *New Programme* of the RCP takes the question up at length in the section "The Proletariat, Upon Seizing Power, Will Immediately Take Up the Transformation of Society." (See pages 57-64 in particular.) Readers are urged to both study this and popularize it, especially now as rural struggle against foreclosures and bankruptcies appear to be on the rise. □

Pink Panther

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should also be pointed out, however, that Guinea eventually ended up in the arms of the Soviet imperialists until 1980, when it deserted them for the U.S. bloc and in fact has even re-established very tight relations with France today.) For various reasons the French African commonwealth never came to full fruition, although the most important aspects of the Loi Cadre plan were fully implemented. From that point on it is an understatement to say that the French imperialists maintained very tight ties with all of their former colonies. In fact, the political leadership in the newly independent states was more often than not made up of former members of the French parliament and hand-picked by the French themselves. When a military government came to power in one or another of these countries, the ruling juntas were often composed of officers from the French colonial army. And, in order to ice any threatening opposition forces within the various countries, the French put the national police forces and army under their direct supervision, assigned the French secret service to the various countries and "lent" technical assistance from the French police and army counterinsurgency forces to their neo-colonial puppets.

While the French managed to maintain tight political control of their former colonies, the bottom line, as with any and all imperialists, was the maintenance of their "presence" in Africa through their military strength. This is crucial not only in terms of maintaining their neo-colonial empire but also in terms of fending off any other imperialist challenges and extending their presence even more broadly throughout Africa. The first 15 years of the decolonization plan were accompanied by a rapid expansion of French military bases and garrisons throughout its neo-colonial empire, and the pulling together of a number of different regional military alliances. Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Senegal, Madagascar, Chad and the Ivory Coast were some of the earliest sites of large-scale French military garrisons. At one point the French were forced to withdraw their troops from Madagascar, and in response to this they stationed a large number of their forces on the Comoros Islands, literally turning the small island nation into a large-scale French military fortress in the Indian Ocean.

In the years that followed the implementation of the "decolonization plan," both the political and military aspects of it were honed into a refined imperialist tool whose sole purpose was to defend and extend the French empire in Africa. Although the original commonwealth plan never fully developed, the French were able to pull together a loose confederation of African states which eventually developed into a sort of mini-bloc represented by the annual Franco-African summit. This organization was first pulled together at the time of the first summit, which took place in 1973 and had only six countries outside of France represented. By 1981, however, the summit was regularly attended by at least two-thirds of all the independent African countries. Militarily, these years saw a steady increase in the French military presence throughout all of Africa. And, although the French have managed to avoid the type of exposure of their crimes that has been directed against other imperialist powers, nonetheless the French have never hesitated to use all of the old tried-and-tested imperialist methods in preserving their empire. Political assassinations, coups and direct military intervention have all been frequently employed weapons in the French arsenal. Through the '60s and into the early '70s much of this was directed at crushing internal opposition forces within the various French neo-colonies, such as the savage repression of the Cameroon People's Union (UPC) and the political assassination of various UPC leaders, as well as the murder of Moroccan opposition leader Ben Barka. In Chad the French not only waged war against the opposition forces in Frolinat, but they also kept many of the rebellious provinces under direct French military occupation long after Chad was granted nominal independence. By the mid 1970s, however, with the emergence

of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power both driven to and capable of challenging the U.S. imperialist bloc around the world, and with the considerable gains made by the Soviets in Africa, the French were forced to direct more of their efforts toward countering the Soviets, both as an integral part of protecting their own interests from a Soviet challenge and as an important member of the U.S. bloc. Along these lines, mercenaries sponsored by the French government and its secret service invaded Benin in January 1977 in an attempt to overthrow the pro-Soviet government. When this invasion attempt was aborted and it was revealed that the French were behind it, the French imperialists simply brushed it aside as "a simple incident." French troops also invaded Zaire in 1977 and again in 1978 in order to battle Soviet-sponsored mercenaries who had invaded the copper-rich Shaba province of Zaire. In the Central African Republic (CAR) the long-time French puppet, Emperor Bokassa, was quickly axed in 1979 when he began flirting with the Libyans and through them, the Soviets. Since then the French have been more than conspicuous in their direct control of the CAR, with French officials occupying all of the key positions in the government while the French have run through a whole series of new puppets in their search for a replacement for Bokassa. In Chad, the French, after withdrawing their own troops, have sponsored the military occupation of the country by OAU troops and have been directly behind the various attempts to set up a new pro-West government in Chad as a countermove against the Soviet and Libyan attempts to wrench Chad into their bloc.

"Socialist" Calling Card

This was generally the situation in 1981 when Mitterand and the Socialist Party took over the reins of the French government. Mitterand's election was hailed around the world as a harbinger of great change in French imperial activity, especially in terms of its relationship with Africa. Mitterand & Co. themselves went overboard to promote this myth. One day after the election, Mitterand's new foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, made a point of appearing at the UNESCO African Liberation Day rally in Paris in order to reaffirm France's commitment to Africa. The Mitterand slogan, "To help the third world is to help France," became one of the major calling cards of the French imperialists in Africa. Countless international conferences have become forums for French "criticisms" of the unfair practices around the world. But, although the French "socialists" have exerted a good deal of energy in talking an interesting line, if the truth be told, little if any change has occurred in terms of the French relationship with Africa. In fact if anything the French imperialists have only intensified their imperialist subjugation of the colonies under the Mitterand regime.

All of the same old colonial and barely neo-colonial setup has been maintained and tightened up. More French troops than at any time since the end of their colonial war in Algeria are currently stationed in Africa. French politicians still shadow literally every important government official in the neo-colonial government. In the Ivory Coast and Gabon there are currently more French personnel there than there were under the old system of direct colonial rule. And this is true on every level throughout the entire French empire — in terms of education alone, there are at least 27,000 French teachers stationed in Africa. And although Mitterand made criticism of the former French government's relations with all of the tin-horn, petty dictators in Africa, most especially Mobutu, a key plank in his electioneering, Mitterand himself has taken great care to continue to cultivate these relations, including developing an even tighter relationship with Mobutu.

Economically the French are shameless when it comes to the thorough exploitation of their African colonies. Although Mitterand's government consistently criticizes the U.S. imperialists and others for their imperialist exploitation of Africa, in actual fact the French themselves are far from amateurs in this game. Under Mitterand, French economic exploitation of its neo-colonies has continued with a vengeance. For all of the French talk of aiding African countries and their criticism of their fellow imperialists along these lines, it is interesting to note what the actual



situation is. Most French aid today is in the form of "tied loans," that is, aid granted on the condition that all of it will be used to purchase products and services from French companies. In addition, the general situation concerning the character of this aid is pointed to in the fact that in 1980 profits and salaries repatriated from the Ivory Coast were far greater than the total amount of aid given that country during the same years.

Beyond the aid issue, France also has mammoth investments in every aspect of the economy of their neo-colonies — including hotels and transport systems and with a special emphasis on raw materials and oil. Typical of these deals is the operation of the French oil company Elf, in Gabon. Under the worked-out agreement Gabon gets less for its oil than any other oil-producing country in the world; in fact the average price obtained by OPEC countries for their oil is twice as much as what Gabon gets from the French. And interestingly enough, Africa is the only area of the world where the French consistently maintain a positive balance of trade. While it is obvious that the French are gaining quite a bit out of their economic activity in Africa, just the opposite is true for the neo-colonies themselves as is attested to by the fact that all of the French-dominated countries are among the poorest of all of the neo-colonial and colonial countries in the world.

One of the main forms of the French imperialists' exploitation of their African empire is indeed a classic — the French Franc Zone. Twelve African countries belong to this Franc Zone — Benin, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Mali, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Chad and Gabon. All of these countries maintain the CFA franc as their currency which is backed up by the French franc, supposedly in order to guarantee its stability (although in the context of the current crisis rocking the entire imperialist world this currency has in fact been anything but stable). Ostensibly, this setup is to provide for the establishment of a common foreign exchange reserve, common regulation of exchange rates and free transferability of capital within the zone. In theory, the member states are supposed to be able to call on unlimited credit with the French treasury. However, as always, the reality of the situation is quite different than the imperialists' theory and the French keep a very tight control over the monetary practices of their neo-colonies. In fact this is so much the case that if a member state's foreign exchange reserves drop below a certain specified amount, the French force them to go to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a loan in order to bring it up to the desired level. The benefits to France from this arrange-

ment are amazing. Not only does it provide a direct system of control over the monetary policy in the countries belonging to the zone, but it also means that France is able to pay for imports from these countries in CFA francs by simply crediting a common operational account which is kept in a central bank in Paris. At the same time, this account is also debited whenever the member states pay for imports from France. When a member state receives payment for exports to a non-member state this payment is converted to francs and is also deposited in the common operational account. One additional and obvious benefit to France from this setup is the tremendous boost on paper of French monetary reserves.

Expand or Die

In addition to their own empire, the French imperialists have also begun to push out in a big way into other parts of Africa. There is some very sharp competition between the French and the U.S. and British imperialists throughout Africa. And the French have made many recent inroads. One example is the current influence of the French in Nigeria, a long-time British and U.S. stronghold. Today, Nigeria has become a key country for French investment with more than 100 French firms operating in literally every area of the economy. Also, French banks have become the major financial institutions in Nigeria. The United Bank of Africa, a subsidiary of the Banque Nationale de Paris, is now the principal bank in Nigeria and is followed in importance by the Banque Internationale pour l'Afrique Occidentale and the Societe Generale. In addition to competition with the U.S. and Britain, the French have also made considerable inroads among the various Soviet-bloc countries, in particular the Congo, Mozambique and Angola.

Above and beyond all of this, however, probably the most important aspect of Africa to France is the fact that Africa is the major supplier of strategic raw materials to the French imperialists. According to figures compiled in 1977, France relied on Africa for 8% of its total imports and 42% of its strategic imports. Africa provided 100% of France's uranium, 63% of its cobalt, 90% of its manganese, 85% of its phosphates and 40% of its copper. In relation to the French dependence on Africa for its uranium, there are some especially interesting facts that should be brought out. Although the French maintain almost total control over the uranium in Niger, Gabon, and the Central African Republic, their needs dictate that they find still other sources. What this boils down to is that despite the fact that Mitterand vociferously "supports" Namibian independence and

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"condemns" South Africa and apartheid, nonetheless, business is business and consequently France has had major dealings with South Africa in order to obtain uranium. France not only owns a share of the Rossing Pits, the largest uranium mines in the world which are located in Namibia, but also purchases quite a bit of uranium directly from South Africa itself. In addition to this, there is at least one French company currently prospecting for new uranium reserves inside South Africa. On top of all this, France not only buys uranium from South Africa but in fact is one of the major suppliers of enriched uranium to the South Africans. Framatone, a French engineering consortium, has built a \$2.3 billion nuclear power plant for the South Africans at Koeberg. In addition to building the power plant the French have also supplied numerous technicians to assist in training the South Africans in running the plant. The Koeberg plant is capable of producing some very large nuclear weapons and once Mitterand came into office in France not only did he not stop the delivery of the reactors, but he ended up upholding the supply of the fuel rods for them. In addition to France's nuclear connection with South Africa, it is also revealing to note that despite their talk of an embargo against the apartheid regime, France ranks as South Africa's 5th largest trading partner and, as of April of 1982, there had already been a 50% increase in France's exports to South Africa in just one year. In order to facilitate all this trade, French technology was utilized to construct a new and modern South African port at Richards Bay. One final point along these lines that should be made is that although the French made quite a bit of noise about having embargoed arms sales to South Africa, it is also true that for many years the French were one of South Africa's main arms suppliers and today the South Africans continue to produce French weaponry under French licenses that they purchased before the embargo took place.

While the French undoubtedly have quite a bit at stake in Africa and just as undoubtedly are driven to protect and extend their empire, still there is actually much more involved in their current maneuverings in Africa than just the maintenance of their empire. Like every other imperialist power in the world, France too is locked in the teeth of a deep and severe worldwide crisis. Having reached the limitations of the imperialist world, and driven to expand or die, the French and all imperialist powers are confronted with the fact that there is absolutely no way to resolve their crisis short of all-out world war to redivide the globe. As was pointed out earlier, in the long run, and not all that long of a run either, the French imperialists will only be able to

pursue their own imperialist interests, and for that matter even defend what they already have, as a part of the U.S. war bloc and even then only on the basis of the victory of this bloc in world war. In fact, Mitterand's main role in Africa today is to tighten up the French section of the U.S. bloc in Africa.

This is not to say that the French imperialists have somehow lost their imperialist ambitions or that they don't actually ever come into conflict with the U.S. imperialists as they pursue these interests. In fact, the French have often come into conflict with the U.S. in Africa — particularly in relation to the question of how to deal with the Soviet-bloc countries. This has been especially sharp around Angola and Namibia. In fact, French relations with Angola have been so tight that the MPLA has even taken to referring to France as Angola's ambassador among the Western-bloc countries and the French have even gone so far as to propose that French troops replace the Cuban troops in Angola as the solution to the "Cuban troop" issue. On the one hand this is an indication of the French imperialists feverishly pursuing their own interests, but it is also very important to state that even in incidents like this the contradictions between France and the U.S. are within the context of France being an important part of the U.S. bloc. And, it should be pointed out that while many of these conflicts and contradictions are aimed in part at increasing France's leverage within the U.S. bloc, they are also often related to the overall U.S.-bloc attempts to woo certain key Soviet-bloc countries in Africa away from the Soviets. Can anyone seriously think that the prospect of French troops replacing the Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola would somehow be against the interests of the U.S. imperialists even though it would considerably bolster the French position in Africa? One very clear indication of what the overall stand of the French imperialists and the Mitterand government is in relation to these types of contradictions and conflicts within the U.S. bloc can be found in the very first statement of the Socialist Party on Africa immediately following Mitterand's election. Entitled "The African Project," this statement says that a major aim of the Mitterand government is to tighten up relations with the so-called "front-line states" and goes on to criticize the "cowardliness of the Western powers" in the face of the Soviet advances in Africa. According to this report the Soviets have profited by this "cowardliness" and the mistakes of the Western bloc insofar as they were able to use them in order to legitimize their increasingly active role in Africa.

Clearly the French imperialists see themselves as playing a major role in the U.S. bloc war strategy as it pertains to Africa. And, given the magnitude of the French "presence and influence" in Africa, they undoubtedly do have a central role to play in the U.S. bloc. Toward this end the French imperialists and their "socialist" government have not only

maintained their mammoth military setup in Africa but have gone to great lengths to tighten it up in preparation for the eventual showdown. The entire French presence in Africa is backed up by a whole network of French military bases, at least 10,000 French troops (second only to Soviet-backed Cuban troops in terms of numbers), a massive surveillance network and a whole worked-out system for rapid intervention in literally any part of the continent. While the French military does play a role in propping up the various French neo-colonial governments, it also has a much larger role as is indicated by the recent French statement that their military forces are mainly present in Africa not so much to protect this or that particular regime but more to protect the continent from external threats. At least 18 different African countries have French military advisors serving in their army and the French imperialists have at least 6 definite military agreements with other African countries. French bases and troops are positioned in all of the key strategic areas of north, east and west Africa with the largest number — 4000 from the French Foreign Legion — stationed in the strategically very important port of Djibouti, a new modern port in the east coast of Africa and sandwiched in between Ethiopia and Somalia. The French fleet also maintains a strong controlling presence in the Indian Ocean with nuclear-equipped bases in the French possessions of Reunion and Mayotte. One interesting point around all this is the fact that as soon as Mitterand came to power in France he immediately announced that he was reviewing all of the French military commitments in Africa. Of course in doing so Mitterand consulted with none other than Jacques Foccart, the original architect of all the French military agreements. Needless to say, Mitterand quickly announced that all previous military agreements would be honored.

In addition to their direct military strength the French are also playing a key role in a couple of other areas. One is in terms of being a major arms supplier to the various U.S.-bloc regimes. France ranks third only behind the Soviet Union and the U.S. in terms of arms sales to African countries. Secondly, the French have also been very heavily involved in the revamping of the entire telecommunications network in a very large part of Africa. So far they have redesigned the telecommunications system in Egypt, provided Madagascar with the most modern microwave telecommunications system in all of Africa, built a powerful radio transmitting station in Gabon and have completely overhauled the Sudanese telecommunications system.

And beyond their military activities the French have also played a very active and physical part in the intense political contention between U.S. and Soviet blocs in Africa. One example of this is the fact that a very large number of the states that boycotted the August OAU meeting were those under French control. The Franco-African summit held in early October

serves as yet another example. On October 8th the grandest ballroom in all Zaire, the "People's Palace," was decked out in fitting splendor for the occasion of the Ninth Annual Franco-African Summit (renamed under Mitterand to the more euphemistic Summit of France and African States). Billed as an "informal gathering," this conference was attended by 37 African states, 19 of whom were full members of the summit and 18 others who attended as observers. Interestingly enough, this summit was attended by virtually every African state which had boycotted the aborted Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting back in August. In addition to the former French colonial possessions (with the exception of Algeria), the conference was also attended by various U.S.-bloc countries like Egypt, Sudan and Somalia as well as a couple of Soviet-bloc countries. While the success of this summit was undoubtedly related to the pulling together of the U.S. bloc in Africa and its contention with the Soviet-led bloc, it was also in no small part an attempt by the French imperialists to demonstrate for one and all the dimensions of their French muscle. Although this summit had no set agenda and ostensibly served only to gauge the overall relations between France and Africa, needless to say, there was quite a bit of significance attached to the fact that France, and indirectly the U.S., were able to pull together two-thirds of the OAU members, including from Soviet-bloc countries, for this informal gathering just a little more than a month after the OAU had failed to do the same. And in the wake of this Franco-African summit, the OAU announced that it would probably be able to hold its meeting some time in late November since a quorum of its membership had finally agreed to attend on the basis of the Soviet-influenced Polisario being removed from OAU membership first. (This, as *RW* readers will recall, proved insufficient grounds for an OAU meeting to be held, for as soon as the issue of Polisario was dealt with, a myriad of other such issues for division in the OAU reared their heads. Nonetheless, it was significant that the Polisario decision was reached shortly after the Franco-African summit, and while the summit was not officially credited with this maneuver, it is commonly acknowledged that the OAU was one of the main "informal" topics discussed there.)

The French imperialists attribute their "success" in Africa, particularly under Mitterand, but going all the way back to DeGaulle, to the "higher moral standards" guiding their activities. More to the point, however, the essence of the issue was cynically pinpointed in an issue of the British imperialist magazine, *The Economist*. In an article reporting on the Franco-African summit and entitled "Neo-Colonialist and Proud of It," *The Economist* stated, "The strength of France in Africa . . . comes from the fact that the French have never been frightened of the word 'neo-colonial'." □

Guatemala

Continued from page 1

ment and broad worldwide hatred of the naked face of U.S. imperialism there. Yet support for taking the step had definitely galvanized within ruling circles. There was only token opposition within Congress. The *Washington Post* hailed the success of Rios Montt's program and called for a "moderate aid tie with a view to influencing the next stage." *Newsweek* extolled Rios Montt's "reformist zeal," the "swift action" he took to "curb the Army's violence" and begin "winning the hearts and minds of Guatemala's poor." "Rios Montt's new course," one U.S. official in Central America summed up, "is what the United States has spent two years and several million dollars trying to get the Salvadorans to try."

Clearly there is something new going on in Central America — at last, in Guatemala, there are genuine, substantial steps being taken in implementing the U.S. human rights program; at last, the world can clearly see what that program is all about. And what are those steps the Rios Montt government has taken? For one, it apparently has succeeded to some extent in curtailing the random death squad killings where black Broncos with

darkened windows pulled up in the middle of the night and unknown goons kidnapped and executed opponents of the regime. Now instead there is Rios Montt's "Beans and Bullets" program in which whole army battalions move in in broad daylight and seize entire villages, torturing and executing dozens and dozens, even hundreds at a single stroke. Villages are razed, the crops burned, the survivors forced to relocate to "model villages," known as "strategic hamlets" when they were part of the CIA counter-insurgency program in Vietnam. The men are given the choice of joining one of the government-sponsored "Civil Defense Units" or else declaring themselves guerrillas and being executed on the spot. Those joining are offered, in the words of one refugee, "the land, harvests, belongings and women of the peasants the army has massacred." Rios Montt has also launched a nationwide "Campaign for Morality," symbolized by a blue hand with three digits extended, each standing for one of the three oaths government officials must take: "I shall not lie, I shall not steal, I shall not abuse." Millions of blue hands are to appear this year on billboards, bumper stickers, postage stamps — and also, no doubt, on many of the hundreds of corpses which the army will leave on its wake. The Washington Office on Latin

America, a church-sponsored watchdog-type organization, issued a report stating that the actions carried out by the present regime "are greater in number, more brutal and indiscriminate than those carried out during the violent and repressive regime of Lucas Garcia". In sum, what Rios Montt has succeeded in doing is organizing and systematizing the brutal suppression of the masses practiced in a more scattered fashion by the death squads before him. This is no doubt what the State Dept. spokesman meant when he observed, "These are the steps which we feel should be encouraged and recognized."

Could there be anything more fitting than that this entire campaign of bloody butchery is being led and carried out by "good bible-thumping Christian men and women" inspired and guided by their shepherds — fundamentalist as well as secular — in imperialist America? Certainly a vivid demonstration of imperialist morality. Rios Montt has been an exceptional pupil and as he declares with pride has had much spiritual help not only from the U.S. government but also its religious obscurantist deacons. The California-based Church of the Word, of which Rios Montt is a leading member, keeps several of its top elders full-time in Guatemala to "advise" Rios Montt. One observer captured the

following piece of Moral Majority-style Americana deep in the embattled mountains of Quiché province, in the small village of Cunén:

"On a soccer field fenced by towering corn stalks, several hundred villagers gathered among soldiers in camouflage fatigues carrying Israeli-made automatic rifles . . . On a grassy dais, 19-year-old 'Miss Cunén,' a white sash across her azure satin dress, sat with preachers, community leaders, and army officers. A local television station recorded the event. 'He who resists the authorities is resisting the will of God,' Francisco Bach, a preacher in the Church of God (the Guatemalan offshoot of the Church of the Word) intoned into a hand-held microphone . . . 'With the help of the people and with the help of God we will soon eliminate the guerrilla,' Second Lt. Luis Alberto Caraval told the crowd. He was followed by an army captain."

This raw message of enslavement and blind obedience to God — and in the mouths of these butchers what else is "God" but the great white conquistadors who squat in Washington, D.C. — is the ideological adjunct of the "Beans and Bullets" program and a grotesque justification for all manner of bloody crimes. Rios Montt has ably exemplified the kind of outlook demanded of his men

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Correspondence on Fund Drive

To the RW

As an expatriot from another imperialist country, I came to the U.S. with utopian socialist dreams swishing around in my head, and it was a revelation to discover that there was a real path to revolution and a party with a commitment to carry it into practice. The RW played no small part in this experience. Through its weekly exposure of political events, it not only reinforced my political ideals but gave those ideas substance. The RCP, especially through its newspaper, provided the battle plan. And where previously there had been misty notions of utopia I began slowly to shape in my mind a concrete vision of the society of tomorrow.

I think I learnt something fundamental from those first encounters with the RCP and its newspaper, and that is that theory alone is a blunt instrument. This parasitic leech—which is capitalism—will not simply lay down and die. It has to be engaged in head on struggle and that requires the translation of abstract theory into sustained and concerted action.

For those of us who hold down full-time jobs, one concrete way to express support of the RCP's line is to support its fund raising activities. Recently, a group of us did just that by working an extra day and contributing the monies directly to the party for its newspaper. We collected \$400. Such red wages days are simple but effective weapons in the fight against this decaying system. I would urge all party members and those sympathetic to the cause to take similar action and help strike a blow against imperialist crimes everywhere.

One of A Group of Office Workers

I just learned of the death of our comrade, John Kaiser. Although I only knew him slightly, I feel a deep sense of loss for a comrade who, as a youth in the ebb of the '70s, cast off his privileged class position and took up the science of Marxism, contributing the rest of his life to the liberation of humanity. In solidarity with the Iranian people, John torched that putrid, yellow ribbon with a bright red flame and never wavered in his stand despite numerous attacks and almost certain imprisonment.

Saddened by the loss of a life cut so short, I pondered the preciousness of our comrades and more, this party and its line which is welding us and thousands — and thousands more in the future—into a force which will storm the heavens. So, it is with great pride that I'm enclosing an additional \$100 contribution to the party fund drive, in John's memory.

LONG LIVE THE RCP!
A comrade

I read in the *Revolutionary Worker* about the sudden death of my comrade and friend, John Kaiser. When death happens it jolts you into some real serious thinking, trying to make some sense out of such sadness.

JK and I both joined the fledgling Revolutionary Student Brigade (forerunner to the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade) in Eugene, coming from opposite ends of the country but both searching for something to be involved in. He was in the beginning so shy and quiet that if you didn't know him then, you could never imagine how anyone so notoriously revolutionary could have

ever been so painfully shy. But growing up around the party you couldn't help but be imbued with such bold internationalism and a burning desire to take it out to the masses of people. That's why when I read how JK was part of the Yellow Ribbon burning at the University of Oregon, damn, I had to chuckle and say right on. How many of us were ready to puke with all of that national chauvinism ala Tony Orlando and his yellow ribbons. It had to be done!

He definitely touched a lot of people — and his actions over the years certainly caused a hell of a lot of controversy to say the least. While JK was alive, the bourgeoisie did the best they could to slander him, the RCYB and RCP and to help set him up for the arson charges. And I hear that his death was front page news in Eugene. His revolutionary action has been, is and will continue to be a pain in the butt for the bourgeoisie. Many people today are questioning the meaning of their own lives and why JK rejected the "good life" to put himself

on the line to do what he did for the international proletariat.

In Jewish tradition, the way I was brought up, a tree is planted in honor of someone who dies. There's a genuine expression that people make to the family of the dead — by planting a tree, life comes from death. But the fucking trees are planted in Israel on land stolen from a dispossessed people, the Palestinians, whose blood fertilizes those trees! Trees are planted there in honor of my mother and father and it makes me sick! But you can make a statement that's positive, in the interest of the international proletariat. That's why I'm contributing \$200 in memory of JK to the party's major fund drive. To the rest of our friends and comrades, to those who knew him and to those who knew of him, contribute to the RCP fund drive in his memory and towards the future to which he dedicated his life.

A proletarian internationalist
Seattle

Memorial For Comrade John Kaiser

A memorial for Comrade John Kaiser will be held in Eugene, Oregon, January 18 at 8:00 p.m. at the University of Oregon Erb Memorial Union, the site of the yellow ribbon burning. Telegrams can be sent c/o RCYB, Oakway Mall, Western Union Station, Eugene, Oregon.

Guatemala

Continued from page 14

when, in the midst of strategy sessions, he repeatedly surprises them by suddenly prostrating himself and praying for help from God. It is the proper position for all servants of "God." All of this has undoubtedly been pulling at the heart strings of the champions of human rights in the U.S. government and touched them deeply. Such a truly Christian regime is deserving of directly receiving more helicopter gunships for its good works!

It is well known that despite the U.S. ban on military aid to Guatemala that was in effect before the State Dept.'s January ruling, the U.S. had nonetheless provided such aid in a number of ways. U.S. allies such as Israel and Argentina took up much of the slack, but even U.S. corporations themselves managed to avoid the embargo by utilizing several conveniently arranged loopholes, such as ones allowing companies to go ahead and fill "already existing orders." Five years later, many "already existing orders" somehow still haven't been fully filled yet.

The U.S. is quite proud of the role the fundamentalist movement has played in sustaining Rios Montt in his bloody activity. National TV several months back featured photos of Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, head of the Christian Broadcasting Network's "700 Club," meeting with advisers of Reagan and Rios Montt. Also featured was a scene of Robertson leading a prayer for Rios Montt in front of a map of Central America. An opportunity has arisen for these types to put the full Moral Majority-type program into action, and, thoroughly intoxicated with "God's" power and the desire to seek its vengeance, they have zealously seized the chance. And what a picture the result paints of this vengeance unleashed, where soldiers imbued with right-to-life ethics bash in the heads of babies, impale pregnant women on their bayonets, and decapitate and mutilate unarmed men. As the head of one of Guatemala's largest civil patrol units observed, "Evangelicals are great for civil patrol work."

Recently new facts have come to light

about the March coup which further reveal that it was a coordinated maneuver of the imperialists, with the fundamentalists an integral part of it. The official version of what happened was, according to Rios Montt and the Church of the Word, that he had retired to a secluded holy life in the Church and knew nothing of the coup at all until he was called by the junior officers who carried it out and asked him to lead a new government. After praying with elders of the Church, he agreed. But according to a recent leak by a highly placed source in the Guatemalan government, Rios Montt not only knew about the coup in advance but even attended a meeting ten days beforehand where, along with the junior officers and unnamed leaders of the National Liberation Movement (NLM), he helped plan the logistics of the coup. It is evident then that not only did the Church of the Word approve his rise to power as head of a military junta, not only did they drive him to the presidential palace in a church van, but it now appears that they methodically covered for Rios Montt's fabricated version of events — no doubt to cover their own involvement in the coup as well.

The presence of the NLM at the planning meeting is also significant. From the first the coup was justified by the U.S. on the grounds that Rios Montt provided a "moderate alternative" to the "extreme right" — of which the NLM, which describes itself as "the party of organized violence," is a leading representative. But the NLM has been used by the U.S. for years to maintain order in Guatemala — it

has the largest death squads and its leaders like Sandoval are close confidants of the administration's inner circle. That the NLM was present at the planning meeting for the coup is another indication that the whole affair was carefully orchestrated, with the "party of organized violence" and the reverends of the Church each playing their part, and with none other than Uncle Sam himself conducting.

Once he was in power, Rios Montt received much-needed support for his undertaking from the fundamentalist movement. Pat Robertson personally kicked things off with an exclusive on-the-spot first interview with Rios Montt. The U.S. evangelical leadership has even established "prayer chains" for "Brother Rios Montt." But "God's work" has meant assistance of a more material nature. The material support from the fundamentalists — along with the Israelis and covert U.S. government support — has not been insignificant. The Church of the Word has, for instance, pledged itself to raise \$20 million and send "two or three hundred missionaries" as part of "International Love Lift" in order to "win Guatemala for God." Rios Montt boasted that Robertson's CBN had pledged even more. Robertson affirmed that indeed, CBN had sent down a half million dollars a while back, and "we hope that we would be able to give a comparable assistance at the present time." CBN and Church of the Word also both plan to send teams of medical and agricultural experts — who will undoubtedly be deployed on the "strategic hamlet" pacification program. More

long-range plans include a Spanish version of Robertson's "700 Club," to be added to CBN's already existing English broadcasts throughout Central America.


All this has of course been generally coordinated with the U.S. government. It would seem obvious that the Central Intelligence Agency works through or even oversees the international operations of religious operations of this type, and when asked about this, the CIA has adamantly refused to discuss the subject at all and has resisted all attempts to uncover its dealings in this area. In any case, this particular form of counter-insurgency conduit has been a very useful addition to the more standard imperialist workings.

These activities by the fundamentalist soldiers of God's army are a fitting part of the implementation of the "human rights program" in Guatemala and quite nicely round out a graphic picture of imperialist domination of the classic style, complete with reactionary religious pointmen dishing out bibles and bullets. Rios Montt has followed orders to the max from U.S. advisers of all types. Who now could question the credentials of his regime and its worthiness for full-scale official human rights certification? If anyone is entitled to direct shipments of military hardware from the U.S., it is Christian Brother Rios Montt. Certainly he can be relied on to use these tools well in stepping up his crusade against the people of Guatemala and unleashing the "power of God" in any manner his masters see fit. □

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On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

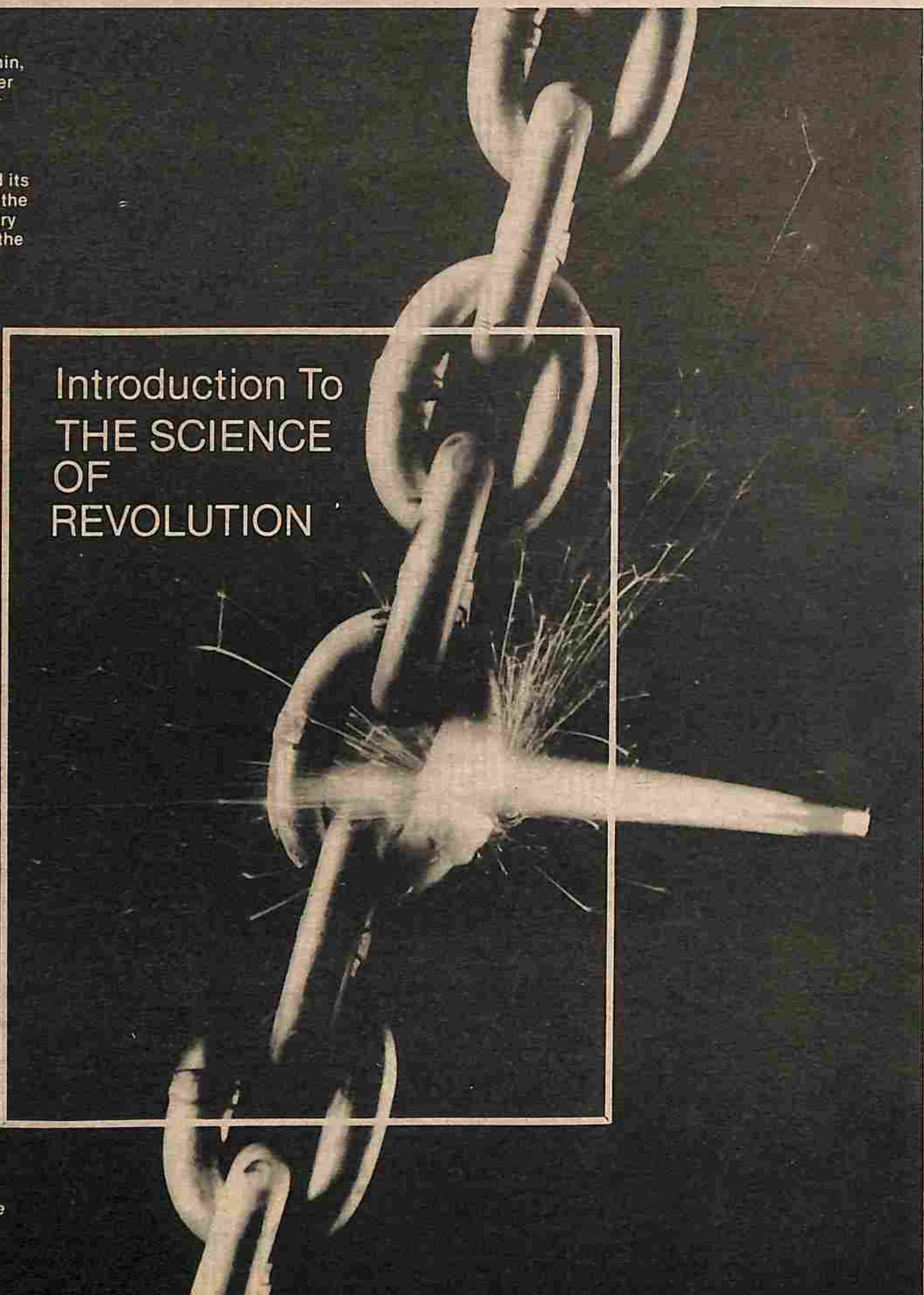
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THE ENEMY
WHILE RAISING
HIS FLAG**

MAJOR PARTY FUND DRIVE!



As we stated in the announcement of this fund drive, many deeds cry out to be done to hasten the process of revolution worldwide. The possibilities rapidly taking shape, including the potential to go for it *here*, demand that the strongest core of class-conscious proletarians and others devoted to the cause of proletarian internationalism be forged. As part of this preparation, the RCP is proud to announce the completion of a new book, *Introduction to The Science of Revolution*. Publication of this book will be made possible through efforts of all who take up this fund drive, by contributing yourselves, participating in and initiating special fundraising activities, and encouraging your friends and families to contribute.

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