

On November 18, 1982, officers Calhoun and Parish of the homicide division of the Houston Police Department (HPD) issued a memo to "all officers" stating that what they termed a "religious cult calling themselves Rastafarians" which the memo said has "250-300 members," had appeared in the Houston area. The memo, with a reproduced photo of a man in dreadlocks on the bottom of it, then stated:

"Very little is known about the Rastafarians in this geographic area, although they are recognized as organized crime figures in the New York vicinity,

where they are known for their narcotics and gun-running activities and their almost daily shoot-outs with police officers.

"Members of the Rastafarians can be identified by the way in which they wear their hair. They do not believe in cutting their hair and wear it in long curls called 'dreadlocks'. Street talk around New York and Miami has it that some members of this cult are being trained in Cuba as terrorists.

"The Rastafarian religion teaches that their members should steal and that the Catholic Church is their enemy and that

the Pope should be assassinated. The Rastafarians are known to carry weapons and should be considered dangerous.

"Any officer having any information, such as names, DOBs, or known hangouts of the Rastafarians, are asked to call Detectives Calhoun and Parish, Homicide, evenings."

Shortly after the issuing of what amounts to an order to shoot on sight Black men with dreadlocks, as well as to terrorize the Jamaican and West Indian population, an escalating series of attacks on a "known hangout," a reggae club in the Black third ward area, have been launched. At the same time, Police Chief Lee Brown has announced that the memo has been withdrawn.

The outrageous chauvinist fabrications in the pig memo sparked widespread outrage in Houston's Black communities when word of it came out. A copy of the memo had been obtained by a lawyer when he was in the police station, and copies of it were soon circulating in a couple of clubs where reggae music is played, and among Black political figures. A local justice of the peace and aspirant to higher political office, Al Green, along with several Rastafarians and Jamaican people, went before the city council in early December and demanded that the memo be retracted.

Lee Brown (formerly Public Safety Commissioner in Atlanta during the period when the Black youth murders became an international scandal) immediately announced he was going to "investigate" the matter — and all those familiar with the methods and code words in use at the pig sty knew what he

meant. Under investigation and question was not the incitement to gun down Rastafarians, nor the stated department policy of reporting any knowledge whatsoever of Rastafarians to the homicide division. Under investigation was how the hell did word of this get out! True to form, Brown declared the results of his inquiry shortly afterwards. While saying the memo was retracted because it contained "generalized statements," Brown stated that from now on, all internal HPD memos will be edited and approved by the criminal investigation division before they are released to the entire department.

And it was after Brown's supposed retraction of the memo that the assaults on the reggae club, called the International Pub House, began in earnest. The club has been raided 8 times in the past two months. Fitzgerald Gordon, owner of the club, has been arrested or ticketed numerous times on such charges as allowing dancing without a license, not having the street numbers of the building properly displayed, and selling beer after hours.

The attacks have been gaining in intensity also — from two pigs coming in to say they had received telephone complaints of "loud music" (the club is in a commercial area, and is surrounded by parking lots and other businesses) to full-scale assaults by up to 16 carloads of cops. The police, saying they had received anonymously phoned-in bomb threats or reports of non-existent robberies in progress, have charged in with handguns drawn and shotguns out, and several German shepherds in the lead. They've torn up the club twice, arresting several people on charges of "interfering with a police officer," and threatening that if one person moves they would blow away everyone. As they ransacked the club, the pigs heaped racist insults on Gordon and his wife, and one pig concluded his tirade by telling Gordon, "You beat your drums too damn loud. We're gonna run you Africans back where you came from." It seems that no one in the International Pub House was "where they belonged" as far as the HPD is concerned — two white women who demanded of the cops, "What's going on here, can't we have a good time?" were stopped and ticketed by the police as they left the club. They were told, "Get your asses back on the white side of town where they belong." Several people have also said that anyone driving with a bumper sticker of Jamaica on their car, especially in the third ward, has been the target of police harassment on petty charges of license and vehicle violations.

As several of those arrested are beginning their court appearances, forces like the NAACP and Judge Al Green have once again asked Lee Brown to investigate their allegations of police harassment. Brown agreed, and said he'll have his answer on Valentine's Day. He did say one "reassuring thing," though — from now on the HPD will only raid the club when someone phones in a complaint! □

FREE DARNELL SUMMERS!

In denying Darnell Summers' motion to dismiss for lack of speedy trial and pre-arrest delay, Judge Sullivan stated in his February 3 opinion that this case "should be left to the jury." This blatant statement, obviously more than the denial of just one motion, was proved to be the policy hammered out by the state as a whole in order to clamp down on all the important and damaging pre-trial motions filed by Darnell's lawyers — motions which have been revealing from different angles and in all its splendor the frame-up of this revolutionary. This was made crystal clear in this week's proceedings, (1) in the hearing on the motion to

dismiss for misconduct in the extradition, when William Cahalan, prosecuting attorney for Wayne County, was called to the stand; (2) when the judge interjected that he "shared the concern" that the defendant was delaying things because he was reluctant to go to trial (read: go to jail); (3) when the state brought in for the first time their "big guns" to argue that all pending pre-trial motions have already been decided (and they haven't even been scheduled for hearing yet). After 14 years, on with the railroad, not a minute to waste. These and other developments will be covered in depth next week. □

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Fire in the Andes

The Andes have caught fire. The high, cold and dry central highlands of Peru, especially the department of Ayacucho, whose capital was once the capital of the Inca empire, are swarming with troops and paramilitary police, invaders from the lowlands who swagger and murder at random, who speak only Spanish and call the Quechua-speaking local people "cholos" (in Peru, "niggers"). But bridges have been blown up, the roads are often impassable anyway, and at 10-12,000 feet the army's choppers fare as poorly as the troops raised and trained at sea level. By day, huge red banners billow from the powerlines along the roads to mock the forces of authority — those powerlines still left standing — and at night huge bonfires of rebellion light up the sky. Nowhere in this region have the armed forces been able to deal decisive blows against the guerrillas. In more than half a dozen rural areas, some 30 or 40 miles long and half again as wide, the local authorities, the landowners, the police and all representatives of the old order have been completely driven out.

This is a peasant uprising on a scale more significant than anything south of the Panama Canal in at least the past decade and more. It is led by the Communist Party of Peru — also known as Sendero Luminoso, which describes these guerrilla zones as the beginnings of revolutionary base areas and seeds of New Democracy, a national and democratic (anti-feudal) revolution.

As the PCP explains in their major manifesto "Develop Guerrilla Warfare," one of only a few of their works now in our hands, their strategy is "nothing less than a peasant war led by the Party, which, making the countryside the armed bastion of the revolution, in the concrete form of base areas, the basis of the new Workers and Peasants State, isolates the reaction and its imperialist masters in the cities, where the proletariat and the masses of people, by setting fire to the soles of the beast's feet, mainly through armed actions in support of the struggle in the countryside, prepare the conditions for the final assault on the cities and the total, complete and thorough overthrow of the reactionary order and of the army that holds it up."

The words "Sendero Luminoso" refer to a phrase by José Carlos Mariátegui, father of Peru's original Communist Party who died in 1930, who called proletarian revolution the "Shining Path" that Peru and the world must follow. In 1964 that party split, as did a great many parties in the wake of the stormy polemics led by Mao Tsetung against Soviet revisionism. Subsequent splits led to the development of what became pro-Teng (Patria Roja) and pro-Albania (Bandera Roja) organizations, now united along with the pro-Soviet forces in a broad electoral coalition with their butts firmly planted in Congressional seats. But some forces who came out of the original CP followed another path. Sendero Luminoso arose in the late 1970s, rooted mainly in Ayacucho and especially in the university there, grew more defined in a split with forces who followed the dogmatic-revisionism of Enver Hoxha and his attacks on Mao, and in May 1980 launched the armed struggle.

It began in May 1980, with an armed assault on ballot boxes put out for the first general elections held in Peru since the military coup of 1968, an election Sendero Luminoso condemned as a fraud simply meant to reorganize the forms of the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and feudal landlords under imperialist domination. Three thousand armed actions have followed since. This is how Sendero describes them:

"Actions which hit hard with agitation and armed propaganda, the taking of radio stations, leaflets, posters and direct action which sows fear among the reactionaries and arouses the enthusiasm of the masses of people with our slogans:

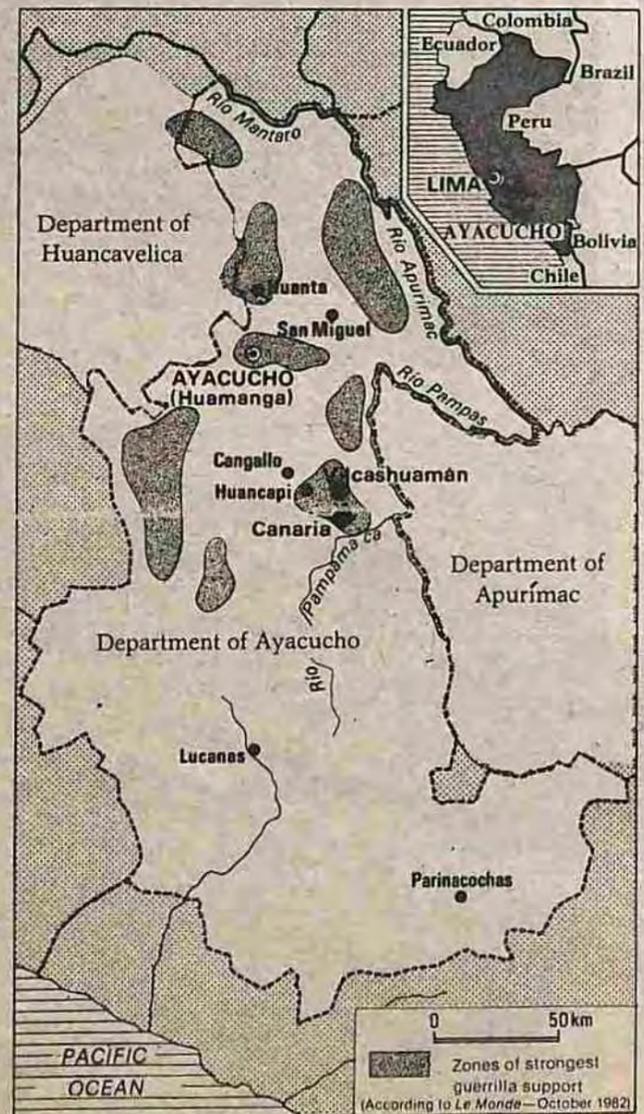
'Armed Struggle,' 'Workers and Peasants Government,' 'Down with the Reactionary Government,' and which show a new world to win in the hammers and sickles which light up the hills and the innumerable red banners which dominate the peaks proclaiming, 'It's Right to Rebel.'" "Sabotage which hits and undermines the economic and social system," referring to fires in imperialist factories, canefields, banks and well-known elite schools, and the blowing up of power lines blacking out Lima and other major cities. "Actions against the semi-feudal foundations of the state . . . against landlords of both the new and old variety," referring to assaults, crop seizures and the driving out of both the traditional feudal lords and the agents of the state who manage the new state farms organized out of nationalized haciendas. "Seizures of towns to draw the masses into the armed struggle." "Solid actions against Yankee imperialism," referring to attacks on the mines and opulent residences of U.S. monopoly capital, an attack against the U.S. Embassy itself in Lima, and attacks on the Chinese Embassy, starting with the hanging from a Lima lamp post of a dead dog labeled Deng Xiaoping, "that Yankee accomplice and sidekick and big traitor to the international communist movement and above all to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism."

These actions were soon followed by more on a much larger scale. In January 1981 the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry announced a major offen-

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A dead dog hung on a Lima lamp post near the Chinese Embassy. The sign around the dog's neck reads, "Deng Xiaoping."

The Ayacucho jail — or what was left of it — after the attack by guerrillas of Sendero Luminoso, who reportedly relied especially on homemade explosives launched from traditional Indian slings. 250 prisoners were freed.



The Invasion of MacArthur Park

Between mid-December and early February, the LA pigs have busted over 1,000 people in the city's MacArthur Park area. The operation has been carried out by the LAPD's "Anti-Crime Task Force" which was described by the police as an "invading army." The people arrested will give an idea of what kind of area this army has invaded and why: the vast majority have been Central American immigrants.

Operating under a very thin guise of moving on a "high-crime area" and a "crack down on drug pushers" the Task Force "invasion" is a big escalation of police repression in an area of much revolutionary activity, and a likely sign of still more repression in store. The MacArthur Park area is one of the most concentrated centers of immigration from Central America and is an important political center in Los Angeles. Much advanced political activity has been concentrated here over the past few May Days. The area is the scene of frequent demonstrations and other activities opposing the U.S. role in Central America. Interestingly, this was emphasized in a recent 20/20 TV report on Central American refugees, which showed footage of MacArthur Park accompanied by the commentary (warning?): "Some parts of the good old USA already look more like Central America." This latest high-profile police onslaught into the area fits right in with stepped-up attacks on immigrants, from the pending Simpson-Mazzoli Bill to the lingering stench of the INS' "Operation Jobs" campaign, coming at a time also when media stories abound about the

"influx" of immigrants caused by "Mexico's economic woes."

The latest operation follows a similar one last September when 200 people, mainly Central Americans, were arrested in a two-block area near the park which was barricaded by police. This occurred right next to a federally subsidized condominium project (described by a City Attorney as a "really nice, high rise, modern, clean, well appointed, elderly housing project") built smack in the middle of this decaying area. What was behind the busts at that time? Elderly people's complaints about "drug pushers" according to police. And similarly with the latest forays, the cops and media have featured a few "long time residents" and "local businessmen" shouting "Hurrah!" and "It's about time!" as the police swoop down on the "drug pushers." But what have most of the people actually been arrested for? For driving without a license or not carrying proper ID — "crimes" which many immigrants are of course "guilty" of. One LA City Councilman was quite candid about the target of these assaults: they are "Illegal aliens from Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other places."

Another indication of the target has been the kinds of operations the police have employed, using both "hit-and-run"

tactics and massive shows of force, which they proudly describe as "military in precision" to spread terror throughout the community. Any given evening, the police may suddenly set up barricades to cordon off a section of the street, using as many as 80 cops on foot, on motorcycles, and in squad cars, with helicopters circling overhead. All who pass are stopped, searched and harassed. People patronizing restaurants, clubs or theaters in the area can expect to be grabbed and jacked up as they leave. In one incident reported to the *RW*, people walking out of a movie theater were surprised to find the street barricaded at both ends by police — everyone was then lined up against the wall and searched, and a few were hauled off in a paddywagon. In another incident, police stopped the car and arrested the driver and then intentionally slammed his car into a pole.

A Salvadoran restaurant owner described how police jumped each customer leaving his restaurant, shoving each up against the wall, searching them, and holding them for up to half an hour. "Don't try to explain what you're doing," said one man, "because they will tell you to shut up. And they intentionally treat you rough." Residents told numerous stories, like the young couple who were walking along the street, stopped as "suspicious" by cops, and the young woman "accidentally" bashed in the head by a police baton, then left lying unconscious on the sidewalk for half an hour as the cop who hit her left the scene.

Amidst the highly publicized pro-police cheers of "local businessmen," small businesses run by immigrants told the *RW* a different story. "When the cops come here," said a Salvadoran restaurant owner, "No one comes. Everyone circles around on the next block over." The owner of a Nicaraguan restaurant pointed angrily to empty tables, "Look at this place. It's deserted. People are afraid to come here," she said. She told of a regular customer who had parked outside a few days before just to buy some food on her way home from work. When she left the restaurant, police grabbed her, accused her of buying marijuana, searched her, and took her car keys, stranding her. Another man told the *RW* that he had been eating dinner in the Nicaraguan restaurant with his family

one night when "the gorillas (a word commonly used in Central America to describe the government thugs — *RW*) marched in with shotguns leveled and riot helmets on, yelling, 'Don't anyone move!' My son got scared and started to stand up, and a cop shoved him back down in his seat. After searching everyone in the restaurant, the cops marched out. My son was trembling, it makes a very strong impression on them, the kids." He added, "The police want to terrorize people. We could be standing here (in front of his apartment) talking, just like now, and they'll come up and tell you to get out of there or you'll be arrested."

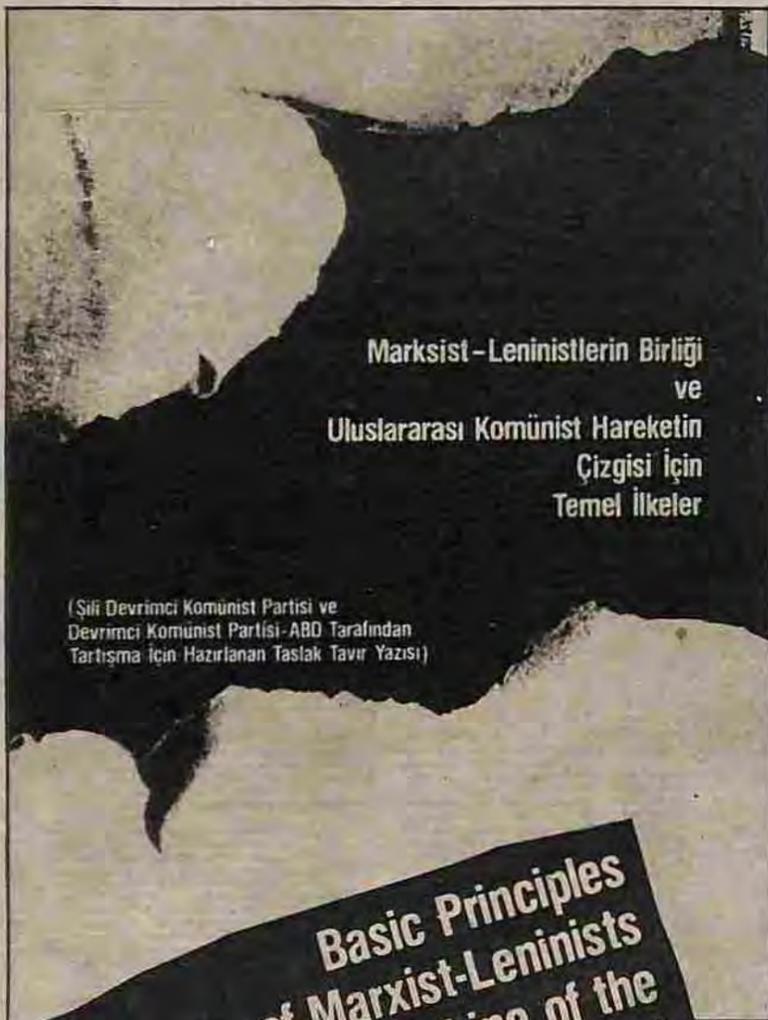
The owner of the Nicaraguan restaurant described how the cops had come into her restaurant three times, and once, when she was alone inside, she tried to protest and the cops handcuffed her and put her in a squad car, threatening to arrest her for "interfering." Even as the *RW* talked to this woman, an unmarked squad car pulled up outside and stopped in the middle of the street — cops jumping out and heading into a bar a few doors down. Inside the bar, a half a dozen cops jacked up and searched every "suspicious" patron — every Latino, in other words. The owner of the bar said that a few weeks before he had been arrested for "interfering with police" in the door of his own bar when he tried to close the door on police who were harassing people as they entered and left.

But the greatest terror has been directed at the youth. "You can't even walk to the store anymore without getting stopped," said one youth, a sentiment echoed by others. Said another, "The cops have stopped me a lot of times. They say I look like a drug pusher." One youth told the *RW* that he had left Guatemala at the urging of his mother after his older brother was gunned down by the military right in front of their house. Because he likes to hang with his friends on the street in front of his apartment, "I've been arrested five times," he said, "and never convicted once." Of course, that doesn't mean he hasn't been punished. Beatings are common: one of the LAPD's favorite sports is kicking handcuffed prisoners in the groin. During one arrest, the Guatemalan youth was beaten so badly by an upper-level officer that he had to be taken to the hospital for X-rays. Then he was thrown in jail for three days without receiving any medication at all, never even being seen by the jail's medic.

This is the LAPD's "war on drug pushers," a war people are quite familiar with in the countries from which they have been driven, a war they are now subjected to in the belly of the beast. □

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**Basic Principles
For the Unity of Marxist-Leninists
And For the Line of the
International Communist Movement**

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

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Double Punishment for Protesting Black Youth Murders

Webster Brooks and Greg Johnson, members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, have been sentenced to more jail time for fighting against and exposing the murders of Black youth in Atlanta! Convicted in December for "trespassing" on the Atlanta Jr. College campus, they were sentenced on January 27: ten months in prison and two months probation for Webster; three months in prison and nine months probation for Greg. At the sentencing, the judge said: "I'm making my decision purely on the merits of this case, not on any political considerations."

Immediately upon passing sentence, the good judge wanted to make it crystal clear that this was, after all, only one more chapter in a continuing and intensifying campaign to make an example of Webster and Greg. He stated that of course the sentences will not begin to run until after they have served the six months they have already been sentenced to on related charges. This adds up, so far, to a total of 16 months in jail and two months probation for Webster and 9 months in jail and 9 months probation for Greg — and both still face further charges! Judge Alexander then immediately threw them in jail on an outrageous \$9,000 bond, which was purposely made to look "good" by the prosecutor's insistence that they be given a \$33,000 bond.

Webster and Greg had been arrested for distributing a proclamation declaring "Only the people can close the case of the Atlanta Black youth murders" on the Atlanta Jr. College campus a few days after the case was officially "closed" with the conviction of Williams and pinning on him of all 28 "official" youth murder victims. Their arrest was one part of an overall offensive launched by the authorities to enforce their verdict, which included several other arrests of people distributing the proclamation, an all-out media barrage on how "relieved" the city was that the case was finally "solved," the immediate closing of the infamous task force and extension of the curfew on youth another six months.

The "merits" of this case evidently called for the additional vicious twist. Webster, who is Black, received more jail time than Greg, who is white. The state is trying to impress the stakes involved in class-conscious struggle on the part of oppressed nationalities. The message is: "Get involved with revolutionaries and we'll come down harder on you."

But the state has certainly already impressed many with its own viciousness, with the fact that it defends and extends the whole murderous system of national oppression. What does the whole experience around the youth murders prove if not this? □



Combustible Material

Strikes French Auto Industry

A recent wave of strikes in the automobile industry mostly by immigrant Arab workers in France may well represent an important fissure in the suffocating atmosphere which has paralyzed the proletariat and the oppressed in France since the election of Mitterand in May 1981. The "grèves de bouchon" (strikes taking place in one or several workshops) spread quickly from one auto plant to another and were particularly significant at the Renault plant at Flins on the edge of the Paris region where a strike in the paint department lasted almost a month and effectively brought production to a halt in the giant factory.

These strikes, mainly spontaneous in origin, placed the "Socialist" government in an embarrassing position as they ran completely contrary to the government's austerity program and efforts to boost auto production. But what has really concerned the government has not been nearly so much the demands for relatively small increases in the "bonuses" given workers in particularly backbreaking occupations, but the sight of thousands of immigrant workers refusing to remain passive slaves on the bottom rungs of the proletariat in France.

The response of the government has been a cold and calculated effort to whip up French chauvinism, which is never far below the surface. The second in command of the state, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, declared on January 28th that while the unions are "responsible," "the principal difficulties remaining are posed by the immigrant workers of whom I understand the problems but, it must be said, are stirred up by religious and political groups who are basing themselves on criteria having little to do with French social realities." In case anyone didn't get the point, Minister of Interior Gaston Deferre (whose role in the government, in keeping with that of the chief cop, is to be the out-front reactionary) spoke of "fundamentalists" and "Shi'ites" (by the way, most Moslems in France are Sunni, not Shi'ite!). Mitterand himself backed up his underlings declaring simply that Mauroy "knows what he's talking about."

Not surprisingly, these remarks unleashed a barrage of similarly chauvinist statements. The mayor of

Toulon declared that "there is no such thing as a soft-core Moslem." Unsigned racist tracts demanding that France remain French, etc., etc., appeared at the Renault plant.

Causes of the Conflict

In the automobile plants, like industry generally in France, the worst jobs are reserved for immigrant workers. The Renault plant at Flins, for example, was deliberately constructed an hour's drive outside of Paris — far enough, they hoped, to isolate the workforce from the political ferment in the capital, yet close enough to find plenty of desperate warm bodies to work as *ouvriers spécialisés* (O.S.: code word for unskilled factory workers). As French imperialism entered the prosperous period from the mid-'60s on, a higher and higher percentage of the O.S. has been made up of immigrant workers — especially from the French north African ex-colonies of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. While the French imperialists have been fat enough to scatter a few crumbs even to these workers, to a large degree the bourgeoisification of the proletariat has been reserved for the workers of a higher classification. Thus an important division has been created not only between different factories and industries but also, to a degree more developed than in the U.S., within a given factory or industry. While a number of young French workers also start out as O.S. they are, for the most part, able to escape this category after a number of years through various job training programs, competitive exams, etc. For the immigrant workers, on the other hand, the classification O.S. is a life sentence on the assembly line. And, of course, this is all the more true in the most life-squeezing areas, such as the paint department at Flins, where the overwhelming majority are Arab.

While wages in the state-owned Renault factory are somewhat better than in other branches of industry (the average wage of an O.S. at Renault Flins is 5500 francs per month, bonuses and vacation pay included, while almost 20 percent of French workers make the minimum wage of 3200 francs a month), it is anything but an appealing life. When *RW* correspondents spoke with a number of youth in the surrounding areas, immigrant and French alike, they were in total agreement — spending your life as an O.S. at Renault is hell itself. One second generation Arab youth said that he had worked one month at Renault and would never work there again; a French youth said he had only survived one day!

But for many an immigrant worker with children to feed and/or a family back home dependent on his paycheck, there is no alternative to working at Renault. For these workers, the lengthy paid vacation in French industry is small consolation for a lifetime of backbreaking labor. In addition the rigid hierarchy

among the workforce (read: discrimination) is intolerable.

The discrimination against Arabs (and to a somewhat lesser extent against other immigrant groups such as the Portuguese) does not stop, of course, at the factory gates but is a constant feature of life for these workers. Every time a Mosque is constructed, there is the inevitable outcry by the good French citizens (revisionists included). For many Arab workers, regardless of how seriously they take religion, the Mosque plays an important role. In the town of Les Mureaux near the Flins plant 200 children, mostly of Renault workers, study Arabic, which, needless to say, is not offered in regular French schools. The infamous French *flics* (cops) are also great participants in the struggle against "fanaticism" — constantly harassing, beating and arresting Arabs at the drop of a hat.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that the struggle of the proletarians at Flins and other Paris region auto plants has a distinctive Arab flavor. Nevertheless the righteous rebellion of Arab workers has nothing at all in common with the distorted vision painted by the French Socialists of crazed religious fanatics manipulated by Ayatollahs. The reaction of the workers in the Flins paint department to these slanders was absolute fury, and they expelled all the journalists (who had been doing their share of creating public opinion) from the workshop.

The French press has gone to great lengths to make no mention of the French workers who have participated in the strikes (granted, in small numbers) and still less of the widespread support for the strikers among sections of the French youth and workers — the youth in the area interviewed by the *RW*, Arab and French alike, were enthusiastically behind the strikers. On the other hand, the reactionary uttering of backward workers has been given full play. The prestigious French newspaper *Le Monde* has been quick to cluck its tongue at the government and the more hysterical anti-immigrant statements, despite the fact that it was *Le Monde* which drew a link between the strikes and "Moslem fundamentalism" (of course in a very "academic" and "sober" way!)

The Unions

The CGT, the most powerful French trade union and controlled by the PCF (French Communist Party) has tried to play fireman in the strikes. While not able to come out and directly oppose the strikes, they have leaked to the press their opposition to "adventurism" and have constantly pleaded for moderation. In a typical example of PCF chauvinism and class collaboration, the PCF daily *Humanité* reported favorably on Mauroy's statement in favor of negotiations with the unions in the auto industry while ignoring his blatant attack on the immi-

grant workers (which was, after all, the whole point!).

More interesting has been the response of the CFDT, the French union linked to the Socialist Party itself. The CFDT has always been something of a hybrid organization. Of Catholic origin, the CFDT became after May '68 the home for a great number of radicals from the student movement who "went to the workers." While the CFDT has always been overshadowed by the CGT, it has managed to build somewhat of a base for itself among the technical sectors of the workforce and among the immigrants who are more or less spurned by the PCF and the CGT.

While the CFDT did not initiate the strikes in auto, it was the only union to enthusiastically support them (at least on a local level). The CFDT has thus found itself, as they say in France, *entre deux chevaux* (straddling two horses). On the one hand, it is the union most closely connected with the Socialist government, and on the other hand it is supporting the very "Moslem fundamentalists" that are raising hell in the French auto plants! This contradiction is apparent at Flins Renault where, untypically, the CFDT is the largest union. The head of the local is Daniel Richter, a student leader during May '68 who is currently on the Political Bureau of the PSU (*Parti socialiste unifié*), a political formation of the radical petty bourgeoisie which critically supports the Mitterand government. The CFDT at Renault-Flins issued a communiqué declaring their "stupefaction" at the government's charges and stating that "it is particularly serious that the head of a socialist government and one of his ministers could facilitate the hateful campaigns of the Right against immigrant workers by misplacing the problems." Richter told the *RW* that "since the Socialist government couldn't send in the CRS (the riot police) (especially with one month until nationwide municipal elections — *RW*), they have unleashed an ideological campaign against the workers which is worse." However, despite the "stupefaction" at the government's attacks, the CFDT officials at Flins continue to point out the "favorable conditions" created by the election of the Socialist government.

The *RW*, after interviewing the CFDT, went into Flins to interview French and immigrant workers and youth at a café. We found a different outlook towards the left government:

RW: What do you think of the left government?

Youth: The right or the left, if they do something for the foreigners of any race or even French, then it doesn't bother me. A foreigner at Renault is mistreated — a foreigner next to a Frenchman is zero.

RW: You don't think there's been a big change since May 10, 1981 (date of Socialist electoral victory)?

Continued on page 15

Soviet Debate

Is There Life Beyond Ownership?

The first of the following excerpts is from an article by Jonathan Aurthur, "History Without People: Paul Sweezy's Post-Revolutionary Society." The article appears in Line of March, January-February, 1982. Aurthur, a revisionist, argues here against Sweezy in order to generally go after the line more represented by Charles Bettelheim.

The second excerpt is from "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," by Bob Avakian, published as a special issue of Revolution, Number 50. We are reprinting these selections as a contribution to the debate on the nature of the Soviet Union.

From "History Without People..."

Modern industry, at least as it has evolved through most of the twentieth century, necessitates and constantly develops further a highly fragmented division of labor between manual and mental categories and within each. It necessitates a tremendous degree of control (imagine the complexity of supplying an auto assembly plant, for example), management, and hierarchy of function. Where the law of value operates — under socialism as well as capitalism — it even dictates different values for different labor powers, and thus different wage levels, based on the varying amounts of training necessary to create different types of workers. Now we may not like this state of affairs, may find it unjust, discriminatory against those stuck with lower-skilled jobs, etc. And if we see this degree of hierarchy itself, rather than exploitation based on private property, as being what defines capitalism — if we

equate "the capitalist mode of production" with the "hierarchical division of labor" — then the only solution, whether we admit it or not, is to do away with modern production itself — or else impotently to curse any social system based on it as being exploitative, unjust, and bourgeois.

From "Conquer the World?..."

What is capitalism? What is capital? I want to read here something I wrote in response to the idea that even under socialism, capital is the dominant economic relationship. In refuting the idea I wrote the following: "Capital is a social relation and a process, whose essence is indeed the domination by alien, antagonistic interests over labor power and the continual (and extended) reproduction of that. But, to get to the heart of the problem here, if ownership has been (in the main) socialized, if a correct line is in command (irrelevant for the calculations of the kind that say that capital in any case is dominant under socialism but truly at the heart of the matter) — which means that the division of labor as well as differences in distribution are being restricted to the greatest degree possible — then how is the relationship and process capital? It is true that the division of labor characteristic of capitalism (and previous class society in general) has not been completely overcome, that it may still have considerable influence and in any case is only restricted to a certain degree, while bourgeois right is dominant (or at least very influential) in distribution, but if the motion is toward eliminating these things, the how can it be said

that a force opposed to the proletariat has domination over its labor power or even a force alien to it, in the fundamental sense?"

Now the point here is not that we should use what's said there, having drawn on the experience in China, as a stiff yardstick to put down on the Soviet Union. The point is not that, during the period of Stalin's leadership and in the 1930s in particular, there was an attempt to restrict bourgeois right in a significant way in distribution, nor that there was an attempt to make all possible strides toward overcoming the division of labor. This was not so, because the necessity for doing that and the way in which that interpenetrates with the question of ownership — not just the form, but the content — and all these points that were focused on very sharply by Mao especially in the last few years of his life, those questions were in fact not well understood or grasped; and that's partly a question of the limitations of historical experience and partly a question of the methodology of Stalin and the Soviet leadership at that time. But nevertheless, the essential question that should be focused on, the question I was driving at in what I just read, is precisely what is capital?

There never will be a time, as far as I'm concerned — and we pointed to this in the article criticizing Bettelheim — when in the most literal and absolute sense there is appropriation by the direct producers of the product of their labor. Even under communism things will go to society as a whole; this is a point Marx made in criticizing the Gotha Programme. Things will go to society as a whole and there will always be some form of exchange between a particular unit of production and the rest of society, however that works out; it's never going to be that people simply appropriate in the most literal sense directly what they produce. And there will always be in one form or another political representatives; despite all the science fiction and everything else, I do not believe that the highest level that can be achieved is where everybody puts on their TV, listens to a big debate and pushes a computer, yes or no, up or down, kill 'em, throw 'em out, make 'em president or whatever; I don't believe that's the way that decision-making is going to be done under communism. There will be political representatives and struggle among

them, and the masses will be decisive, yes, but not in the literal, direct, good old town meeting tradition.

I think it was a correct thrust of the Four (following Mao) in China that they raised the question of political leadership and line being essential. And as to the question of socialism in the Soviet Union, well, it's ironic but in a certain way intention does count for a lot. Because in the period, and particularly up to the early '30s, what was the leadership in the Soviet Union trying to do? I'm sure the Trotskyites would love to hear this because it sounds extremely subjective, but what the leadership was trying to do and what the masses were being mobilized to do is extremely important, because what is capital? Is capital simply the fact that you work in an office and have more influence than I who work in a factory? That doesn't make you capitalist, that's not capital.

The essence of capital is that the labor power of the workers is controlled by a force alien to them and it's handed over to an alien force; and if it's alien (and even beyond that, antagonistic) it means that that labor power is controlled and utilized on an expanded basis to reproduce relationships which are alien to them and opposed to them; otherwise capital has no meaning. And it is not identical with a mere division of labor, though capitalism cannot be completely overcome and the bourgeois epoch cannot be completely transcended till that kind of oppressive division of labor is transcended. Of course, I don't believe there will ever be a complete or absolute elimination of all division of labor either, but the division of labor characteristic of capitalism and class society will have to be transcended. But even the mere existence of the division of labor characteristic of class society, though it must be transformed throughout socialism, is not identical with nor the same thing as capitalism. And the question is, what were the Soviet masses being mobilized to do at least up through the early '30s? They were being mobilized to transform society in the direction of socialism, and for the purpose of contributing to the world revolution; and for that reason I believe that that was not capital, but socialism was in fact the dominant relation. □

درو دبر نهضت ملی سر بداران
سرنگون بادر رژیم جمهوری اسلامی ایران
YAŞASIN İRAN'DA SARBEDARAN'IN ULUSAL HAREKETİ!
KAHROLSUN İRAN İSLAM CUMHURİYETİ!
HAIL TO THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF SARBEDARAN OF IRAN!
DOWN WITH THE 'ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN'!
VIVE LE MOUVEMENT NATIONAL DE LA SARBEDARAN IRAN!
A BAS LA REPUBLIQUE ISLAMIQUE DE L'IRAN!
ES LEBE DIE NATIONALE BEWEGUNG DER SARBEDARAN IRAN!
NIEDER MIT DEN ISLAMISCHEN REPUBLIK DES IRAN!

This poster, which depicts the Amol uprising led by the Sarbedaran fighting organization initiated by the Union of Iranian Communists, was put out by comrades from Turkey to commemorate and denounce the Jan. 25 execution of 22 members and supporters of the UIC.

Trident Nein Defendants Jailed

On February 2, a "restitution hearing" was held in New London, Connecticut on four of the Trident Nein defendants convicted and sentenced to one-year jail sentences on felony charges of "damaging property of another." The property in question was none other than the *USS Florida*, a Trident nuclear submarine, which the nine members of the Atlantic Life Community poured blood over, took sledge hammers to, and rechristened "USS Auschwitz" in protest of U.S. nuclear war preparations. Two sonar spheres were also damaged as they sat in the General Dynamics Electric Boatyard in Groton, Connecticut. After the Trident Nein were convicted in a highly political legal railroad during which they continued to expose and denounce the Trident program, they were given one-year sentences with the possibility of lesser sentences provided they would renounce their actions by paying \$1386.00 each to General Dynamics as restitution for damages. All immediately refused to do so in no uncertain terms and five were jailed post haste to serve varying amounts of time before being given one more "chance" to recount their stand at restitution hearings. The other four had their sentences deferred pending the February 2 restitution hearing.

On the day of the hearing, the four went first to the Electric Boatyard. There they joined a protest vigil and read and passed out a leaflet which stated that their action had been justified and that Electric

Boat and the U.S. Navy should be paying restitution to the victims of their crimes. Shortly afterward the four repeated their unbending stand in front of his honor Seymour Hendel in court. Hendel promptly ordered them to prison for their continued unrepentance and contempt for the U.S. government's nuclear private property. In the next few months, similar restitution hearing farces will be held for the rest of the Trident Nein who are already in jail.

In the wake of the convictions and jailings of the Trident Nein, the Electric Boat facility has continued to be a target of anti-nuke protests. A few days after the original sentencing of the Trident Nein, seven more people entered the plant and damaged and defaced another Trident sub and associated equipment. The trial of the protestors in this "Plowshares 4" action is set for March. Since October, sit-ins and gate chainings have taken place at the plant and on New Year's Eve members of a feminist group spray-painted "TRIDENT = OMNICIDE" on Electric Boat buildings. All of this has further stung General Dynamics and the government. A variety of increasingly uptight and enraged officials have upped the level of their screams for blood to stop this "terrorist-like sabotage of national defense." Clearly, the exposure of and opposition to the nuclear war preparations of these international mass murderers is finding its mark. □

A Letter of Support for the Proposed Conference on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union Today

Last summer, the Revolutionary Communist Party initiated a call for a conference on the nature and role of the Soviet Union, focusing on the question "The Soviet Union: Socialist or Social Imperialist?"

Few other controversial political topics today so concentrate profound theoretical questions about mankind's future and are so intimately intertwined with basic practical political choices throughout the world. The question of the Soviet Union pushes itself to the fore in any debate over the possibilities for radical social transformation and over the nature and potential of the developing international situation.

Does the state-owned and centrally-planned nature of its economic system mean that it is inherently a social advance over capitalism, or does it simply reflect the encasement of capitalist relations of production in a more collective ownership form?

Is the Soviet Union a progressive force in the world today, or an imperialist superpower, like the United States, compelled by its nature to wage a war of world redivision?

Is it a natural ally of oppressed nations, or is it one more in a

series of aspiring exploitative powers?

While we ourselves hold widely differing views on these and related questions, we agree that the development of world events powerfully demands serious investigation and principled struggle over them.

The framework proposed for this conference has the potential for encouraging such struggle. It is planned to engage the energies and experiences of diverse political currents: from academia, from political organizations and mass movements, from among immigrants and circles of political exiles — and to have the conference culminate in an actual debate between major representatives of opposing views intended to sharply bring out the bases for their differences and the implications that flow from them.

This represents a welcome challenge to grapple with the controversies surrounding Soviet society, its nature and its international role, and to do so in a serious and thorough-going way. To that end, we encourage people to support and take part in this conference and its debate.

Current Signatories

(Institutions listed for identification purposes only)

Osman Sultan Ali

Editor, *Horn of Africa* journal

Raford Boddy

Associate Professor of Economics, San Diego State University. Author of "Class Conflict, Keynesian Policies and the Business Cycle" (*Monthly Review*) and "Who Will Plan the Planned Economy" (*Progressive*)

Pareesh Chattopadhyay

Professor of Political Economy in the Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Quebec, Montreal, Canada; Author of *India: Economy and Society*, (Paris) and "Rise of Social Capitalism in the USSR," (published in *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 13-July 4 issues, 1981, India)

Kassahun Checole

Professor, Africana Studies, Rutgers University. Director of the Africa Research and Publications Project.

John R. Ernst

Professor of Economics, State University of New York at Old Westbury. Member of Union for Radical Political Economics and an editor of a recent special issue of the *Review of Radical Political Economics* on the Soviet Union.

Forward

Ugandan Democratic and Anti-imperialist Journal, published in Kampala.

Nathan Hare

Clinical psychologist and sociologist; editor, *Black Male/Female Relationships*; First coordinator of a Black studies program in the U.S. (San Francisco State); 1969-1975, founding publisher, *The Black Scholar*.

Ikwezi

A Journal of South African and Southern African Political Analysis, published in England.

Raymond Lotta

Author of *And Mao Makes Five* (Banner, 1978), and co-author of forthcoming *America in Decline*. Written extensively on socialist political economy and crisis of U.S. imperialism.

Conrad Lynn

Black civil rights attorney. Served as defense counsel for the Puerto Rican nationalists Pedro Albizu Campos and Lolita Lebron, for the "Harlem 6" and for the diplomatic representatives of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Visited Cuba at the invitation of Fidel Castro in the 1960s. Served on the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Commission.

Edward Nell

Professor of Economics, graduate faculty, New School for Social Research. Author of *Growth, Profit and Property* (Cambridge University Press, 1980) and *Rational Economic Man: A Philosophical Critique of Neo-Classical Economics* (Cambridge University Press, 1975)

Michael Parenti

Author and lecturer. Author of *Democracy For the Few* (St. Martin, 1977) and *Power and the Powerless* (St. Martin, 1978).

Anwar Shaikh

Associate Professor of Economics, graduate faculty, New School for Social Research. Author of "The Current World Economic Crisis: Causes and Implications," delivered at the Allied Social Sciences Associations convention, December, 1982.

Albert Szymanski

Professor of Sociology, University of Oregon. Author of *Is The Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today* (Zed Press, 1979), and *The Logic of Imperialism* (Praeger, 1981). Editor of *Insurgent Sociologist*. Written extensively in defense of the socialist character of the Soviet Union in left journals and currently working on a new book on the Soviet Union.

Trident Nein

Nine anti-war activists, members of the Atlantic Life Community. Recently sentenced to federal prison for damaging a U.S. Trident nuclear submarine at the General Dynamics Electric Boatyard in Groton, Connecticut.

Cornel West

Assistant Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Union Theological Seminary. Author of *Prophesy Deliverance! An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (1982).

Dow Woodward

Professor of Biology, Stanford University.

*A Conference and Debate on the Nature
and Role of the Soviet Union
in the World Today*

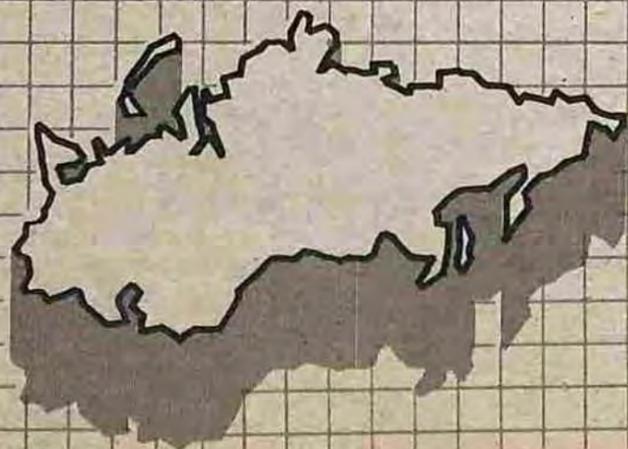
New York City, May 1983

For further information
write:

Soviet Union Conference
P.O. Box 924
Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276
or call (212) 685-3120

Funds are urgently needed. (Checks should be made payable to "Soviet Union Conference")

**THE
SOVIET UNION**
Socialist or Social-Imperialist?



*"We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the five seas,
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights."*

from "Reascending Ching Kangshan" by Mao Tsetung

A Review of "Yöl," a film by Yilmaz Güney
By A. Pine

When a film wins the *Palme D'Or*, Best Picture, the International Critics Prize, Best Film and the International Catholic Film Prize at the most prestigious International Film Festival of the Western Imperialist Bloc, the one held every year at Cannes in France, proletarians are likely to hate it on general principle, without even seeing it.

But in 1982, the winner was "Yöl." Its director was Yilmaz Güney, who is an internationalist.

"The audience at Cannes was surprised. Since I am known as a political figure they were expecting a film with a cut and dried political message. They thought it would be a propaganda type of film but they didn't get the film they were expecting."*

Such things happen. They happen because the international proletariat exists and this fact finds political expression in various ways, including in the arts. The ruling classes, while they dominate so long as they are in power, find it impossible to utterly wipe out the politics and ideology of the proletariat, and so they must contend with it and they do so in various ways depending on the contradictions. One of these contradictions is the ideological and political line, including on the problem of art and revolution, of Yilmaz Güney and his comrades. Another contradiction is that there are some differences within the Western bloc on how to deal with the current government of Turkey.

"Yöl," you see, is a masterpiece. It is nothing short of a regular "masterpiece," and that means something. It means it will stand through history, like the theory of Copernicus, like the struggle of Chin Shih Wang, like the art of Mark Twain. Only *this* time it is the politics of the proletariat that are triumphant. And triumph is exactly what we aspire to and are working for.

"Yöl" in Turkish is a word that means "The way of life, the search for an outlet." Rarely, if ever, has any film delivered its subject with such a tremendous force. The clash with contradictions well understood or at least *felt* by oppressed people, anywhere and at any time in recent history, thunders from the screen. The centerpiece of these concerns what Marxists call "The Woman Question."

The song that is this film is sung around five characters who are permitted to return briefly from prison to their

homes in Kurdistan under the leave system. They all dream of brief joy with their families and loved ones, and particularly their wives.

Aside from the omnipotent presence of the state throughout the journey, they all smash into another kind of prison. One of them, Seyit Ali, learns that his wife has been unfaithful. He journeys across the winter mountains to where she is being kept prisoner by her family because he is expected by tradition to kill her. He finds her guarded by her mother and sister, in chains and rags, and given only water and lousy scraps of food to eat. Her father demands that he kill her. His wife, Ziné, fights for her life in every way at her disposal, because that is all that is left to her, and because she senses that he still loves her and is in agony himself.

In his journey to *her* prison, his horse had died of the cold and as they leave her father's house, him carrying their son on his back, he knows full well that the same fate will befall her. When she falls dead in the snow, he tries to beat her back to life, just as he had beaten his horse. Then in his agony he carries her through the snow and to a hospital.

This scene is one of the most incredible power, and it is so because of the conflict within this man. All the anger anyone who has ever experienced real oppression feels is *not* directed mainly at this man, but at "The Way."

"Basically in 'Yöl' when I wanted to talk about the oppression people live through, I never intended to depict it as though the government alone were to blame. At any rate, that wouldn't be telling the truth. Oppression arises not only from the government, but also from the fact that in their lives people are ruthless among each other (and that's closely linked with the social and economic conditions of life.) . . . "In concrete terms I mean the traditions, mores, way of life and obsolete ethics. When you consider both these forms of oppression simultaneously, you can comprehend the general coercion of the system."

Güney's characters are drawn from Turkey's oppressed classes and at least several of them are among the *broad* ranks of the advanced and revolutionary minded of that society. They are none of them passive victims, suffering, begging, beaten, shot and downtrodden. They

are alive, thinking, intelligent and downright FIERCE people. They are up against "The Way": rebelling, as Mehmet Salih and his wife rebel; trapped, but like a lion, as Seyit Ali is; and joining the revolutionary struggle, as Omer does. What a terrifying army they will make to all oppressors with their awakening!! A terrifying army indeed.

There is no economic determinism in this film, which is the politics behind presenting the masses of the oppressed as victims and drunken louts. There is no idealist apriorism, which is the politics behind totally idealized, stereotyped "left" characters. And there is objectively no apology of any kind for putting the question of typifying contradictions above typifying characters in art.

"During the preparation of the screenplay, I kept two things in mind: (1) to stress the fact that outside the walls of the prison, it is still prison, and (2) to stress the two terrors that oppress the people — the official one, stemming from the way the state uses the classic methods of repression, and the social one, stemming from the moral debris left behind by feudalism and patriarchy as it gradually disappears."

Güney's characters are not dead things, absolute in their perfection or degradation, because evidently his method is not one of emphasizing the "character" over the contradictions of life.

"A political film should not necessarily have to deal with current political events; it is probably sensible to steer as clear of them as possible. A political film should have a very clear political view, a well-founded and well-defined ideological stance. Without touching on any actual political event, you can still make a very political film a film which is politically effective."

In its objective effect at the present time, it could be argued that "Yöl" leaves itself open to the notion that it is narrowly concerned with the "horror" of life in Turkey. In fact, this is exactly how the bourgeois hack critics treat it, as an indictment of Turkey and the Turkish government. But in the real world, that "horror" is typical of the conditions of man and woman kind on this planet, and has universal significance, and





not only in the most general sense, but in its concrete particularity. For instance, the picture, intricate and devastating, that is painted of male camaraderie and what its purpose is, is painfully and almost humourously recognizable, as is the way Ziné fights for her life.

"The people depicted in this film might at first glance appear exclusively Turkish. But these very same people live in other parts of the world. Their names, race, color and creed may be different but I am deeply convinced that they can be found in many Asian, African countries, in Latin America, Central America and even in North America. Consequently, this film doesn't merely relate the lives of people in Turkey."

Art can never be effective so long as its function is confounded with the function of propaganda and agitation, which is the pre-eminent task, along with the military one, of the political vanguard of the proletariat, its Party. To confound the two tasks degrades both and is a product of revisionism and economism. Propaganda and agitation are wholly necessary and are not "didactic" or tendentious or other epithets *as such*, although of course, when bad politics frames any picture, that picture is ugly. It is only when propaganda and agitation are *reduced* in their role and significance by the view that art is the best and most expedient form of propaganda and agitation, that *both* tasks are degraded and art, in particular, becomes didactic nonsense. Such "art" has always been rejected by the masses over any period of time.

Yilmaz Güney is one of the first artists in decades to grapple with this problem and to begin to sum it up. In so doing, he has together with and leading his comrades, his friends, created a monumental work of art belonging to the oppressed people of this planet, who will, ultimately, through all conflict and confounding and against "The Way," destroy the old world and CONSTRUCT THE NEW.

*All indented quotes are from Yilmaz Güney.



It's called "La Operación" in Puerto Rico. In southern states and major cities, it's a "Mississippi appendectomy." In the far west and mountain states, it was the "package deal." And by other code names it continues today, the most prevalent form of "birth control" in the U.S. — not to mention the world. Surgical sterilization is its official medical term. But by whatever name, its effect is the same: eliminating the ability to have children among a significant section of the population. Today, over one-third of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age and between 25% and 40% of Native American women have been sterilized, and in some tribes the rate is much higher.

"God's greatest gift is human life and . . . we have the duty to protect the life of the unborn child." So intoned Ronald Reagan in his weekly radio address January 22. This also just happened to be the tenth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion which Reagan called a "tragedy." But "human life" in its millions, proletarians and oppressed nationalities, in the cities, in the ghettos (both rural and urban), on the reservations, in the colonies and neo-colonies, is not the kind of "human life" Reagan and other representatives of the bourgeoisie have in mind when they talk about "protection."

These "protectors" of human life are in the fine, 100% American tradition of people like Teddy Roosevelt who, in 1905, scolded white Anglo-Saxon Protestant women for "selfishly refusing to bear large families" and, elaborating in 1913, stated in a communication to the Committee to Study and to Report On the Best Practical Means of Cutting Off the Defective Germ-Plasm in the American Population (organized by the American Breeders Association Eugenics Section): "It is obvious that if the future racial qualities are to be improved, the improving must be wrought mainly by favoring the fecundity of the worthy types . . . at present, we do just the reverse. There is no check to the fecundity of those who are subnormal, both intellectually and morally . . ."

Few today except the KKK'er-and-proud-of-it types dare to speak openly about favoring certain "racial qualities." Instead, population control measures are couched in more refined terms such as "concern for the world's resources," and recently, reflecting the needs of U.S. imperialism as it gears up for war with the Soviets, in terms of "national security." "Indeed," stated Robert McNamara in an address at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1977, "in many ways rampant population growth is an even more dangerous and subtle threat to the world than thermonuclear war, for it is intrinsically less subject to rational safeguards, and less amenable to organized control."

Jesse Helms waxed eloquent about the loss of American children in his pontification during last fall's Senate debate/filibuster over his anti-abortion bill: "Since January 22, 1973, there have been more than ten million abortions. A handful of babies survived the procedures and are alive today. The rest perished. Whatever the fate of the dead in the economy of God's merciful providence, we, on earth, are without ten million American children. Let us pause for a moment and think about that fact." And again, "Can we ever overestimate the immense value of American children?"

Well, honorable Helms, let's see now. In recent years, at least through the mid-'70s, nearly half of all the compulsory sterilizations in the U.S. were ordered by the "Eugenics Board" in Helms' home state, North Carolina. A number of other states have had these laws on the books, providing for the sterilization of a broad range of people, including the "mentally defective," epileptics, "criminals," the "mentally ill," and so on, but North Carolina has been particularly zealous in carrying them out. In addition, North Carolina has been notoriously big on providing free, state-financed "birth control" to youth. In the late '60s, for instance, condoms and vaginal foams, contraceptives which don't require prescriptions, were distributed free to Black youth as young as 12 in storefront contraceptive "stations" in Winston-Salem.

Just what "American children" Jesse Helms and his ilk are concerned about preserving comes into sharper focus when you consider that the sterilization program of the U.S. government within the U.S. has taken big leaps in the last decade, at just the time the abortion question has been hotly debated and the cry of the unborn, the sanctity of human life, and so on, *ad nauseam*, have been unleashed from above and sounded by the reactionary Moral Majority type below. And as government funding for abortions was cut drastically, 90% of the cost of sterilization continues to be covered by federal Medicaid, with not a peep of protest coming from those who weep over the loss of "American children."

hospitals in New York City, it is the unwritten policy to do elective hysterectomies on poor Black and Puerto Rican women, with minimal indications, to train residents." In the mid-'70s it was estimated that twice as many Black and six times as many Hispanic women as white women were sterilized in New York City municipal and voluntary hospitals.

Sterilization rates (including both tubal sterilization and hysterectomy) took a sharp jump in the 1976-77 period — just the time that Congress cut off federal Medicaid funds for abortions, affecting tens of thousands of poor women. In 1977, an article in the *Washington Post* cited one study on an extended Appalachian family that showed that 9 out of the 12 women in

The Moral Majority and La Operación

Government statistics reveal that female sterilization increased by 350% between 1970 and 1975. It is hardly coincidental that the U.S. government got into sterilization as a part of "family planning" in a big way in 1970 in the wake of the Black rebellions in major cities all across the country. Nixon, as President, in 1969 requested of Congress that "we establish as a national goal the provision of adequate family planning services within the next five years to all those who want them but cannot afford them," and attributed "many of our social problems . . . to the fact that we have had only fifty years in which to accommodate the second 100 million Americans." It is very clear just what "Americans" he was concerned about, specifically those who couldn't be "accommodated" and therefore cause the "social problems."

A very revealing statistic from *Family Planning Perspectives* (May/June 1979), published by the Rockefeller-backed Planned Parenthood Federation of America, deals with the potential "unwanted births" avoided by sterilization. According to 1971-73 figures and projections based on that, 1000 Black women would have given birth to 1034 "unwanted children" in 15 years, as compared to 337 for white women. As this publication said, "a dramatic difference." In addition, sterilization — "voluntary" of course, a question we will deal with a little later — prevented twice as many "unwanted births" among Black couples as among white couples! Even though the rate of sterilization for Black couples as compared to white couples is nearly the same, according to this little population control tract, among Black people "unwanted fertility rates are so much higher." The question is, "unwanted" by whom?

The "Package Deal"

Hysterectomies, involving the removal of all or a major part of the female reproductive organs, have been so common among Black women that in the South they are called "Mississippi appendectomies." Although declining in frequency in recent years, they are the second most frequently performed intra-abdominal surgical procedure among women aged 15-44. The only one higher is tubal sterilization (where the Fallopian tubes are cut, or "tied"). Women in the South have the highest hysterectomy rate of any geographical region, according to 1980 U.S. government figures, with Black women having higher rates than whites. But it wasn't only in the South. In 1975 the acting director of obstetrics/gynecology at one New York City hospital said that "In most major teaching

the family had had hysterectomies. A social worker in Madison County, North Carolina, told of a day when she visited 13 young mothers and found that 8 of them had been given hysterectomies, and in nearly every case, the idea for the operation came from the doctor.

Until the legalization of abortion by the Supreme Court in 1973, the "package deal" was the common practice in teaching hospitals, especially throughout the western states and Canada, just those areas where there are concentrations of people of Mexican heritage and Native American people. This "deal" was that a woman needing an abortion would be admitted to a hospital where her doctor would write down "sterilization" and then proceed to do both. In 1970 a study showed that 53% of all teaching hospitals in the U.S. made this a requirement for some of their patients. Activists in the women's health and reproductive rights movement fear a return to the "package deal" as funds for abortion continue to be cut and its availability is increasingly limited. A chilling government statistic in the U.S. Dept. of Health & Human Services' Annual Summary 1980, "Reported Morbidity and Mortality Rates in the U.S.," bears this out. Since 1973, it states, more than half the sterilizations done in hospitals have been "performed on women who were not pregnant on hospital admission." And what of the "less than half" who were pregnant upon admission? Did they "consent" to sterilization to get an abortion? Or were they "persuaded" during the excruciating pain of childbirth, perhaps when they were groggy with anesthesia? In 1973 the *New York Times* reported that tubal sterilizations were commonly done without the patient's knowledge at Washington Hospital Center in Washington, D.C., and at Long Island College Hospital in Brooklyn, "at the discretion of the hospital staff, and are usually based on their consensus that the women in question, usually Black and poor, had too many children." In 1972, 97% of doctors surveyed favored sterilizing women on welfare who have borne "illegitimate" children.

In addition, Medicaid, Medicare and other health insurance plans reimburse a surgeon up to 90% of the cost of any sterilization procedure (with a hysterectomy operation bringing in \$800 as compared to \$250 for a tubal sterilization) and often nothing for abortions. One study of several states showed a clear correlation between the time of passage of the Hyde Amendment which cut off federal Medicaid funds for abortion, and a sharp increase in the money spent on Me-

dicaid-funded sterilizations. And by 1979, Medicaid-funded abortions had dropped by an average of 98.02% from 1977. (Now, only nine states provide state Medicare funding for abortions.)

There has been plenty of recent documentation, even by government auditors, as to widely spread "violation" of the "informed consent" regulations that were supposedly strengthened in 1979 by requiring Medicaid patients to be over 21, to sign a detailed consent form, and then wait 30 days before having the sterilization operation. In Colorado, three women were reported to have given their consent for sterilization while having an abortion; in Pennsylvania, hospitals did not use the "proper consent forms" in half the operations, and some women didn't sign at all while others didn't wait the 30 days; in North Carolina, 66 did not give written consent; in Maine, 43 weren't informed that the hysterectomy would cause sterility, and five were done on women under 21; and so the list goes. And these abuses were just those that were found officially, and limited to nine states.

Some of the most outrageous sterilization abuse has been forced on Native American women. An Indian Health Service facility by the government's own figures sterilized at least 300-400 Native American women in three years with no proof of any kind of "informed consent." Indian women often have been coerced into agreeing to sterilization on the fear (or threat) that federal aid would be cut off if they did not, or under the belief that it was not a permanent procedure. One Indian woman was told that her headaches were caused by her fear of pregnancy, and sterilization would cure her having headaches. She was sterilized, continued to have headaches, and then it was found that she had a brain tumor. Another Indian woman was sterilized after having been told by her doctor that it was a treatment for her epilepsy.

Thirty-five Native American women under 21 had been sterilized in these three years, despite a so-called national, court-ordered moratorium on the sterilization of minors. (This order came out of the outrage around the case of two Alabama sisters, Mary Alice and Minnie Lee Relf, ages 12 and 14, who were sterilized in 1973 without their knowledge or consent. Their parents' protests led to disclosures that at least 30 other minors had been sterilized the year before in government-sponsored birth control clinics.)

Among those whose voices raised the hymn to the "unborn" is the Catholic Church, which in cities around the country issued a special plea to Roman Catholics, including children, to light candles and offer special prayers on January 22 "for the 15 million infants destroyed over the last ten years," as New York Cardinal Cooke piously put it. He further said, the abortion issue "... is a devastating loss of human life, and we must do everything in our power to bring it to an end." Yet the role of the Catholic Church in the genocidal population control program in Puerto Rico is another story indeed.

In 1968 when it was estimated that over 35% of Puerto Rican children of childbearing age had been sterilized, abortion was illegal, with violators "punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than four years." While the Catholic Church never officially sanctioned sterilization, "La Operación," as it came to be known, met with far less opposition from the Church than other forms of birth control. In many hospitals in Puerto Rico in the 1950s, women who came for childbirth who already had two or more children were given a tubal sterilization after giving birth. And sterilization was legal for general "health" reasons. *Whose* health is being protected here is again the question.

The two-edged sword of abortion restriction and forced sterilization is a heavy weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Abortion and other means of birth control must be available to all women as necessary for breaking out of the traditional chains that confine them to kitchen and nursery. But so long as the imperialists are in power, they will continue to use their control over reproduction as another means of enforcing and prolonging their rule. □

Ghanaian Refugees

A DUBIOUS WELCOME



Togo soldiers attack refugees on the Togo/Benin border.

They crossed the border from Togo into the city of Aflao, just inside Ghana, tens of thousands per day. And as they entered they were greeted by a huge banner, proclaiming "Welcome Home to Ghana."

The refugees had for two weeks been treated as walking carrion to be picked on by vultures large and small, from the Nigerian government, which rejected offers from other African countries to transport the banned "illegal aliens" back to their homelands so that its own entrepreneurs could rake in exorbitant fees, while dozens of immigrants starved as they waited in huge throngs — to the employers who withheld their last paychecks, to the pigs who beat and robbed them outright at every step of their flight.

But the refugees — the good majority of them Ghanaians — were home... and now...

In Aflao, while the "Welcome Home" banner fluttered above the refugees, Ghanaian cops tore at whatever belongings remained to them, even to the little bread dispersed by relief agencies. In Accra, Ghana's capital, the refugees passed through police and military roadblocks set up around the entire perimeter of the city; armored cars patrolled the streets; a curfew was proclaimed, throwing many of the refugees who were forced to spend the night in the open streets into the clutches of the cops. Those who made it to the central "welcome" sites like the city's Trade Fair were detained for 24 hours pending "medical and security checks."

The chief efforts of the Ghanaian government were aimed at defusing and controlling the potential volatility of hundreds of thousands of refugees, young, uprooted and angry, swelling the already turbulent ranks in Ghana's capital. There were reports that one large group of 1200 refugees "violated discipline," and the cops were brought in to subdue them. The government-run *Ghanaian Times* warned those returning to "use their energies" in pursuit of Lieutenant Rawlings' Libyan-style revolution, not in being "violent and rude." As quickly as the regime was able it shipped the refugees out of the capital city — in trucks, buses, even on foot — to split up and isolate the huge crowds in Accra.

Fewer details are known about other countries in the region to which the refugees are returning: 150-200,000 to Niger, hundreds of thousands to Chad, lesser numbers to Benin, Togo,

Cameroon, and Upper Volta (some Lebanese, Indians, and Pakistanis were also expelled). The government press reported that police checks were stepped up sharply and that the respective governments were "taking steps" to ensure that refugees from third countries continue their journeys without settling down. Meanwhile, the heads of government of the West African states, excluding Ghana and Nigeria, met in emergency session — not to denounce the expulsion order of Nigeria (which is after all the chief outpost of U.S./Western imperialism in the region), nor to ask for aid for the refugees, but to discuss the "impact on the region" of the exodus. As in Ghana, the return will mean dramatically increased unemployment in the various countries, tens of thousands more youth on the streets, combined with a sharp drop in the foreign exchange that came in while the refugees worked in Nigeria. All this will further stir up the already swirling waters of West Africa.

But it is in Ghana itself that the impact will be most felt. Roughly ten percent of the Ghanaian population has arrived in a mere two weeks. The population has ballooned in a country where, thanks to imperialist "development" of both the East bloc and West bloc variety, life expectancy is only 40 years. It is estimated that private factories in the country are running at only about 15% of capacity. Inflation is nearly 85%, and Ghana's foreign exchange reserves are all but dried up, making the necessary importation of food and other essential commodities a big problem. Lieutenant Rawlings' much touted "revolution" and movement towards the Soviet sphere has hardly altered Ghana's long-standing colonial dependence on a few key commodities. Ghana once produced 35% of the world's gold and nearly 40% of the world's cocoa; today production of both has declined to only a fraction of what they once were, but they are still — along with sugar and timber — Ghana's chief exports, on which it is virtually dependent for foreign exchange, and around which the entire economy is structured.

The sudden influx of over a million people has already begun to be felt. It is now apparent that, besides worry over the refugees' political impact, one of the Ghanaian government's chief reasons for delaying sending transport facilities to Nigeria to pick up the refugees was the havoc that this diversion of transport would have wreaked on getting in the

vitaly needed cocoa crop. Now that the refugees are back, where they will find work, what they will do in such conditions — where the once popular Rawlings is now openly booed by students at his speeches on Ghana's campuses — is being described by smirking Western diplomats as "an unprecedented challenge for Rawlings."

This challenge to Rawlings is hardly unwelcome in Western official circles, where it could easily have been conceived or "counseled." When Rawlings first came to power in a military coup in 1979, Nigeria promptly cut off their oil shipments to Ghana, which at the time accounted for approximately three-quarters of all Ghanaian oil imports. Rawlings was forced to hold elections, and stepped down to a pro-West man named Hilla Limann just 90 days after embarking on his "revolutionary" platform. But on New Year's eve, 1981, he deposed Limann in another coup, returning to power in the name of the People's National Defense Committee. Rawlings has since tightened ties with the Soviet bloc. Libya now provides 60% of Ghana's oil, and Rawlings has made a number of trips there. Cuban aid has come in for Ghana's sugar industry. Most recently, a mere three weeks before Nigeria's announcement of the expulsion of illegal immigrants, the Soviet Union announced the signing of a major "economic and technical cooperation agreement" with Ghana. The USSR is to aid Ghana with the construction of a gold-refining plant, a concrete plant, a hydroelectric station on the Black Volta River, and a number of other facilities. What Ghana will give the Soviets in return is as yet unspecified. Despite this, the West still has significant influence in Ghana — for example, 80% of Ghana's foreign trade is with Western-bloc countries — and will certainly make full use of this in the destabilized situation bound to accompany the refugees. As we noted last week, there have been two coup attempts in the past three months.

While destabilizing the Soviet-leaning Ghanaian government is an impact of the expulsions anticipated by the U.S. bloc, stabilizing Nigeria is also a crucial goal, one which the current government is hoping to promote with the expulsions. The development of oil production in Nigeria was a cause for joy in Western circles — as *Business Week* exulted in a cover story only two years ago: "West African Oil: At Last, An Alternative to the Mideast!"

Besides the fact that Nigeria is the number two supplier of oil to the U.S. after Saudi Arabia, Western experts found Nigerian oil "enticing" since "it is just across the pond from the U.S.," "relatively safe" as a supply source because it is far from the turbulent Mideast and far from the Soviet Union's presence around those vital shipping lanes. It was, all in all, something of a godsend for U.S. imperialism. Now, just two years later, with oil prices plummeting, and the Nigerian economy in the worst shape ever, all the more distorted by this further imperialist penetration, the "dream" lies shattered. Discontent and rebellion have been particularly widespread in the ghettos and slums of the cities of northern Nigeria, especially Kano, Kaduna, and Maiduguri, and the immigrants have been in the thick of it. While much of this has taken a religious expression, it has gone straight up against the forces of the Nigerian state — and has in turn been viciously suppressed by the government.

After one outbreak in December 1980, between 100 and 110 policemen were declared "missing," and over 4,000 people said to be killed. In the wake of a similar riot in Kaduna in 1981, of the 178 people arrested for rioting, 133 of them turned out to be immigrants from other West African countries. They were immediately deported. In the trial, however, details emerged of how these people had been dealt with by the Nigerian state. One of the leaders of a vigilante group, a retired army officer, disclosed that he and his men carved cross marks on the stomachs of the rioters, and executed many of them. "We decided to set on fire those captured..." — and so they did. But the vigilante groups doing this were never "out of control," the Kaduna Commissioner of Police revealed, because they were always *under the control of the police*. This revelation was evidently intended — and accepted — as assurance to higher authorities.

There has been a flurry of reportage of American aid to the refugees: the U.S. Ambassador to Togo received coverage throughout the major press for presenting to a UN relief agency a check for \$25,000. Over a penny per refugee. But that figure should not be surprising. After all, look how imperialism has "aided" the people of West Africa up until now! □

Fire in the Andes

Continued from page 3

sive against Sendero, sending in the infamous "Sinchis" — anti-guerrilla forces trained by the U.S. — to reinforce the rural police who were being driven out of their isolated outposts. In October 1981 Belaunde declared a state of emergency in five provinces of the department of Ayacucho, and the army was sent in to operate in an "advisory capacity."

War in Ayacucho

Then, in March 1982, came what has been the heaviest direct confrontation of this war, in the city of Ayacucho itself. Two columns of Sendero guerrilla fighters, according to some reports up to 120 men and women, laid siege to the prison at the north end of this city of 80,000. Armed with stolen army weapons, hunting rifles confiscated from rural estates and especially traditional Indian slingshots to hurl explosive charges made from the dynamite that abounds in the mountains, the guerrillas overwhelmed the heavily-armed paramilitary police and blasted their way into the prison. They freed hundreds of prisoners, including a number of revolutionary comrades. Three guerrillas were killed in the assault. In a fit of rage, the police later swept through the city hospital, blasting several suspects in their beds and trying to murder more before hospital personnel finally stopped them. With this incident the political situation in the whole country began to boil. What had been revealed was both the regime's weakness and the bloody claws so newly painted democratic.

Little of this appeared in the U.S. press, although in Latin America it took over the front pages and France's *Le Monde* sent its top Latin American correspondents. A few pictures in the mass daily papers, a couple of articles in the *New York* and *Los Angeles Times* for those in the bourgeoisie's need-to-know categories. A long feature article in the *Wall Street Journal* warned that Sendero Luminoso had won "the allegiance of most of the peasants." A leading legal leftist commentator in Lima complained that even the urban petty bourgeoisie in Ayacucho was infected by "regionalism" and supported the rebellion.

With the assault on Vilcashuaman last August, the situation got even worse for the government. Many police outposts had been abandoned. Vilcashuaman, considered a medium-sized town with 1500 people, is about 60 miles, but a 12-hour drive, from the city of Ayacucho — when the roads aren't blocked by mudslides. An attack was expected. With reinforcements, 70 police crowded into the barracks. President Belaunde himself flew in April to this symbolic site of a famous Inca city to show his support for the people and especially for the police garrison. But on August 19 a Sendero column launched a furious firefight against the Guardia Civil barracks and overran it. Some paramilitary police escaped, some were executed and the rest were locked in their own jails. During the four hours it held the town, Sendero called a mass meeting in the main plaza: "Without state power, everything else is an illusion," seems to have been the topic. Heeding the warning, landlords, mayors and other local representatives of the central government (landlords are often both) began pouring out of the countryside into the relative safety of Lima and other large cities. In the main guerrilla operation zones, some of those who didn't were tried before the masses and shot. The United Left complained that some of their own people were among those so abruptly losing their positions. Not much has come out about exactly what goes on in these areas described as the embryos of a workers' and peasants' state. But we do know that the central government has complained that Sendero has set up its own government and even dares to collect taxes, even on the coca crops grown by the peasants which have long been bought up by government-connected gangsters (often elected officials) for the international cocaine trade. And we also know that the legal left has complained that the guerrillas have unfairly played to their public by organizing the trials and executions of rapists and other criminals, who are also often connected with the landlords and the government.

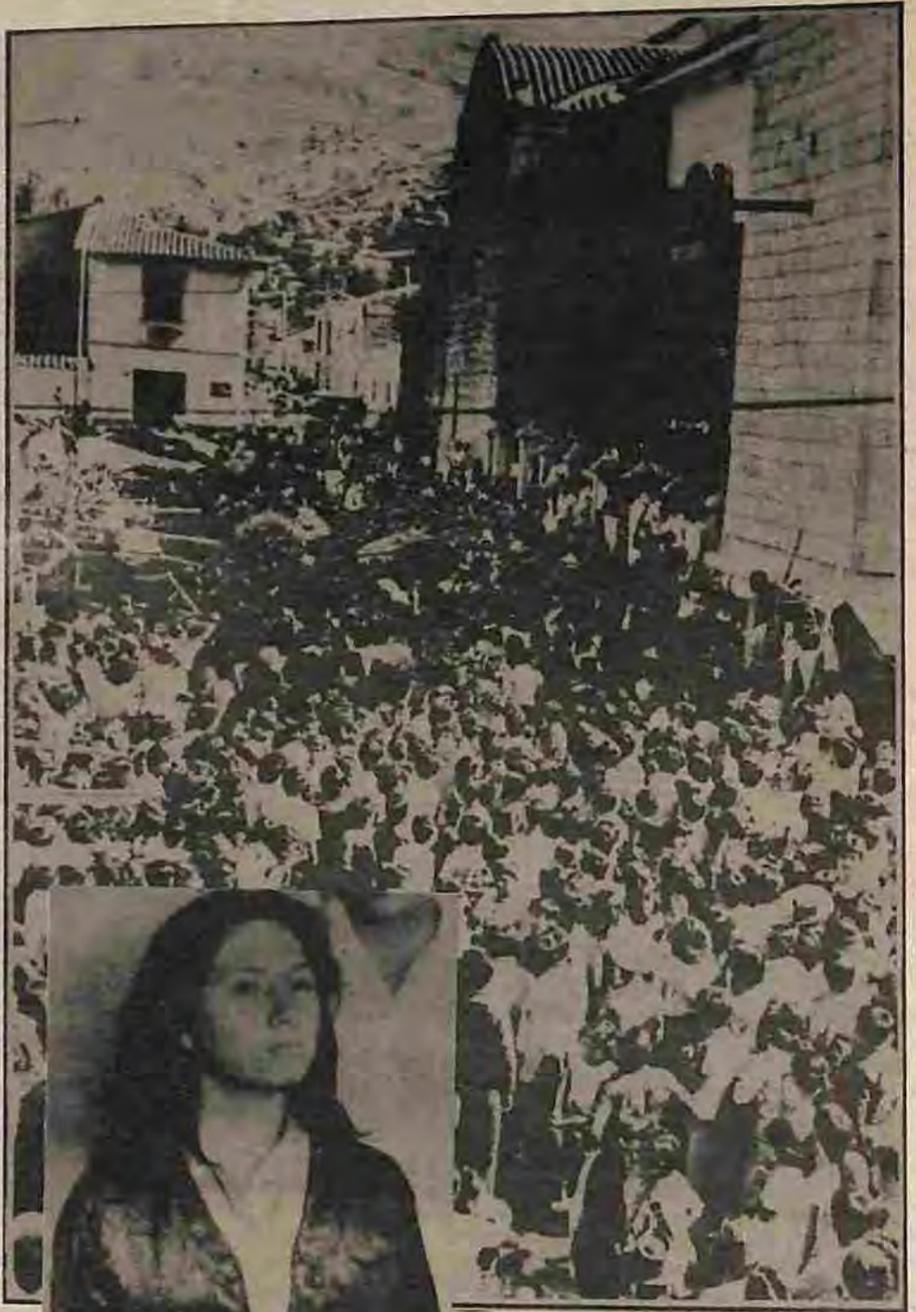
A state of emergency was declared in an area extending through Lima. Three thousand or more people were arrested, including anybody who smelled even vaguely revolutionary. The United Left coalition screamed that Sendero was ruining Peru's return to congressional democracy.

In September, Edith Lagos, whose escape from prison at Ayacucho had been her fifth, was found murdered, cut up by the bayonets of the paramilitary police. At 15, Edith Lagos had led a massive high school student strike in Ayacucho under the auspices of a student federation influenced by Sendero Luminoso. When she was murdered at 19, the authorities called her a leading guerrilla commander in the region. Despite all the intimidation and the danger, the old narrow streets of Ayacucho were completely filled by a funeral procession of 30,000 people, almost half the city's population. It was a number far larger than any of the city's previous famous religious processions, which were far smaller this year.

Conflict in Ruling Classes

Throughout the last part of 1982 especially there was fierce infighting in ruling circles. Belaunde, everyone remembered, had called out the army to crush Guevarist guerrillas in 1965, which in turn led to his overthrow by the army three years later. The first five years of military rule had been proclaimed an "anti-imperialist revolution" featuring an enormous growth of state capitalism in industry and especially in the state farms and co-ops which replaced some of the largest haciendas. (According to an analysis by Sendero, the state simply replaced the biggest landowners as the overseer and exploiter of the landless peasants on the big haciendas, and the majority of peasants, with little land, got nothing and continued to exist in semi-feudal conditions.) Such bureaucrat, state capitalism has deep roots in Peru's previous development. It was not really incompatible with the overall interests and efforts of U.S. imperialism in the region during that period, although U.S. firms were nationalized (with some compensation). But it was also accompanied by an intense flirtation with the Soviet Union, which provided arms and loans and still maintains a corps of 150 military advisors. France, to a much smaller degree, also hovered over the military junta, seeking advantage and plying it with arms, which probably accounts for the big play Sendero has had in the French press. By 1975, however, the worldwide economic crisis sweeping the imperialist world had hit particularly hard, frustrating the pace of development sought by Peruvian bureaucrat capital. Gen. Velasco, the ostensible "radical," was replaced by Gen. Morales Bermudez, more favored by the openly pro-U.S. comprador elements in Peru. Shortly after, the IMF stepped in to enforce an "austerity" plan as the price of new and desperately needed loans. That "austerity" plan meant a sharp cut in the living standards of the masses (the average wage in Lima seems to have fallen to 60-70% of what it was a decade ago, for that half of the workforce still enjoying full-time employment). At the same time, it also meant an end to the growth of the state enterprises and even some dismantling of the state sector.

The development of this complex situation has above all been directed by its international economic and political-military context. The imperious necessities of international capital, above all that of U.S. imperialism, have required some development and reorganization of the productive forces in Peru, as elsewhere, while at the same time this development has had as one of its consequences the growth of certain sectors of the economy which serve as a base for forces which just might be able to cut a better deal with the Soviets and knock down their more traditional, often private-sector-centered rivals who've long been a mainstay of U.S. political domination. This struggle between these forces within the big bourgeoisie is intertwined with conflicts between the big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords. Symbolic of the situation's complexity is the fact that Hector Bejar, for instance, one of the leaders of the Guevarist *foco* in 1965, which was de-



One of the prisoners who escaped from the Ayacucho jail, Edith Lagos, was later recaptured by police and bayoneted to death. She was said to have been a guerrilla commander. Judging by their published statements, the authorities particularly hated her because of what she symbolized — bad enough to be an Indian guerrilla, and even worse to be a 19-year-old woman. 30,000 people — almost half the population of Ayacucho — marched through the city's cobblestone streets in her funeral procession.



stroyed by the armed forces, a few years later became a leading figure in the armed forces' "anti-imperialist" military regime. Of course what makes this all the more complicated — truly a situation "sin salida" (without exit), as is widely agreed — is the fact that the economic situation has continued to deteriorate, although not in a straight line, and various aspects of the struggle of the masses on a number of fronts have interacted with the contradictions within the ruling classes. This has led to the necessity to dump the military government and institute a "democratic" regime which at best promises to be at least as unstable.

It's easy to see why Belaunde, resurrected from the political dead after twelve years, was extremely reluctant to once again call on the same army that overthrew him last time. Bourgeois political commentators in Lima seemed split over whether the army wanted to be called out or not. Some said the army would like nothing better than to be granted all kinds of special powers and to be given control of whole regions, while others said that the army preferred to wait while the guerrilla movement further undermined the civilian government. The army's intentions were not made clearer, but the political waters were made to boil even hotter, with the public statements by War Minis-

ter General Cisneros, who proclaimed that in order to wipe out Sendero the army would have to "kill 60 innocent people for every three guerrillas," and then followed this up by offering a "dialogue" with Sendero.

Just before Christmas, Belaunde fired Cisneros and his whole cabinet. "A coup d'etat," Belaunde declared, "is impossible" — which reassured no one. Although the old cabinet was full of well-known pro-U.S. mummies, the new one stunk even more of that odor, which perhaps was the point. Fernando Schwalb, a long-time ambassador to the U.S. and very popular with U.S. political figures, was brought in as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. A former vice president of the Wells Fargo Bank, which heads up one of the two private banking syndicates supplying the Peruvian government's financial heroin, was made Minister of the Economy and Finance. At the same time, three top military men also got posts. Martial law was declared. Ayacucho and parts of neighboring departments were put under direct army rule. Two thousand army men were sent in to reinforce a similar number of paramilitary police and other civilian armed forces already running amok in the region.

Shortly after the arrival of the army, there was an incident which has certainly worked to curtail reports coming from Ayacucho. Eight journalists who were traveling in the countryside, including two reporters from *Diario de Marka*, a parliamentary left daily which had nonetheless just run some extremely shocking exposures of how the *Sinchis* had taken to hacking apart living peasant suspects and leaving pieces of their bodies for others to find, were themselves hacked to pieces by

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Correspondence on the RCP Fund Drive

Comrades of the *RW*, before anything I would like to extend my warmest of revolutionary greetings.

When I first came here from my native Nicaragua to a city inside North American imperialism my political activity had declined due to the lack of organization and because I had not met any organization whose politics could correspond to the contradictions in the world. Because of this I was unable to properly sum up the events of the day.

Being in my country I could see, feel and understand the intervention of an imperialism as much political as it was military. But upon entering inside of imperialism, which turned out to be quite an experience, I could understand a little more from an objective position the revolution in Nicaragua and the events in the world. I could see the direct clash between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union and the interrelationships within the Western bloc.

The ambition to control completely certain zones as economic strategic points and the signs of a possible third world war made me feel distrust and fear that the Soviet influence in my country could easily turn into a dependence. Due to the contradictions in the world and the lack of Marxism, Leninism I couldn't resolve these questions by myself. I tried to talk to someone else who could understand the situation more deeply than I and could possibly put forward perhaps a "third line" that would not ally itself with U.S. imperialism or the Soviet Union. Many times I ran into an *RW* distributor who spoke very radically against the role of U.S. imperialism in other countries and of revolutionary situations in other countries as well. One day I decided I would talk to her and put forward my disagreements on the Soviet Union though I knew that my arguments were not that developed. To my surprise and satisfaction she put the "third line" I had been searching for and which corresponded to the contradictions I was facing. Since then my understanding of the worldwide revolution has broadened with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought which I feel is critical to understanding the development of capitalist society and

its contradictions on a world scale — the eternal evolution of this modern society and its nature. Understanding this we can understand the contradictions between the two imperialists: U.S. and USSR. At the same time we can understand the nature of the Soviet Union analyzing step by step what its role has been since the October revolution in relationship to the process of worldwide revolution.

In the decade of the '80s as the crisis of imperialism intensifies due to the workings of capitalist society, the international proletariat has and should take advantage of the opportunities (which do not come along any decade) on a world scale in order to break away from the system. But to accomplish this the proletariat needs a vanguard party that bases itself on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought while at the same time applying a correct line that seizes power and abolishes all class antagonisms by the proletarian dictatorship. With a party of this type and its internationalist stand, learning from our leaders, present and past, the proletariat can advance, maintaining power and preventing the bourgeoisie from restoring power or the emergence of a new ruling class within sections of the leadership of the revolution that refuses to transform the capitalist superstructure completely and is willing to sell out the efforts and fundamental interests of the masses for a new system of exploitation — Soviet imperialist style state capitalism.

We are entering a decade full of opportunities for change in which the future could be affected by significant advances by the international proletariat in the process of world revolution. The imperialists are pushing the world toward another world war with which to introduce new life to their dying system by redividing the riches of the world and continuing their respective systems of exploitation. As the experience of the first and second world wars show, revolutionaries or those with revolutionary sentiments have a responsibility to contribute in whatever way, economically, morally, or actively to building qualitatively and quantitatively a proletarian in-

ternationalist party no matter what our position economically or our understanding politically. The coming world conjuncture is demanding more than sacrifice, it is demanding participation in the world revolution including in the belly of imperialism — the imperialist countries themselves — as part of this process that will prepare the way for our children, our children's children, and generations to come to build a world of peace and justice. I wholeheartedly encourage all those who hate imperialism to contribute a day's wages to the RCP's fund drive.

A Nicaraguan revolutionary

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Dear *RW*:

Because I responded to a "worthy cause" letter of two years ago, I am swamped daily by urgent appeals for funds from band-aid reformist groups like Human Rights PAC, Friends of the Earth, People Against PACS, etc....

But it takes just a little common sense, an awareness of where we are headed, and a touch of realism to know that all these groups together can never reform the giant imperialistic monster that the greedy exploiters of the world's working people have created.

Imperialistic Capitalism is beyond reform. It has exploited one too many developing country, financed one too many murderous puppet, and squandered one too many trillion on self-destructive weaponry.

My advice to others like myself, who have sent a few bucks here and there to "stem the tide" — forget it!!! The whole system needs to be replaced by a truly socialist government of the people that returns the earth to its working and producing majority.

The RCP is the only party with such a goal and that's where I'm giving what little I have left over after putting out what it takes just to survive today in this crumbling capitalistic society.

A Veteran of Three Stupid Wars

Why have I contributed to the RCP Fund Drive? What other organization is striving for such lofty goals and willing to struggle through the multitude of issues and ideas that will determine our future. What other organization is studying and promoting the science and material basis for change. What other organization is willing as well as trying to shed all incorrect dogmatized theology be it sacred or secular. Finally, what other organization puts out such a valuable service to anyone interested in our international reality, this being the *RW* and its other publications.

While I do not agree with the party on several points and am not about to fervently take up its particular stand, the necessity that it avails itself to as many as possible and encourages thought, discussion and struggle implores me.

Honolulu Musician

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December 31, 1982

Comrades & Friends,

The party's new major fund drive comes at an opportune time, because I happen to have some extra cash lying around and my idea was to use it in some way to smash imperialism.

Enclosed is \$300. The sum of this donation is approximately four days of retroactive pay, resulting from four days suspension from my job, for "insubordination," three weeks before May First this year, and a subsequent grievance against my employer....

As we welcome in the new year and new opportunities to broaden this trend, I also welcome this great opportunity to make this contribution on the timely occasion of the party's new major fund drive. As Bob Avakian has stressed in his recent *Reflections* printed in the *Revolutionary Worker*, it is the role of the advanced which will move the revolutionary trend forward, and I am proud to be able to make a contribution toward that, toward turning this small victory into part of a resounding defeat for the bourgeoisie and their monstrous system.

A Proletarian Internationalist

Andes

Continued from page 12

what the authorities said were "angry peasants" who "mistook them for guerrillas." (Later it was reported that these peasants, of whatever class they might have been, complained that they were only carrying out police orders.)

Current Situation

There is clearly a reign of terror in the countryside. One report, filed before the reports were cut short, tells of a combined forces' sweep through the village of Cuschi, in the province of Cangallo, 85 miles southwest of Ayacucho. Everyone in the village was hauled out of their homes in the middle of the night at gunpoint. Five people were arrested as suspected guerrillas, including a local member of Belaunde's ruling AP party. An old man, a poor peasant, was pushed and kicked into the central plaza where all the inhabitants had been assembled at the point of machineguns. The *Sinchis* tied an explosive charge to the man's belly and blew him apart in front of the whole village. An officer proclaimed, "Look you Indian savages, this is how terrorists die."

Yet Sendero attacks have continued, as far south as Cuzco and Puno, near the Bolivian border, and as far north as Cajamarca, in northern Peru. Near Lima, 267 suspected Senderistas on a prison island began a hunger strike demanding to be treated as prisoners of war. The authorities complained that they couldn't control the area of the prison where these prisoners were concentrated and that the walls and railings were draped with red banners despite the ban on anything red entering the prison. This was not taken as a sign of Sendero's surrender. Landlords and other petty potentates have continued to stream out of new areas in the departments of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Ampurimac.

On January 8, about two weeks after

the army moved in, Sendero called for a general strike in Ayacucho. A radio station was "encouraged" to broadcast the call and proclamation — once, before the enraged armed forces shut it down. Then youths with red banners and leaflets were seen moving through the marketplace. According to the Lima press, the general strike left the streets empty of all but the armed forces and their mini-tanks and other armored vehicles. A legal left commentator in Lima rushed to point out that Ayacucho had been shut down a month earlier, before the army arrived, in a general strike called by pro-Deng Xiaoping forces, and that last August the whole country was rocked by general strikes of construction workers, bank employees, railroad workers, electrical workers and waiters, until these strikes were halted by

the government-declared state of emergency in the wake of Sendero's offensives. The point of this legal left commentator was that the various revisionist forces have had considerable influence among these sections of the workers, and he was trying to pit that influence among Peru's sizable working class against the fact that at this time, the main support for Sendero is among extremely poor, Quechua-speaking peasants who are a minority of Peru's 18 million people. There is a very sharp strategic question of how to spread the struggle that has broken out in the most backward part of the country to other areas, but nothing in this revisionist's argument holds out much hope for the political stability so dear to revisionism and imperialism and so hated among very broad sections of

the Peruvian masses.

It is the instability and complexity of Peru's situation and its international context which has been so key in the development of the situation to this point, and those very complex factors make major questions of political line all the more key for the further development of this struggle and its revolutionary content. The old order is being rocked in a way that has little recent precedent, not only in terms of the scale of the rebellion but also the sweep of its targets. The revolutionary flames are burning very brightly and reaching high, their light shining brightly in a region where the spectre of "Maoist revolutionaries" was supposed to have been long buried. □

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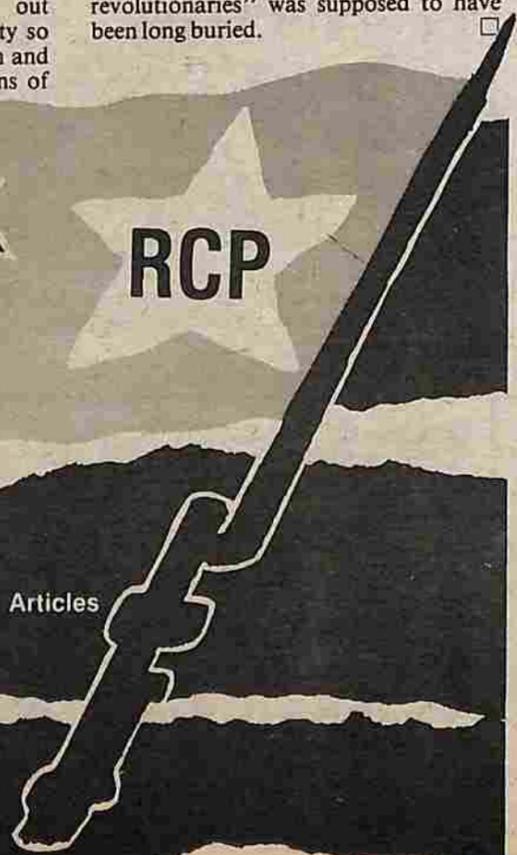
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Peace Wars

Continued from page 1

All the Western allies denounced the offer. The British magazine *The Economist*, for example, cried, "This is not peace. It is that very different thing, a peace offensive." Funny how much of what the imperialists charge each other with these days is true. Andropov's proposal was every bit as cynical and hypocritical as the U.S.'s original "zero-option." He knew that the Western imperialists would never go for this "honest" option. The Soviets would lose little in such a deal. In exchange for having zero U.S. land-based intermediate nukes in Europe the Soviets would have to do no more than move some of the SS-20s, which are placed on mobile launchers, behind the Urals (and technically out of Europe though still well within range of their European targets). Meanwhile the SS-20 deployments would be officially accepted by the West.

Given that the U.S. was bound to turn down the Andropov proposal, the purpose of the Soviets' offer was to score some points in the "reasonableness" department while deploying their SS-20 as fast as possible, countering U.S. efforts at using the SS-20s to justify deploying its new missiles, and further stirring up the growing opposition to the missile deployments in Europe. Including French and British nukes in the deal for the first time was calculated to make the French and British bourgeoisies a target for the anti-war movement in Europe.

Andropov's "honest zero-option" salvo was quickly followed by a series of high-sounding proposals from the Soviet bloc at the annual meeting of the Warsaw Pact. Among other things the participants at the meeting issued the dramatic offers that "steps could be taken" towards dismantling all foreign military bases and withdrawing all troops from foreign territories and that NATO and the Warsaw Pact sign a treaty renouncing the use of force against each other. On the latter point, the U.S. dismissed the offer out of hand and astutely responded that signing such a treaty was wholly unnecessary since NATO and the Warsaw Pact have already promised not to attack each other in the United Nations charter and in the Helsinki Agreement of 1975. The Western press was quick to add that, "Promises of non-aggression, like felt-tip pens, have a curious habit of drying up just when you need them. . . . Would the ink on this one last any longer (than the UN and Helsinki Agreements)?" True indeed, gentlemen — so much for all of your arms control and arms reduction treaties and so-called "peace" initiatives.

Next it was Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's turn. He rushed to West Germany for a state visit right in the midst of the broiling missile debate and a heated election campaign. During his visit he had extensive discussions with West German Social-Democratic candidate for Prime Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel and other Social-Democratic leaders. The Social-Democrats are campaigning against the Christian-Democrats who hold the reigns of government headed by current Prime

Minister Helmut Kohl. Stating that he had only the purest and supremely peaceful of motives for his visit, Gromyko proceeded to employ "a deft mixture of bullying and sweet reasonableness" (as an enraged U.S. put it) in the efforts to stir up as much trouble as he could for the alliance. By meeting with Vogel, who had recently returned from a visit with Andropov in Moscow, Gromyko essentially declared Soviet preference for the Social-Democrat victory in the elections. The reason for this is hardly that the Social-Democrats are soft on the Soviets or that they are headed toward "neutrality" but that the Soviets hope to spur maximum opposition to the Pershing and Cruise deployments, and Vogel has been forced to back off somewhat on straight-up support for the missiles in order to garner support for his party. (Popular support for the Social-Democrats has been steadily dropping in large part due to the fact that it was the Social-Democrats under former prime-minister Helmut Schmidt who originally requested the nukes in the first place.) The Soviets hope to force further backing off by the Social-Democrats from a hardline position and create as much political heat for all the West German ruling class as they can. Gromyko leaned heavily on the West Germans threatening that if the Pershings and Cruises were deployed, West Germany would be courting certain "nuclear catastrophe." He warned: "We cannot ignore the fact that the Federal Republic is the only state due for deployment of the Pershing II rockets that can reach strategic targets deep inside the Soviet Union in a few minutes!"

These Soviet efforts and the ever-present opposition to the nukes throughout Western Europe has put the U.S. and the West European imperialists on the defensive and scrambling to maneuver politically to counter. The part of European pointman in the response was played willingly by Socialist France, especially its intrepid leader François Mitterand. On January 20th he addressed the West German Bundestag (parliament) with a "tough and gutsy" speech "exhorting a Germany tempted by a pacifist adventure to get a grip on itself," as the French press put it. (see last week's *RW*) He spoke of the dangers of uncoupling the defense of Western Europe from the United States and of the need for a firmly united Western alliance in response to Soviet efforts to upset the "equilibrium" in Europe. What Mrs. Socialiste was referring to here was the ostensible softening of the German Social-Democrats (and fellow members of the Social-Democratic International) on the stationing of the missiles and recent supposedly "neutralist" statements by Hans-Jochen Vogel that Soviet arms proposal "be taken seriously" and the like. The speech was Mitterand's endorsement of Helmut Kohl and his pro-Pershing program and a response to the Soviets' peace offensive. Mitterand has been especially ticked off at Andropov's efforts to include French nukes in disarmament negotiations and launched a fervent defense of France's precious "independent" *force de frappe*.

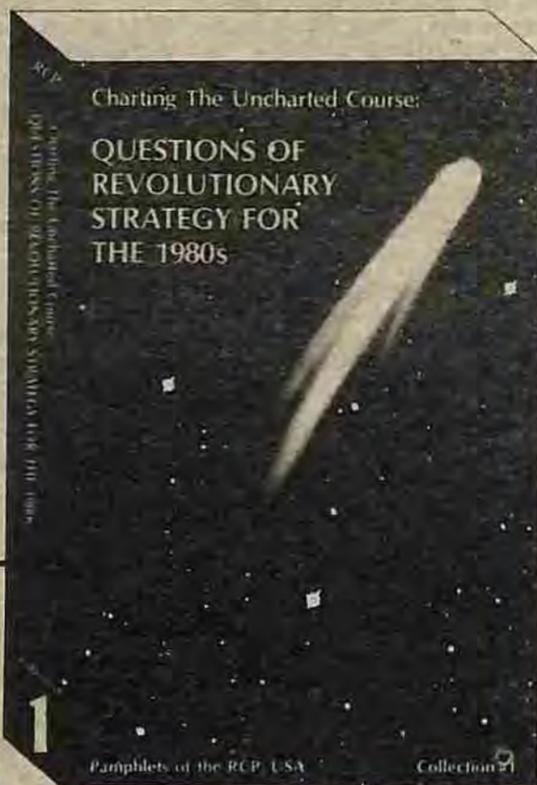
If Mitterand's Bundestag speech wasn't clear enough, on the heels of it the French government announced that it had just completed deployment of nine "new and improved" S-3 nuclear missiles for its own ground-launched strategic forces which can hit "pretty much everything in European Russia." This, according to French defense Minister Hernu will "make us responsible, strong and discreet about our use of force." Further, the government has announced that it is working on an even better missile — the SX (for Socialiste Experimental perhaps?) — and that successful tests had been completed on the M-4 ballistic missile that will arm the latest French nuclear sub under construction — appropriately named *L'Inflexible*.

The West German Social-Democrats hardly need any lectures from their French allies on the dangers of "neutrality" nor are they "tempted by a pacifist adventure." They are simply playing a different role in attempting to aid in getting the euromissiles deployed and countering the massive opposition to this in Germany as well as bolstering their own severely damaged credibility. Their activities provide a most necessary political accompaniment to Kohl's Chris-

tian Democrats' open pro-Pershing campaign. The Social-Democrats have by no means abandoned their support for the deployments, but have concentrated on calling for the U.S. to "take seriously" Soviet peace offers and come up with some more "reasonable" proposals of its own. In a speech in Dortmund, Vogel declared, "We would welcome the impression that the United States was ready to reply with constructive counter-proposals. We would not only welcome it. We demand it." Far from being a challenge to the U.S., these remarks are nothing more than a plea for peace-war ammo to help make it easier to sell the Pershings to the German public as a necessary evil due to Soviet unwillingness to reach an agreement on intermediate-range nukes. Vogel's "seriousness" in considering Soviet proposals can also be used as evidence of West Germany's "sincere desire" to reach an agreement with the "intransigent" Soviets when the U.S. makes a new counter peace offer for Soviet rejection and when it comes time to actually put the Pershings in at the end of the year. And if there is still any doubt about the role of the Social-Democrats, let us further note here that Vogel delivered his speech under a banner reading "In German Interests." This, of course, can only mean the interests of West Germany's imperialist rulers, whose interests are quite firmly embedded in the NATO war bloc and who are very clear that the main impediment to advancing their imperialist interests lies to the East in the Soviet bloc. It is in this direction that the Social-Democrats are trying to march the German masses to war under the bloody banner of the fatherland. They hope to succeed in their crusade for "left patriotism" where the Helmut Kohls fail.

For its part, the U.S. as head of the bloc has been sticking doggedly to its zero-option proposal as reiterated by Bush throughout his trip to Europe. Bush has been careful, however, to make clear that the U.S. is not finished yet in the "peace offensive" department. His hinting at future "flexibility" on the part of the U.S. has been billed as "a welcome sign to the allies." Even Vogel greeted Bush's trip, including his reading of Reagan's "steeped in morality" offer favorably, noting that, "this is progress." It is quite likely, in fact, that a new U.S. proposal will be forthcoming probably after the West German elections. The parameters of this proposal are already being floated out by Maggie Thatcher. The Iron Lady has been playing the middle part in the alliance chorus sandwiched in between Mitterand and Vogel. Her job is to put forward now what could likely be the U.S.' "last best offer" to the Soviets before deploying the missiles. She has been saying, "One hopes to achieve the zero option, but in the absence of that we must achieve balanced numbers." In other words, the deployment of a certain number of Pershings and Cruises in exchange for the elimination of enough Soviet SS-20s to have an equal number of Soviet and U.S. land based intermediate-range warheads (French and British nukes are naturally not counted nor are U.S. sea-based nukes in Europe). This has already been denounced as "totally unacceptable" by the Soviets and is most likely considered to be a useful ploy by the U.S. if played at the proper time to serve as a screen for the European deployments. It could even be portrayed in Europe as a concession and reasonable European imperialists.

The Soviets, too, undoubtedly have their "last best offer" waiting to be proposed. And so it goes. "Words Are Weapons as Talks Resume" ran a recent *New York Times* headline for an article about the current peace-wars. This is quite true. The deployment of words of peace go hand-in-hand with the deployment of nukes and armies. Both are an integral part of the preparations of both blocs for global warfare. And the bottom line of this current battle over the Euromissiles for the whole U.S. bloc was summed up well by George Bush in Paris: "Our resolve will not be broken. The allies are together and are going to remain firmly together. . . . There is no inclination to knuckle under on the deployment dates." □



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Correction

In the article "Fishing Rights Ruled Out of Order in Columbia River Case," RW No. 191, it was incorrectly stated that the 19 defendants' case could result in up to 19 years in prison each. Actually, the case could result in up to 90 years in prison for each defendant.

French Auto

Continued from page 5

Youth: C'est toujours pareil! (It's still the same thing!)

Worker: They said there would be a big difference, but a worker is still a worker. Mitterand went abroad to see King Hussein II — for what? To change what?

Edmund Maire, head of the CFDT and a member of the Socialist Party, had an appointment with Mitterand in the midst of the furor against the immigrant strikers. Maire limited himself to a milktoast statement, calling the charges leveled by "certain people" against the Arab workers "secondary" and "subordinate."

The contradiction of the CFDT-Flins is typical of the "extreme left" in France. (In the French political vocabulary "extreme left" means those forces which are to the left of the mainstream left parties, yet who are still on the same continuum as the "official" left — the epithet "Gauchiste" (ultra-left) is reserved for those forces who are "beyond the pale" of bourgeois respectability.) With such a position these "extreme left" forces are bound at best to waver between the revolutionary forces in society and the imperialist state, at worst to serve as a cover for the pink panther.

The rebellious strikes are evidence that, in France also, there is much revolutionary combustible material waiting for the right conditions to ignite it. The social composition of the strikers also underscores the importance of basing any revolutionary strategy on the existence of a *division* in the working class between the most exploited and oppressed sections on the one hand and the reactionary labor aristocracy on the other. In France, like in the U.S., there is also a middle sector of workers who still find life relatively tolerable but who fundamentally don't benefit from imperialist plunder. The socialist hysteria is aimed directly at these workers as well as seeking to unleash the most reactionary and rabid elements among the workers. While it is important not to write off these workers to the reactionary camp or to fail to try to counter the racist and chauvinist propaganda directed toward them, the most important thing is to implant a revolutionary line among those sections of the workers who, today, more closely correspond to the proletarians Marx described as having only their chains to lose. □

New Motions Filed in Yellow Ribbon Case

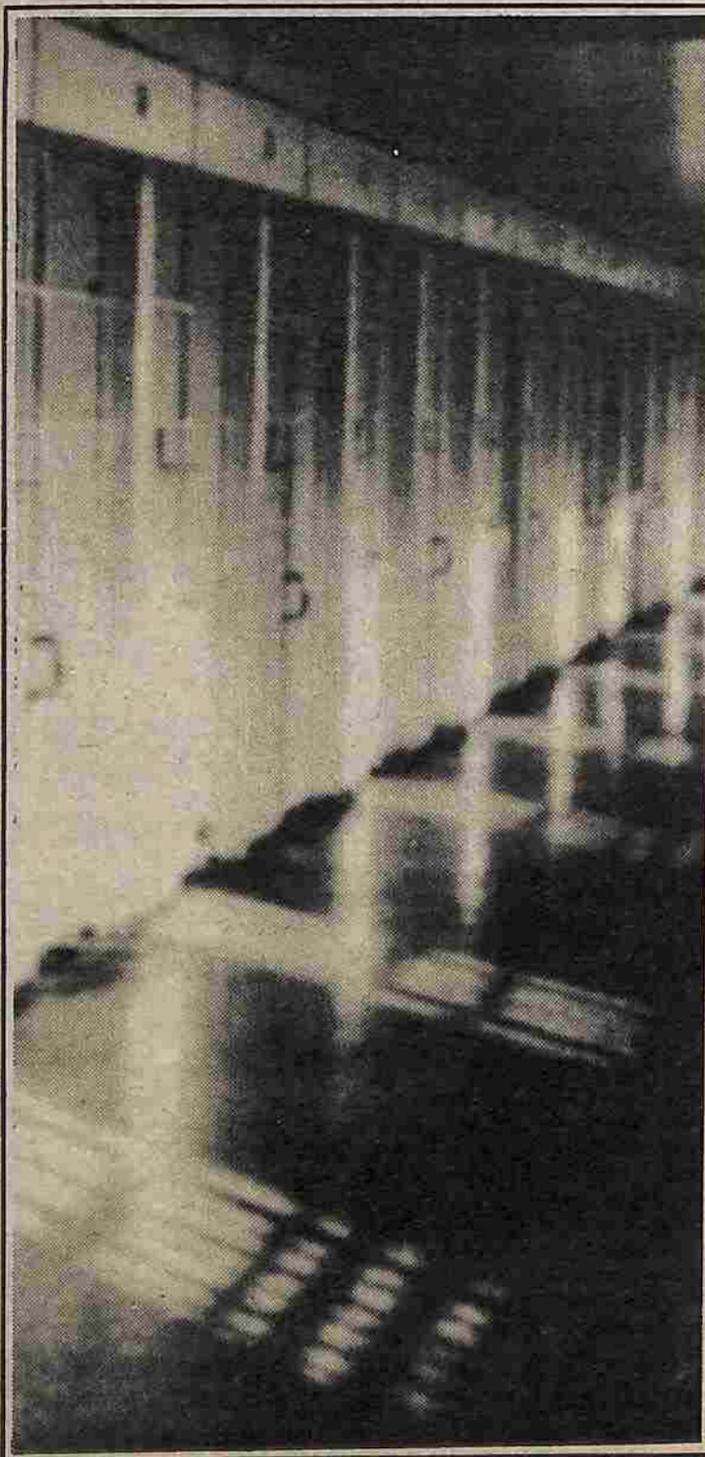
On January 28th, two important court motions were filed in the continuing battle to overturn the felony arson convictions of Nancy Whitley and John Kaiser for the yellow ribbon burning in protest of ex-hostage/spy Victor Tomseth during his visit to Eugene, Oregon at the height of the hostage hoopla. The first motion was made to the Oregon Court of Appeals on behalf of Comrade John Kaiser, who died suddenly of a very rare form of encephalitis six days after the Court of Appeals upheld the yellow ribbon convictions. The circumstances of his death are still being investigated by his family and friends. The motion filed by John's lawyer was to "set aside the judgment of conviction and dismiss the indictments based upon the death of the appellant." Should the Court of Appeals rule favorably on this motion, the matter would be remanded to the Lane County Circuit Court in Eugene — where the original trial was held — thereby making the entire proceedings against John null and void. The decision should be made within a month's time of the filing. The other motion was made by Nancy Whitley's attorney. It was a petition to the Oregon Supreme Court to hear her appeal of the lower court's decision to uphold the felony arson conviction against her. It is indefinite as to when the court will rule whether or not her case "merits hearing."

Together these motions represent important new lines along which the next round of battle over these outrageous convictions will unfold. In the case of the motion to drop all charges against John Kaiser, a strong legal argument can be made for voiding his conviction according to standards commonly used in other states and in federal law. However, Oregon law is apparently ambiguous on this question. It states that with the death of a defendant in the *midst* of an appeal, the appeals process itself is "abated" as is the conviction itself and all penalties relating to it. What is *not* clear in Oregon law is what happens with the death of a defendant after an appeals court has ruled on the appeal and before a higher appeal is able to be filed. Since John Kaiser died before an appeal could be filed with the Oregon Supreme Court, it is apparently subject to legal interpretation whether his conviction must be voided or whether only further appeals are "abated."

For any normal case there would be little question about clarifying this "grey area" which exists in Oregon law. The standards used in many other states and in federal law would be applied and the conviction dropped. As cited in the defense attorney's motion, even *Black's Law Dictionary's* definition for "abate" states that the entire court proceedings are rendered a nullity (i.e., all actions and

charges are dropped). Further, the common argument cited by the courts for voiding convictions upon the death of the defendant is stated in the case of *O'Sullivan v. the People*: "A judgment cannot be enforced when the only subject matter upon which it can operate has ceased to exist." However, this entire yellow ribbon conviction has never been a "normal case," and whether openly stated or not in the upcoming court decision on this matter, the question of the "subject matter" will be at the heart of the court's "technical" decision. For the ruling class the "subject matter" continues to be furthering its attacks on proletarian internationalism, as demonstrated by John Kaiser and Nancy Whitley's burning of the yellow ribbon, and on the RCP. The decision in this matter will certainly be carefully and highly politically weighed.

The Committee to Overturn the Yellow Ribbon Conviction and the RCYB held a news conference at the ERB Memorial Union on February 9 marking the second anniversary of the yellow ribbon burning. At the press conference, which was well attended by the press and others, plans to carry forward the battle to overturn the conviction and to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death of John Kaiser were announced. □



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