



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

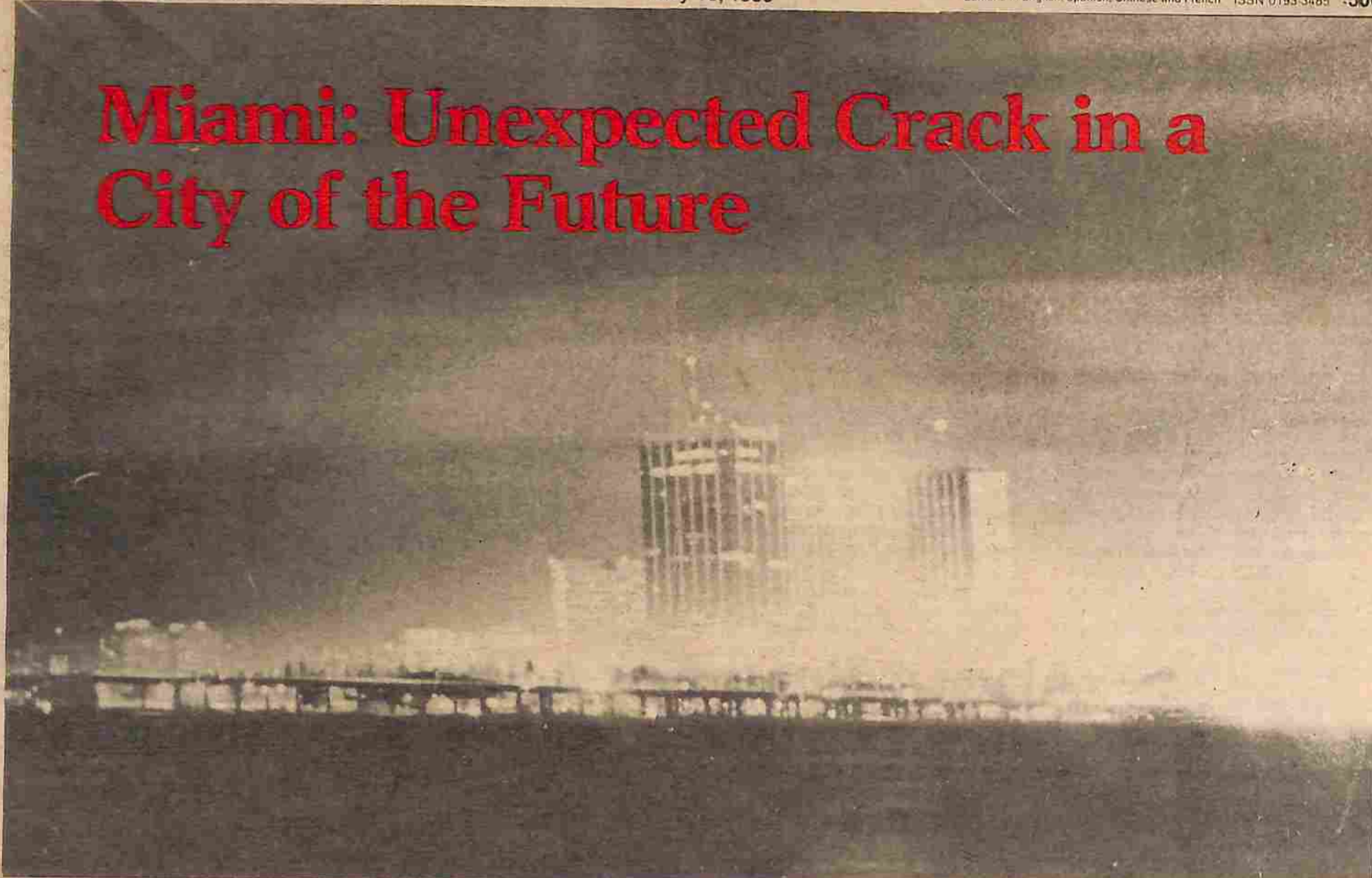
Voice of the  
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Party, U.S.A.

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May 13, 1983

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## Miami: Unexpected Crack in a City of the Future



*Special to the RW — first in a series.*

December 8, 1982. A plush hotel room in Ft. Lauderdale, one of south Florida's renowned vacation spots, just a few miles north of Miami. Enrique Bermudez, a former colonel in the Nicaraguan National Guard under Somoza, is surrounded by the most prestigious national news media in the country. Confidently, he announces that the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, based and largely trained in Miami — his home since Somoza's overthrow — is waging a guerrilla war in Nicaragua. "We are Nicaraguans and our objective is to overthrow the Communists and install a democratic government in our country." Bermudez freely admits and discusses his close relationship with the CIA.

December 28, 1982. Overtown. Miami cop Louis Alvarez, giving lessons to his rookie partner on the fine art of "shaking down niggers," saunters into the Recreation Establishment and puts his gun to the back of Nevell Johnson's head. Less than an hour later, the second major rebellion in three years rocks the Black community of Miami and once again sends shock waves across the country.

Only a few miles apart and on the surface perhaps unrelated, yet no two events could be more intertwined.

Sitting in her dark, ten-foot-wide combination living room, dining room and kitchen stuffed into a condemned apartment building in Overtown, Rhonda, a young woman intensely proud of what she and her friends and neighbors had done when the cops gunned down Nevell Johnson, gave us a vivid sense of the fierceness and determination not to bend that permeates the way so many of the Black masses of Overtown and throughout Miami look at the world around them: "I used to tell my baby to trust the police, to go to them if she has a problem. Now I tell her to come home to me so I can handle this shit. Because I'll go out there and gather everybody up and we'll just tear this bitch up all over again. And I'll keep boosting it up till we tear it up for

months — ain't talking about weeks, months. Just keep rebuilding this, we'll tear it up again. We'll tear this mother-fucker up again."

Talking with a group of high school youth in a park across the street from the "recreation establishment" where Nevell Johnson was killed, you begin to feel what it must be like living in Overtown. Everything else about the city immediately surrounding you is tall, towering over the streets, apartments and boarded-up businesses. The downtown skyscrapers, almost all of them built since 1975, keep shooting up closer and closer, like Godzilla stomping his way through Tokyo,

crushing everything he touches. Even the elevated freeways that criss-cross through and around Overtown add to the feeling of being in a hole, surrounded on all sides. Only 5,000 people live in Overtown.

You would think that the prevailing mood in the country that "you can't do anything without the majority" would be especially acute here. Not only are Black people only 16% of Miami's population of 2 million, but they are surrounded by a political superstructure defined by the role Miami has increasingly played as a base area for pro-U.S. forces throughout Central America and the Caribbean and a

booming "international trade" economy that has reflected that role. In a city that is literally crawling with reactionary paramilitary organizations openly sanctioned and encouraged by the bourgeoisie, you would think that the view that "you can't be too radical since the 'right' is so strong" would have a good deal of initiative, and there would be even more of the heavy hand of "respectability" and "don't go too far" pressing down on the masses than in other cities.

But the past few years have seen Miami emerge as quite an enigma on the American scene, not in its opulent wealth and

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### May 19-22 New York City

A Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union

### The Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist?

Details of Panel Discussions and Main Debate... See Page 5

# The All-American, Buy-American, Sold American, Murder

In June, 1982, a white foreman at Chrysler and his step-son chased and beat to death a Chinese-American, Vincent Chin, in Highland Park, a municipality within Detroit. This past March 16th, Judge Charles Kaufman in a plea-bargaining arrangement sentenced the killers, Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz, to probation and a fine of \$3,780 each. Judge Kaufman, citing the murderers' record of employment, concluded that these "weren't the kind of people you send to jail." As Kaufman told the *Detroit Free Press*, "You don't make the punishment fit the crime; you make the punishment fit the criminal." As many who have registered outrage and protest over this ruling have noted, this translates — in the American tradition — into "if you're white, it's all right," especially if the crime involves killing or terrorizing people of color.

Just what "kind of people" Ebens and Nitz are is amply demonstrated by the circumstances surrounding Vincent Chin's death. Chin, along with three friends, had been sitting in the "Fancy Pants Club," one of the "businessmen's" topless-bottomless establishments a few blocks away from Chrysler World Headquarters. They were celebrating Chin's upcoming wedding when Ebens yelled at Chin, from across the room, "Because of you little motherfucker, we're out of work."

Chin reportedly yelled back, "I'm not a

little motherfucker," and a pushing match ensued. A bouncer escorted Ebens and Nitz out of the club; here, their full-blooded Americanism aroused, they waited for Chin and his friends to exit. More words were then exchanged, Ebens and Nitz went to their car, pulled out a baseball bat, and began chasing Chin. When Chin escaped them, the two jumped in Ebens' car and began scouring the area, trying to find him. Chin and a friend went to a McDonald's four blocks away, where they waited for friends to pick them up. After searching for about 25 minutes, Ebens and Nitz caught up with them there. While Nitz held Chin down, Ebens beat him repeatedly on the head and body with the bat. All this took place in full view of two off-duty Highland Park police officers, who only stepped in after Chin's skull had been crushed. Taken to nearby Henry Ford Hospital, Chin was pronounced brain-dead that night, and taken off life-support machines two days later.

The killing of Vincent Chin cannot be considered apart from the vicious cam-

paign of chauvinism and backwardness, with no little support among "American labor," known as "Buy American." Locally this has focused on the "Japanese threat" and has been cast in an ugly and sometimes violent tone: the UAW International has a sign outside its headquarters' parking lot — "300,000 laid off UAW members don't like your import. Please park it in Tokyo." Local television news still carries, from time to time, a film clip of auto workers organized by their UAW local destroying a Toyota with sledgehammers and bats.

The murder, and especially considering the "understanding" attitude of the judge toward the murderers, reveals that "buy America" is fast becoming a "selling of America" back to those whose American Dream is beginning to shatter. The bourgeoisie is paying a great deal of attention to those once relatively secure and better-paid workers, who today have had the rug pulled from under them, and are in an angry but very contradictory mood. In part, they are in a mood to listen to the pitch from the bourgeoisie

about restoring America's top-dog unchallenged position in the world, with "American labor" receiving its little privileges within that.

Judge Kaufman's ruling is a signal, a come-on aimed at this stratum. The judge approvingly noted that Ebens had been honorably discharged from the service, and his honor stated: "We're talking here about a man who's held down a responsible job with the same company for 17 or 18 years and his son who is employed and is a part-time student." Kaufman explained to the *Detroit Free Press*: "I just didn't think that putting them in prison would do any good for society." The judge didn't say, but might have well, that the two racist killers were doing just fine for "society" on the outside!

Kaufman's ruling, and subsequent "clarifications," have been seen as a threat and provocation, triggering a wave of outraged response. The protest has been sparked and sustained by the Asian-American community of metropolitan Detroit — heretofore largely scattered and politically quiet — but has been quite broad amongst other forces as well. Hundreds of letters of protest have been sent to Detroit's daily papers, petitions, legal challenges and demonstrations have all pushed the question to the forefront. Judge Kaufman himself has been clearly feeling the heat, and in turn has taken to blaming his indiscretion on the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office. According to

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## About Time For A Debate

I am a proletarian of South America and I've been reading the *RW* for three months. I am writing this letter today to give you my opinion about the Soviet Union debate — socialist or social imperialist.

I think it was about time that a revolutionary organization organized a debate about this question which has preoccupied the international proletariat for a long time. We have the opportunity to participate, immigrants as well as revolutionary organizations, and I hope others who call themselves revolutionaries will not retreat but instead will go to New York to put forward their views.

Many proletarians know how to distinguish the situation either through our own experience in having lived in exploited countries, as in my case, or having seen how the Soviet revisionism tries to use different methods to apply its politics of expansionism and state capitalism. I'm going to limit myself to speaking about Latin America, countries exploited and subjugated by Yankee imperialism. The USSR tries to

attract them with sweet politics, here they do not use invasion because this is not their dominions, but dream to have them as such. In South America we can cite various countries, among them Chile in the 1970s elections in which Salvador Allende of the Popular Unity won, backed up by the Soviets, which tried to ally itself with the bourgeoisie and the military of their country in order to come to power. A party which when it was in power did nothing than simple reforms forgetting the proletariat which they neither armed with the Marxist dialectic nor armed to defend themselves from the bloody Pinochet, led by the CIA. The Chilean proletariat can never forget this massacre and at the same time a lesson that the road to power can never be by way of elections, that the only road is armed struggle.

Peru in 1966 lived one of its worst crises; the people were discontent, there was no way to detain the guerilla movement. Yankee imperialism prepared a coup d'état directed by General Juan Velasco who declared his government "revolutionary socialist"

and, according to him, expelled the Yankees, took over the oil wells of Talara and nationalized them, but it was known by all that these wells had no more reserves and that in the Peruvian forest they had discovered petroleum which he conceded to American companies. The USSR did not wait to call it a revolutionary government and to sell to Peru armaments and military tanks which up until today are used to repress the Peruvian people. In 1981 elections were held in Peru and various pro-Soviet parties (Revolutionary Socialist Party and FOCEP) participated, but the masses did not support them with their vote — these dreamers and sellers of illusions who pretend to make us believe that this is the way to socialism.

In Argentina in 1982 when the U.S. offered aid to recoup the Malvinas Islands and later did not fulfill the offer, the USSR did not wait to sell them arms, forgetting that this was not a war to overthrow the bourgeoisie and now that the war is over these same arms are used to assassinate the people.

In Central America where it is more

critical the USSR wants to play a different role. In Nicaragua, where Yankee imperialism wants to invade them, they (USSR) want to play the protector role of Big Brother. If the U.S. attacks you we will install a nuclear base (but do not believe that we will abandon you, we will take care of you until there is no more danger). In El Salvador, a poor country where the USSR has taken advantage of the popular sentiments of hatred towards the U.S., to sell them arms to incorporate them into their bloc.

While both the USSR and the U.S. have their servants and lackeys dedicated to defend their interests, we the conscious and revolutionary proletariat also have our own arms to defend ourselves like Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO THE PERUVIAN COMRADES OF SENDERO LUMINOSO WHO STRUGGLE FOR THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ALL FORMS OF EXPLOITATION. LONG LIVE MARXISM-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

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# Ronald Reagan, Nicholas II and the Spectre of Revolution

## More Reflections & Sketches\*

"This is not Russia in the time of Lenin." Next to "this is not the '60s," that is one of the favorite statements of those who have (or at least feel strongly that they have) a stake in *not* seeing revolution in the U.S. and who want to discourage not only the development of a revolutionary movement in general but of a Marxist-Leninist force capable of acting as its vanguard in particular.

Of course, on the most obvious level, this is not Russia in the time of Lenin. But that is after all so obvious that I would be tempted to ask, "You say that to say what?" — except that I already know the answer to that, too, as mentioned just above.

All this is background for the fact that not too long ago a story was reported to me about how someone interviewed on a TV program about unemployment in the U.S. — a white-collar worker I think — after reciting how traumatic the experience of facing long-term unemployment was, made the remark that something had better be done soon to deal with this situation or Reagan might end up as the Nicholas II of America. Nicholas II was the tsar in Russia who was overthrown by the February, 1917 revolution, which preceded by 8 months the proletarian revolution led by Lenin.

While it is true not only that the U.S. today is not Russia of that time but more generally that there is a limitation to analogies (and a danger in applying them too broadly), it struck me that there are several points of interest about this image of Reagan as the Nicholas II of the U.S. First, under Nicholas II there was a period of dark reaction in response to a revolutionary upsurge that was crushed. These years of his reign (after 1905), which proved to be his last, were especially shrouded in obscurantism. To what degree this was consciously promoted and to what degree it was a product of the rot eating away around the seats of power of the old order is perhaps difficult to determine; but in any case there is a certain (and again limited) analogy with Reagan's association with and deliberate promotion of obscurantism and in particular "old-time religion" in the midst of the darkening clouds of crisis and social decay. (Take for example his idiotic comment in his recent State of the Union address that he would champion "a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary school prayer; God should never have been expelled from America's classrooms" — does he think these up on his own or does he have to pay other people to do it?!) It is important to understand that Reagan's words and actions in this sphere represent a deliberate device to send out a message to the solid social base of the bourgeoisie and reaction that they need no longer be on the defensive — that know-nothingism and its disciples and followers have a place in the great imperialist scheme of things, especially now — and on the other hand to intimidate and politically paralyze — and drive into the arms of enlightened liberal imperialist leaders — those who are potential protestors or rebels.

Next, it was under Nicholas II that Russia went into world war — at first with a wave of chauvinism (patriotic fervor) sweeping across the land but before long with the agony and degradation of seemingly endless carnage making itself felt. Perhaps it will be Reagan's distinction to lead America once more into war — with god on its side. Perhaps and only perhaps, because other things might intervene to prevent that — Reagan might be replaced as chief executive and commander-in-chief before then . . . or revolution might prevent world war.

That brings us to the point that was at the heart of the comment by the unemployed worker comparing Reagan to Nicholas II. It might possibly fall to Reagan to preside over not only the deepening of the crisis but the cracking and splitting apart of the old order into a revolutionary situation and perhaps a successful revolution. While there are actually many important differences between Russia at the time of Nicholas II and the U.S. today, the fact that the spectre of Reagan becoming the Nicholas II of America — the spectre of revolution right in the U.S. — could be raised in such an interview and apparently not immediately dismissed as ridiculous is very significant. It should be a source of encouragement to all those who would like to see such a development, and something to think about for those who glibly keep repeating that "This is not Russia in the time of Lenin."

A final thought on this for now. The fall of Nicholas II was not yet the proletarian revolution; it did not yet mean the overthrow of imperialism and the bourgeoisie in Russia. In fact tsarism was immediately replaced by the government of democrats, progressives, even bourgeois socialists serving imperialism. While, again, the situation in the U.S. today is different — and specifically there is not a preliminary task of overthrowing a monarchy and the social forces represented by it before carrying out the proletarian-socialist revolution as there was in Russia — there is a basic lesson to be learned here. Revolutions, as Lenin insisted, are not simple, straight-line-forward affairs in which two armies line up facing each other, one clearly for imperialism, the other for socialism; revolutions involve many different class forces, each with their own interests, outlook and concrete demands, and the enemy does not present simply one face or stick to only one tactic. Revolutions require, especially of the advanced class, that it be able to recognize and deal with the decisive turning points and with the class interests and forces involved in all major events and actions leading up to and even more so during a revolutionary crisis and upheaval. It is for this that the class-conscious proletariat and its vanguard must now be making active and serious preparation.

### NEXT WEEK:

And What Should We Call The *Third Time?* or  
Still Fighting the Battles of the 19th Century at the Approach of the 21st

\* During the latter part of last year, the Revolutionary Worker ran a series of articles, Reflections and Sketches, edited from a tape by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. We are currently printing a new series of articles, More Reflections and Sketches, by Bob Avakian.

By Bob Avakian



# 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

### Robert Allen

Consulting editor *The Black Scholar*. Head of Ethnic Studies Department, Mills College, Oakland.

### Comrade Anand

Secretary, Democratic Front, India

### A.M. Babu

From Tanzania, active role in liberation struggles. Author of *African Socialism Or Socialist Africa?* (Zed Press, 1980)

### Rev. Philip Berrigan

Jonah House and Plowshares 8.

### 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*)

### Dr. Sergio Celaschi

Applied Physics, Stanford University — former director of Stanford Brazilian Students' Association.

### Paresh 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.

### Manuela Dobos

Teaches Russian and Women's History at the College of Staten Island, New York.

### 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.

### Don Freeman

Co-editor and co-publisher of *Vibrations* Magazine, Cleveland, Ohio.

### Rose Glickman

Russian historian. Author of *Russian Factory Women: Workplace and Society 1880-1914* (University of California Press, 1983).

### Groupe Révolutionnaire Internationaliste Haitien

### 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*.

### Neil Holmes

Assistant Director of the Afro-American Studies Department, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

### Ikwezi

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

### Paul Kangas

Congressional candidate, Peace and Freedom Party, California.

### Ted Keller

Professor of International Relations, San Francisco State University

### Sonia Krus

Assistant Professor of Political Science, graduate faculty, New School for Social Research.

### George Kunz

Professor of Psychology, Seattle University, Seattle, Washington.

### Lyman Legters

Professor of Russian and East European Studies, Department of International Studies, University of Washington. Co-author and editor of *Marxism and the Good Society*.

### 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.

### Muntu Matsimela

Black political activist, New York.

### 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)

### 19 Bahman Student Organization in the U.S.

Iranian student organization, supporters of the Iranian Peoples' Fedayee Guerillas.

### Organization of Moslem Muhajereen of Afghanistan

### Frank Panopoulos

Member, Atlantic Life Community.

### Michael Parenti

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

### Pat Parker

Poet.

### Markus D. Pohlmann

Assistant Professor of Political Science, College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio. Former lecturer, Yerevan State University, Armenian SSR. Author of "In Search of Socialism in Soviet Armenia," to be presented at the American Political Science Association convention, Chicago, 1983.

### H. Ronaghy

Assistant Professor of Economics, Youngstown State University, Youngstown, Ohio.

### Rich Rubenstein

Professor, Antioch School of Law, Washington, D.C.

### SETAD (Organization of Revolutionary Mass of Students)

Iranian student organization based on the struggle against the reactionary government of Iran, and in support of the masses of the world in their struggle against the imperialists and reactionary ruling governments.

### 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.

### Hari P. Sharma

Associate Professor of Sociology, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada, and activist in the Indian Peoples Association in North America (IPANA)

### Norman Soloman

Peace activist and co-author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience With Atomic Radiation* (Delacourte Press and Delta Books), and author of "Europe, Russia & the U.S. Missiles" (*Nation*, April 16, 1983).

### 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).

### Nancy Wiegiersma

Assistant Professor, economist in the Social Science Department, Fitchburg State College, Massachusetts. Author of "Women in the Transition to Capitalism in Vietnam," published in *Research in Political Economy* (1981).

### Dow Woodward

Professor of Biology, Stanford University.

### Paul Zarembka

Professor of Economics, State University of New York at Buffalo, editor of *Research in Political Economy* (JAI Press, Annual) and author of "Lenin on the Economics of Socialist Transformation and Polish Solidarity" (*Research*, Volume V, 1982)

## Panel Discussions

### Women in the Soviet Union

Thursday evening, May 19, 7:30 p.m.  
Room 205  
New School For Social Research  
65 5th Ave., Manhattan, N.Y.

Panelists include:

**Hilda Scott**, author of *Does Socialism Liberate Women?* and Sweden's "Right to Be Human": *Sex Role Equality — The Goal and the Reality*.

**Marilyn Wong**, analyzing the continuing subordination of women in the Soviet Union as a sensitive barometer of its actual social relations.

**Moderator: Manuela Dobos**, Russian and Women's History at the College of Staten Island, New York.

The following panel discussions will be held on Friday, May 20 and Saturday, May 21. All of them are, located at Teachers College, 525 W. 120th Street, in Manhattan, N.Y.

### The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa

Friday evening, May 20, 7:00 p.m.

Panelists include:

**Gayle Smith**, co-author of *The Hidden Revolution*.

**Azinna Nwafor**, writer on African affairs, recently returned from Eritrea and Tigray.

**Moderator: Kassahun Checole**, Professor of African Studies, Rutgers University and Director of the Africa Research and Publications Project.

### The Law of Value in the Soviet Economy

Friday evening, May 20, 7:00 p.m.

Panelists include:

**Raford Boddy**, Associate Professor of Economics, San Diego State University.

**Paresh Chattopadhyay**, Professor of Political Economy in the Department of Sociology, University of Quebec, Montreal.

**Moderator and commentator: John R. Ernst**, Professor of Economics, SUNY at Old Westbury.

### Soviet Union and the Arms Race

Saturday, May 21, 1:00 p.m.

Panelists include:

**Andrew Mack**, guest scholar at the Institute for Policy Studies; author of *Intervention, Imperialism and Development* (1975).

**Norman Solomon**, peace activist and co-author of *Killing Our Own*. Author of "Europe, Russia & the U.S. Missiles" (*Nation*, April 16, 1983).

**Mike Ely**, speaking for the position that the Soviet Union is an imperialist power preparing for world war.

**Moderator: Frank Panopoulos**, member of Atlantic Life Community

### Workers' Role in Soviet Society.

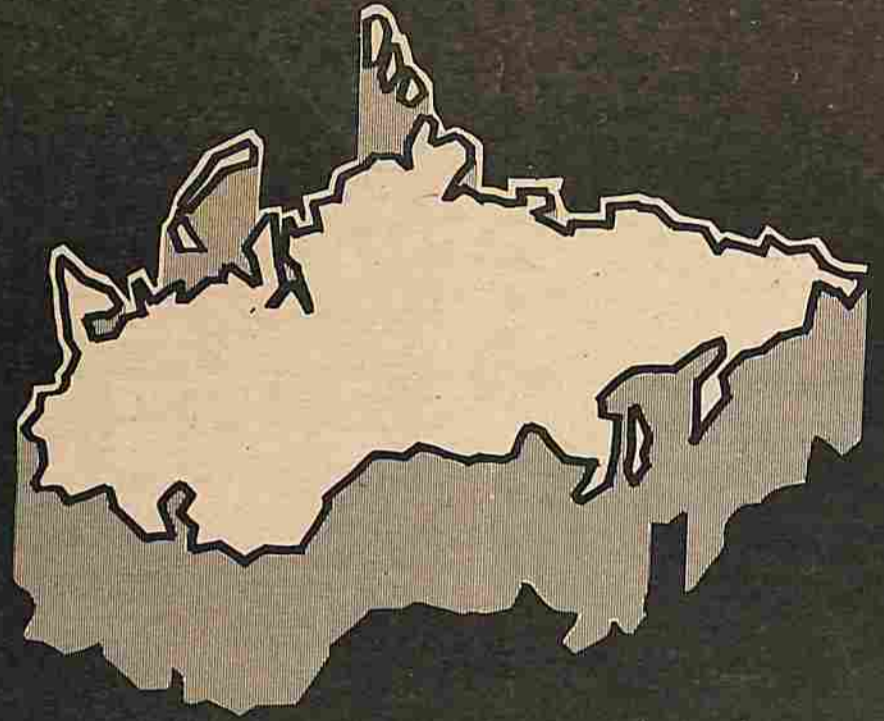
Saturday afternoon, May 21, 1:00 p.m.

Panelists include:

**C. Clark Kissinger**, contributing writer to the *Revolutionary Worker*. Extensive experience with changing social relations in China during the Cultural Revolution.

**Michael Parenti**, Associate Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies. Author of *Democracy for the Few and Power and the Powerless*.

## A Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of THE SOVIET UNION: SOCIALIST OR SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST?



May 19-22, 1983  
New York City

### The Soviet Union and Southern Africa

Saturday evening, May 21, 6:00 p.m.

Panelists include:

**Elombe Brath**, Patrice Lumumba Coalition. Involved in Pan-Africanist, revolutionary Black nationalist, and Africa internationalist issues for the last 27 years.

**Carl Dix**, Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. Black member of the "Ft. Lewis 6" who refused duty in Vietnam.

**Moderator: Conrad Lynn**, Black civil rights attorney.

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-AND-

**Raymond Lotta** upholding the Maoist and Revolutionary Communist Party analysis

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# May 1st Correspondence



## Initial International Reports

Reports on May Day around the world are still quite sketchy at this point, and revolutionary activities on that day have been systematically missing from the pages of the international bourgeois press. Yet while it is difficult to form an accurate picture of the ground seized by the proletarian internationalist trend on May First, initial reports indicate that the

red flag of *revolution* flew in the face of everything "official" and traditional in several places. According to first reports from W. Germany, the Federation of

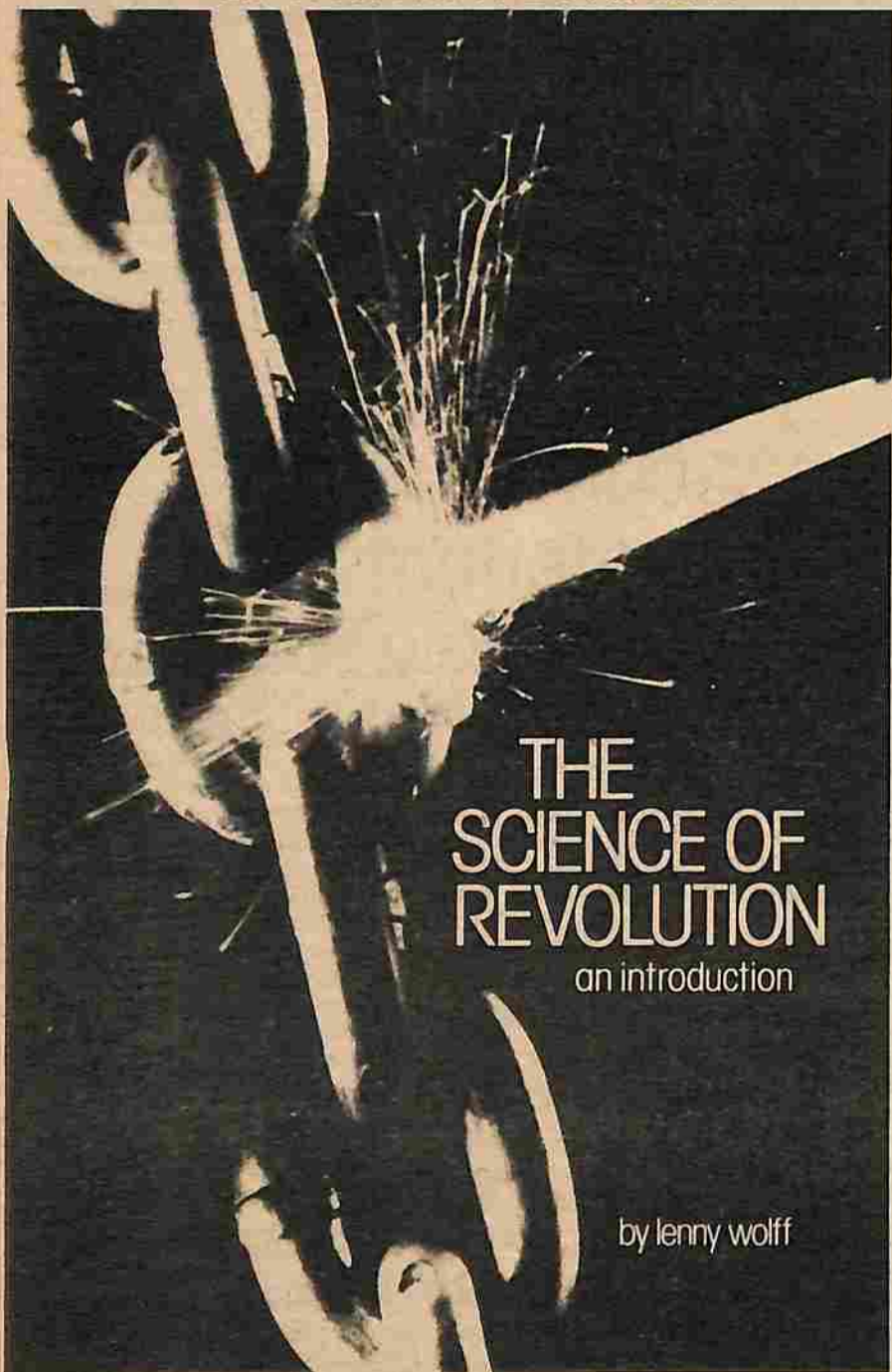
Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF) had loud and lively contingents at the deadening official rallies sponsored in all the major cities by the W. German Trade Union League. The main slogan raised by these labor hacks — "Full Employment is the Touchstone of Democracy" — drew an appropriate response from the contingent of immigrant proletarians. In Stuttgart, after the trade union speaker had finished, ATIF (as did a number of groups) pulled out their own sound devices and started up a revolutionary rally. Darnell Summers (the Black revolutionary active in W. Germany for several years, now being framed for murder in Detroit) marched with the ATIF contingent of 4-5000 in this demonstration, and spoke at the rally. A telegram sent from Detroit was read and translated. Fists held high in the air, the rally stopped for a moment of silence as revolutionaries present honored martyrs in Turkey and around the world. Afterward, 150-200 people went back to the ATIF center.

In Berlin, ATIF supporters carried banners sent as internationalist ex-

changes from the U.S. last year, which reportedly sparked a good deal of interest. Copies of the May Day Call were also distributed in various languages. In Paris, revolutionary immigrants from various countries marched in a spirited and militant Marxist-Leninist contingent, quite a contrast to the waves of reformists and revisionists parading through the streets in the large combined trade-union led May First demonstrations. Reactionary pro-Khomeini forces targeted this contingent for attack at one point, but were beat back quickly and in an appropriately proletarian internationalist manner.

Brief pre-May Day reports from comrades in Ceylon outlined plans for May First activities in Jaffna, the second largest city, and from comrades in Colombia, we have heard that agitation brigades were to be sent out into the city of Duitama in Boyocá on May First. Undoubtedly the red flag of the revolutionary future was planted in a number of corners around the globe, and we look forward to fuller reports over the next few weeks. □

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of Marxism-Leninism



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## To the Women of East Lansing from IKWEZI

The following letter is from IKWEZI journal, responding to a May Day banner sent from women in East Lansing, Michigan.

Dear Sisters and Comrades,

Thank you very much for the banner you sent us and which reached us this morning. We are more than pleased, grateful and encouraged by this show of solidarity, particularly on the occasion of this May Day 1983.

We want to assure you that it will reach Azania and will be displayed there by our comrades on a fitting occasion as an act of solidarity between the working class and peoples of the United States and the working class and peoples of Azania. It is now already on its way to Africa where our women comrades will welcome it and treasure it. As in other parts of the world,

our women are engaging in the national class struggle, not as appendages of men but in their own right and playing a leading role. "Women hold up half the sky." Their participation in the class struggle starting with issues specifically relating to women's exploitation and oppression will shake the earth like it has never been shaken before.

Long Live the Solidarity Between the Working Class and Peoples of the United States and the Working Class and Peoples of Azania.

Long Live Our Marxist-Leninist Solidarity.

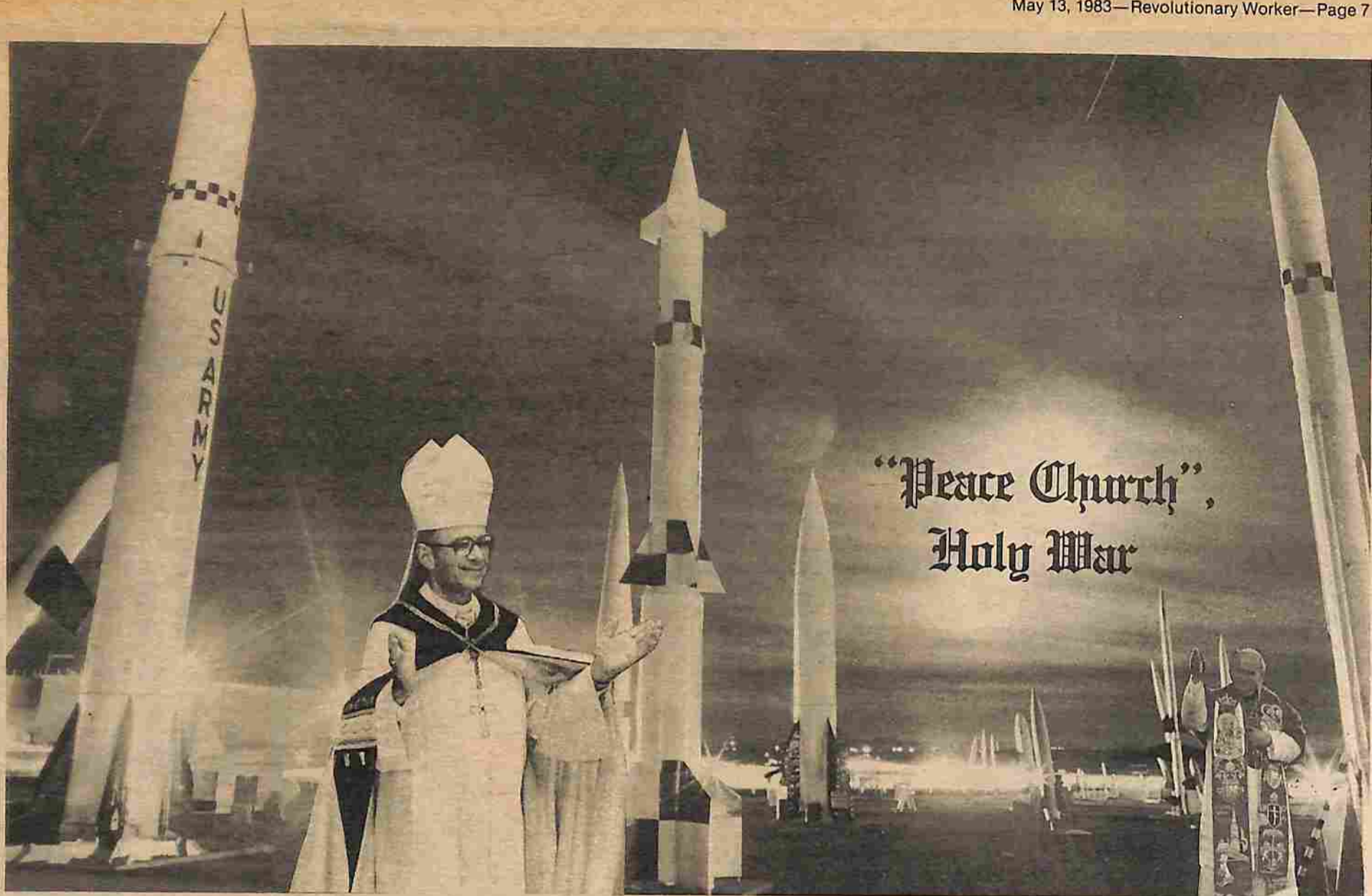
Workers and Oppressed Nations of the World Unite.

Bennie Bunsee  
(for and on behalf of our comrades  
from IKWEZI)

## CORRECTION

There is a significant error in the lead article in last week's *RW*, "A Study In Comparative Piggery" (*RW* No. 204). On page 8 one sentence read: While there were several Black people at May First, one significant section of the population that was nearly unrepresented—even in

comparison to last year—was that of the Black youth. The sentence should have read: While there were several older Black people at May First, one significant section of the population that was nearly unrepresented—even in comparison to last year— was that of the Black youth.



## “Peace Church”, Holy War

The Roman Catholic “peace church.” This “new image” of the largest and most powerful denomination in the U.S. has filled front pages since the release last week of a Pastoral Letter on nuclear war by the National Council of Catholic Bishops.\*

“The bishops take a forceful and historic position in their letter,” welcomed the *New York Times*, “breaking some new ground in church thinking and assuming a leadership role in the effort for disarmament.” (May 4, 1983)

And this has typified an astonishing campaign of publicity for the Letter, including footage from inside churches where “peace” was discussed from the pulpit, and plaudits from publications not exactly known as pacifist, like the *Chicago Tribune* which praised the Letter as “bold in theme, steady and labored in its careful construction.”

The Reagan administration, which has had public differences with early drafts of the Letter on certain points, issued a statement saying it “welcomed” the Letter as “an important contribution to the debate” on nuclear weapons (even though the bishops have continued to keep their distance from the administration).

It is clear that, with the “peace church” as its catchword, an important revamping of the image of the Catholic Church in this country is underway, shepherded by Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of Chicago and others who have guided the Pastoral Letter through two years of drafts, meetings, and conclaves. The public is being told, and many in the Church genuinely believe, that the Letter, in the words of *Time* magazine, “challenges some of the fundamental assumptions and defense strategies of almost every American Administration...” that the Church is taking “a strong stand for peace.”

In reality, the Pastoral Letter, like the nuclear freeze debate and the recent stepped-up propaganda about “new U.S. disarmament initiatives,” is as much a part

of U.S. war preparations as the deployment of the MX missiles. It is an ironic but necessary condition for U.S. imperialism in the nuclear age that a “peace church” is necessary now in order to be able to wage a holy war in the future.

It is in this context that the Church has determined to step out as perhaps the moral authority in the U.S. with the right to speak on the question of nuclear war. Mounting cynicism and opposition in this country, and even more so in other parts of the world, have set the background for this, but even more important are the future conditions and needs of the imperialists. Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame, a powerful figure in the hierarchy, said it well in an exchange on the David Susskind show some months back. Asked about the relative quiet on American campuses as compared to the sharp upheavals in West Germany and other parts of Europe, Hesburgh commented that such unrest would certainly come to the youth in the U.S. and that the Church was now initiating debate and discussion on their campuses — and taking the lead in setting responsible and realistic parameters for debating and discussing the “unthinkable.” Indeed, the U.S. bourgeoisie as a whole is greatly concerned that the upcoming period will bring even a far greater “moral vacuum” than existed in the sixties; they will need the Church as well as many kinds of other forces to be out there, to set the terms, and ultimately to be in a position to credibly give the moral go-ahead when the missiles are set to fly.

Evidently the Pastoral Letter has already gained a great deal of such credibility. Its pages are filled with denunciations of the evils and horrors of nuclear war, and it declares that a “decisive no” must be given to atomic holocaust. The bishops express grave doubts that the possible “good” to be achieved through nuclear war can outweigh the evil of the inevitable mass carnage. But with a condemnation of the “evil enemy” the Soviet Union that is rabid and explicit, they make it quite clear that there are other and overriding considerations than the evils of nuclear war. As the Letter spells out:

“the moral duty today is to prevent the evil of nuclear war and to protect and preserve those key values of justice, freedom and independence....” (emphasis in original)

The Letter carefully summons up much evidence which does indeed indict U.S. war preparations, pointedly “examining all sides” of the issue, even taking notice of the Church’s own pacifist wing, all of which does give the Letter an anti-war

cast, while in fact helping establish the “thinkability” of nuclear war and the Church’s credibility for future service to the bourgeoisie. Its method overall is to fill the air with doubts and “skepticism” while in fact *never* coming to an unequivocal condemnation of the use of nuclear weapons, and embedding in the document a logic and argumentation which can be used to sanction nuclear war.

Make no mistake, despite its advertising claims there is no flirtation with pacifism in the Pastoral Letter. The document does allude to radical activists in its ranks, implying that the hierarchy is right in there with them, in order to enhance the image of the Letter. At the same time, the “pacifist tradition” is put in its place, confined to the realm of “individual option” — non-violence does *not* apply to governments. On the contrary, much is made of the Pope’s insistence that: “A government threatened by armed, unjust aggression *must* defend its people.” (emphasis in original) Seeing as how every imperialist war has been termed a war of “defense against aggressors” in some way or other, this delimits a rather blatant potential justification for war.

Concerning an issue which has been made much of in the press, the Letter is equally clear: “It is surely not our intention in writing this Letter,” say the bishops, “to create problems for Catholics in the armed forces.” And certainly not problems for U.S. imperialism in this regard!

### Just War Theory

But the heart of the Pastoral Letter is its treatment of the Catholic “just war theory,” which it claims “evolved as an effort to prevent war.” The basic method of this age-old theory lies, as the Letter accurately states, in “establishing a set of rigorous conditions which must be met if the decision to go to war is to be permissible.” Once such a “just war” is given the Churchly green light, then principles (called *Jus In Bello*) are applied which are supposed to limit the war. This “theory” thus allows the Letter to both raise up “rigorous conditions” it can and will use to justify the coming war, and at the same time run through much hand-wringing about the possibility of waging a limited — and therefore “just” — imperialist nuclear war.

But the Catholic just war theory was *not* designed to prevent war. In his book *Kill? For Peace?*, Father Richard McSorely S.J. points out that in the 1500 years of its existence, the just war theory has never been used by any group of bishops to condemn a single war. In

many, such as the last two inter-imperialist world wars, the theory has been used to justify or tolerate the cause of *each* of the opposing sides. Indeed, the theory was originally designed by St. Augustine to square the early pacifist principles of the Church with the fact that Catholicism had been adopted by the Roman Empire as its official religion and battle standard by the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century.

Those “rigorous conditions which make war permissible” are axioms expressed by every exploiting class in war: the war must be fought for a “just cause,” it must be waged with the “right intention” (that is, with the declared aim of “peace and reconciliation”); “all peaceful alternatives to war must have been exhausted”; there must be a clear probability of success. Clearly, these have been hammered out by the Church over long years of experience in assuaging the objections of the masses to bloodshed by the army of the oppressor, calming their revulsion, and fine-tuning the spiritual call to arms for the rulers. Today, in particular, they are a “moral” expression of the Church position that the U.S. should stress the “peace” aspect of its propaganda wars with the Soviets, should step up calls for “disarmament” and “peace talks.”

But at this point, the Letter plays its ace: “no previously conceived moral position escapes the fundamental confrontation posed by contemporary nuclear strategy,” it says, expressing extensive “doubts” as to whether a limited — “just” — war could be waged in defense of the U.S. empire. Could a nuclear war be “discriminate” (avoid attacking civilians)? it asks. It even cites a government spokesman who vows that the U.S. does not target non-combatants, and then refutes this by pointing out that the U.S. “military objectives” in the Soviet Union are inevitably in the midst of population centers — there are sixty “military objectives” within the city of Moscow alone!

Does all this evidence lead the bishops to outright ban the use of nuclear weapons in their doctrine of “peace”? It does not. The most the Letter can summon up about limited nuclear war is: “The burden of proof remains on those who assert that meaningful limitation is possible.”

The Bishops are quite some distance from condemnation... they are open to argument on this point! And what an exposure is contained in the terms of this: if the Church can be convinced that “only” tens of millions, rather than hundreds of millions, might be incinerated, well then,

Continued on page 12

\* Editors note: References in this article have been taken from the official third draft of the Pastoral Letter, “The Challenge of Peace: God’s Promise and Our Response,” published by the United States Catholic Conference in May, 1983. At the conference which voted approval of the document certain amendments were made to the draft; however at the time we went to press, only some of these amendments had been made public and no complete final version issued. We have used the amended version as far as it was available.



Clyde Drexler

# In the Spirit of PHI SLAMA JAMA

By Bob Avakian

## Remembering Billy Carr

Recently the RW received an article accompanied by a note from Bob Avakian. The note explained that "Like last year, I was again able not only to hear accounts of the U.S. college (NCAA) basketball championships but actually to see tapes of it, along with clippings and other material relating to it. Last year there was exciting basketball, and I especially dug the University of Houston team; this year there was basketball on a higher level altogether, Houston had become Phi Slama Jama, and there was something even bigger at stake too. So I felt moved to send this off." The article follows below—ed.

"Chairs. Chairs. You remember the chairs being thrown. Last summer in the high school Rucker Tournament . . . The all-star game. Everybody in Harlem is out there. They have chairs — the folding wood chairs — lined up along the out-of-bounds lines. . . .

"Game gets started and everybody is running his ass off . . . You run down court while looking back. Pass hits you in the stomach right at the top of the key. Three big dudes have fallen back to guard. They are like guards, too — big dudes, over six-eight — with two on either side and one in the middle. Later someone tells you it was Val and Vaughn on both sides. Big Thing in the middle. No time to set up, so keep going straight down the lane. You hear somebody yell, 'Behind you,' but you won't hardly pass off now. The three stand there, get set to pulverize you. There's no way you can get even close to the basket without them banging you around at least a little. Get strength from somewhere. Feel that you can do anything. Feel lifted by the crowd. Begin your leap. Go up, Goat. Palm the ball, hold it back by your hip. They all go up too. You can't even see the basket, but for a split second it seems that you have gone an inch higher than they, that you are still up there as they begin to fall back to earth. A tangle of wet brown and black faces, arms, palms, chest. It's all arms and hands in front of you, but you are still higher than any of them, so you sling the ball in an arc from your hip, up to the sky and then finally down through the white cotton strings that are so clean and new for this game. Blam lam. The beautiful shaking of the backboard. Noise that everyone understands.

"Now come crashing down to the ground, the hard concrete, with the three defenders stumbling and falling over you like the time you were in a play at PS 119 and you got all mixed up and wound up bumping into each other. Nobody falls but everybody is off balance. Now the part you remember so clearly and will remember for the rest of your life. Chairs. Chairs are thrown on the court. Scared the hell out of you at first. You don't know what the crashing noise is on the side until you turn to see a chair a few feet away from you, legs folded up. People on the sidelines are throwing chairs on the court because they can think of no other way to show their amazement.

"It is the Goat, ladies and gentlemen. He has done a throwdown on three of the giants of New York and lived to tell about it," shouts Motorman, now having taken over at half-court with a portable megaphone. 'Have you ever seen anything like this? History is being made. It's the Goat, ladies and gentlemen. Let the name stick in your minds. The Goat has done it.'

"They say later the game is stopped for ten minutes. You only recall the hands slapping your back, phrases like 'damn nice,' 'out of sight,' 'hellified.' You can't distinguish any faces, any voices. It's confusion, a beautiful confusion. Jitteriness in your stomach. Chairs. You wonder when was the last time

somebody threw chairs on the court. People talk about it for days. Little kids point at you and mention they were there when you did it. 'I heard about those chairs,' an old lady taking numbers would say. 'Turned out the park, huh?' asks a barber."

(from *Double Dunk*, a biography of Earl [The Goat] Manigault, by Barry Beckham)

This is basketball — city playground basketball and basketball, *period* — at its loftiest. Earl (The Goat) Manigault — a legendary playground basketball player in New York City in the 1960s, so talked about he had a chapter devoted to him in Pete Axthelm's book *The City Game* — it was Earl Manigault who flashed through my mind as I watched Clyde (The Glide) Drexler of the University of Houston gather and take off ten feet from the basket, rear back, ball in his right hand . . . hold it there, poised as he reaches the summit and then . . . smash it down, exploding into the net: *Slam, Jam*. It was only in watching the replay that I realized that Drexler had sailed over and around the opposing defender standing there waiting for Drexler to land on him, so the striped-shirted, whistle-toting enforcer could tarnish it all with the call to order and decency: "foul, offensive foul." But they were frustrated, this time, Drexler had avoided the trap and glided back up court triumphant. Could Drexler's thing of beauty here, in this regional semi-final game against Memphis State, really match the moves of Earl Manigault, and especially Manigault's *pièce de résistance*, the double dunk, where he would throw it down with one hand and then, still high in the air, grab it with the other hand and jam it through again!? Well, maybe not quite, I finally decided, but when I saw the move Drexler pulled in the national semi-final game against Louisville I wasn't so sure. Racing down court, Drexler took a pass from teammate Benny Anders and, faced this time with one of Louisville's quick leaping big men, 6-foot, 8-inch Charles Jones, Drexler (who is 6'7") again reared back, raised the ball up in his right hand, cocked it and . . . pulled it back down again, sailed past the frozen Jones, and then . . . raised it back up again with two hands and rammed it down through! Phi Slama Jama for real! The crowd exploded with tremendous appreciation — as much as it could, because this was not the Rucker Tournament, this was a different class of people in the stands, the seats were bolted down and the game wasn't stopped for ten minutes. But it should have been.

Clyde Drexler was the heartbeat of a Houston team that turned the NCAA basketball championships into something quite different than what they had been programmed to be. As *Sports Illustrated* commented, "The Phi Slamma Jammies had commanded attention as no team in the recent history of the Final Four" (the four teams making it to the national championship level). For Houston's team this year was something very rare in college sports, even in college basketball. Take their starting five as a unit: five Black players, well it's not that it's unusual to see that at the college level at this point, but four of these are from Texas, three from Houston's inner city high schools, and the fifth is a 7-foot center from Lagos, Nigeria, Akeem Abdul Olajuwon, who is playing only his fourth year of basketball (two in Nigeria and two at the University of Houston) and has already forced the "experts" to recognize him as one of the greatest big men ever to play college basketball (or any basketball) in the U.S. This was just not exactly your typical all-American team. At guards were fresh-

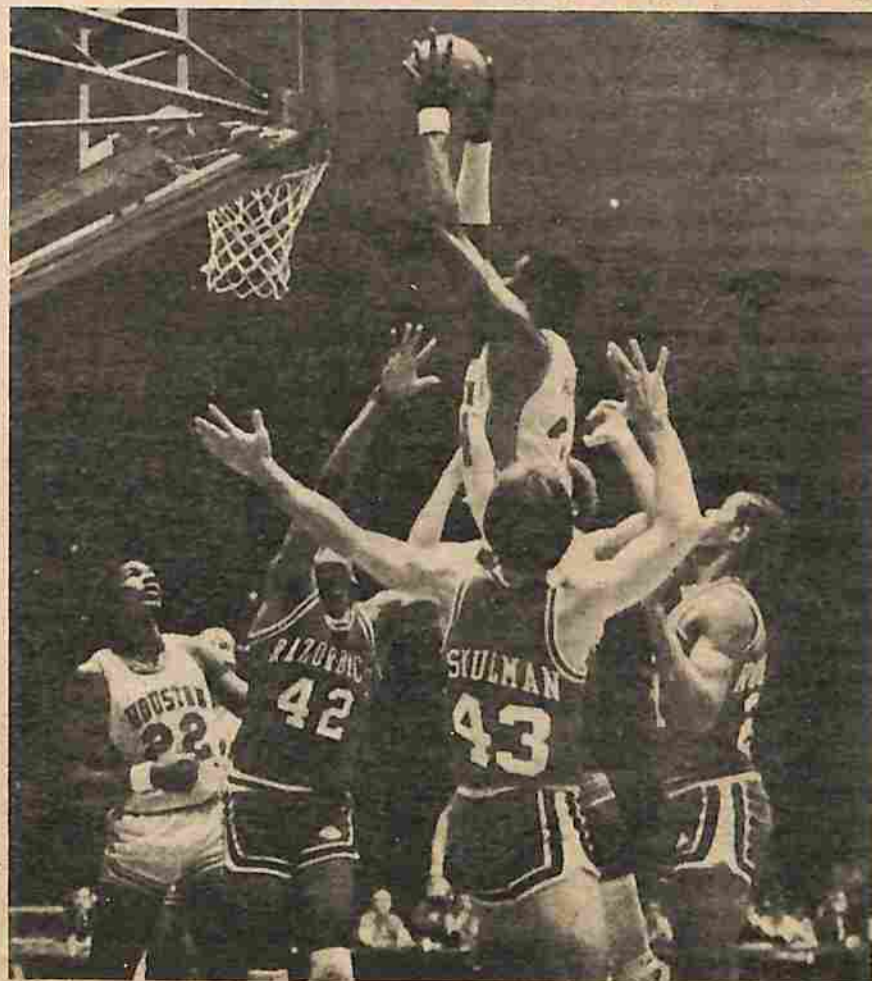


man Alvin Franklin — bad-mouthed as a weak link on the team by the commentators because of alleged “freshman mistakes” (too much youthful, free-wheeling spirit is what is meant by this) and generally because he didn’t fit their image of “the extension of the coach on the court” — and Michael Young, who is from Houston’s Yates High School and who was described by *Sports Illustrated* as “a quiet killer” (this is a metaphor to indicate his style of play, but the imagery is consciously chosen). Then, at forward, there was 6’9”, 220-pound Larry Micheaux (also known as “Mr. Mean”) who came to UH from Worthing High School in Houston but more to the point from some of the city’s hardest ghettos; Micheaux bears on his arm tattoos which were “explained” by CBS commentator Billy Packer by saying “people might be wondering about those tattoos Micheaux has: those are marks of the neighborhood he comes from that he put on when he was growing up.” Mr. Mean, not exactly Mr. Clean, and you can begin to get an idea of why the people who make decisions and mold public opinion might not be too thrilled about a guy like Micheaux serving as a “model for the youth.” They tried to salvage something out of this when Gary Bender, the CBS play-by-play announcer, said at one point about Micheaux: “They say he’s the kind of guy you’d like to have in a foxhole with you.” Well, I don’t know about Larry Micheaux personally, but I got news for the Gary Benders and the people who write their scripts: when it comes down to foxholes, the Larry Micheauxs of this world will be in ours, facing yours, before it’s all over.

Finally, at the other forward, was Drexler, whose soul seems to be the soul of an artist. He does not move with drilled and programmed precision, he really does glide — and soar; he does not “produce,” he creates; he is involved in the game, even intense, but he is not a jerking, grunting “Charlie hustle”; he plays with an obvious love for the game and, if you’re with him, he makes you think not only of basketball but of things beyond.

These players, plus others, especially Benny Anders, coming off the bench as reserves, gave the Houston team its rare quality. But it was not the mechanical adding up of different abilities and characteristics, it was the forging together of something higher than any or all of that by itself that made Houston’s team what it was. Its measure could not be taken with mere statistics, there was a spirit that could not be calibrated on a calculator. It came to be known as Phi Slama Jama — perhaps a joke at first, or a clever publicity gimmick by local media and college officials — but before long the players themselves had transformed it into something for real, something with a life of its own, whose trademark was the dunk — not just any dunk — the spectacular, emphatic dunk.

The dunk itself arose as an act of defiance, conscious or unconscious (and this, by the way, is why many — though not all — white basketball players don’t put much emphasis on the dunk; it’s not that they can’t jump, as conventional, racist, wisdom often has it, chalking leaping ability up to genes peculiar to Black people; instead it’s just that those whites don’t have much to feel defiant about). But by now the dunk itself has been institutionalized to some degree and it is necessary to differentiate between different dunking styles. There is the dunking of a team like the Boston Celtics — the New York Yankees of professional basketball — which is done rarely and most often done routinely when done at all; there is rarely any feeling, any excitement. On the other hand there is the dunking of “Dr. J.”, Julius Erving (given the name “The Doctor” or “Dr. J.” because people liked to go to the playgrounds to watch him “operate” on the court), whose style of play in general and of dunking in particular is characterized by graceful, spectacular moves. But even with Erving something has been lost as he has become an accepted, an established figure: the flair is still there but the defiance is faded. And then there is the dunk where, for the moment, from the time of the initial spring into the air, there is the sense of rising free and everything that surrounds and hems in life at every turn is focused into the round ball and is stuffed back to wherever it came from. It was this that was still alive in the Houston team, that Phi Slama Jama — now written across their warm-up uniforms for all to see — came to stand for. It was this that caught the sports authorities by surprise (none of them had predicted that Houston would be at or even near the very top of college basketball) and,



Drexler and Akeem Olajuwon in action against the Arkansas Hogs.

before they had time to fully reckon with it, Phi Slama Jama had captured national attention — and captured the imagination of millions, especially of youth in the inner cities.

It was this that had to be “put back in its place.” And for this it was necessary to create public opinion. First came the double-edged praise, the sugar-coated insult. Houston has “the greatest group of athletes around,” the experts suddenly discovered — but only to imply, or sometimes openly state, that they still did not have the best team. Why? because they didn’t play enough of a “disciplined” type of game: they can run and jump, they have lots of “natural ability”, yes sir, but they play too much “out of control.”

And where are “discipline” and “control” expected to come from? From THE COACH. Coaching, for these authorities, consists in restraining the impulses of the players — and in basketball these players are increasingly Black — and reprogramming them to become functioning parts of a machine and to perform, on command, the strategies and tactics directed or literally sent in from the sidelines. Not at all unlike basic training in the military. In this regard college level sports plays a pivotal role. With the lure of a big-money professional contract in a few years and with the threat of being “flushed back to where you come from”, athletes out of high school are trained with the future in mind. But the training is above all social and ideological training — shaping and preparing them, rounding off the rough edges, molding them into the desired model — so that they can be counted on to play the proper role when the spotlight is shined on them.

It is very interesting that professional basketball rules allow for — indeed demand — a much more up-tempo, faster-paced style of play as compared to the college level, where the rules allow and everything encourages much tighter control, restraint, by the coach. It is through the college experience — and, again, the prospect of the large salary that awaits those who make it — that the athletes are to be made safe and their game sanitized, before they can pass on to the pro ranks and be trusted to perform at high speed and yet not get “out of control.” That great athletes such as Moses Malone and Darryl Dawkins could go directly from high school into the professional basketball leagues and soon become big stars shows that the vast majority of top high school players could develop the basketball ability necessary for the pro level within, say, 5 years after high school, by playing informally and in leagues on the playgrounds, without going through college; that Darryl Dawkins was clamped on a few years back because he still exhibited too much of “where he came from” (he wore an earring, he gave names to his dunks, putting down the opposing players they were done over, and finally he started smashing backboards and tearing down rims when he dunked) shows why the setup is kept where as a general rule, and with few exceptions, players have to pass through college and receive the proper “preparation” before they can be allowed into the pros.

It is thus ironic that much of the attack on Phi Slama Jama has come in the form of attacks on the coach, Guy Lewis. Lewis has been coaching for some 27 years and in that time he has had an excellent record, compiling something like 530 wins at Houston. Yet at 61 years old he is not referred to by the sports commentators as a “dean” of college coaches, praise that is given instead to younger men like Bobby Knight of Indiana University and Dean Smith of North Carolina. Knight, you see, openly patterns himself after General Patton and coaches like it, while Smith has distinguished himself by instituting, or at least institutionalizing, a stalling pattern whereby his team may hold the ball without attempting to shoot it for minutes at a time. Lewis, on the other hand, whatever his overall philosophy may be, has a very different coaching philosophy than the Knights, Smiths, et al. Lewis not only prefers and coaches a high tempo style of play, he has actually tried to build on what his players do best, adding to it, seeking to temper it somewhat but not to suppress it. Lewis does go along with the idea of having “an extension of the coach on the court,” but that is not good enough for those deciding who does and doesn’t become a “dean” of college coaches. Because, as the *New York Times* acknowledged, in a rare concession, “Guy Lewis talks about ‘control,’ a euphemism for ‘discipline,’ but he has been wise enough not to stifle the Phi Slama Jama fraternity.” This was while Houston was flying high and the common rap against Lewis — that his coaching amounts only to rolling the ball onto the court and letting ‘em play — had to be put on the back burner and a kind of praise became a necessary part of the arsenal with which to bring Phi Slama Jama down.

Because, again, Phi Slama Jama was definitely not what had been programmed and not what was needed by those in charge of “discipline” and “control.” To the bitter end, almost all of the authorities and “experts” either came out openly with predictions of Houston’s downfall or else hemmed and hawed and half-stepped about who would win the NCAA championships, still refusing to pick Houston as winners even after it had become clear they were the team to pick. For example, the day before the championship game between Houston and North Carolina State Al McGuire (former basketball coach at Marquette University where one of his teams won a national championship) showed little enthusiasm for — in fact had very little to say about — the upcoming game on his sports program, even though that program was supposed to be about the NCAA championships. And, instead of predicting a winner, McGuire simply repeated the rather safe formula that if the winning team scored more than 70 points it would be Houston that won, if less than 70 points won the game, it would be North Carolina State that prevailed.

But, then, perhaps it’s not fair to blame Al for almost totally ignoring the game itself — he was preoccupied with other things, like petting (yes, literally and affectionately stroking) models of the atomic bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (What’s the connection with the basketball game? — well, it was being played in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and the atomic bombs were developed in New Mexico and the models are on display there, you see — and they accuse us of crude propaganda!) When McGuire wasn’t praising defense production in New Mexico, he was giving us definitions for his own sports terms — things like “aircraft carrier” to describe a dominant big player in basketball, or “prime time” player: that’s the one who wants the ball, wants to take charge of things, when the decisive moment comes; it’s like Frank Sinatra, or Barbra Streisand performing in the spotlight, McGuire explained. You see, basketball (and sports generally) is controlled and disciplined by people whose position in the world and whose values and models have been rooted

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# Phi Slama Jama

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in the American supremacy achieved as a result of triumph and conquest made possible through World War 2. What a contradiction that they must now "coach" youth drawn from where all that is completely alien and where the great mass of youth are being prepared not for the National Basketball Association but for the foxholes.

No, Phi Slama Jama was not what they had programmed. It was not the likes of Larry Micheaux, Michael Young and Clyde Drexler they wanted as models, it was not a Nigerian (who can't even play on the U.S. Olympic team next year, for god's sake!) who was supposed to be the dominant big man, snatching seemingly every rebound, slapping down opposing players' shots, starting the Houston fast break and often racing to the other end to jam in the *coup de grace*. No, this was to be the year of the long-awaited triumph of Ralph Sampson, Inc., at the University of Virginia. Sampson, who at 7'4" is also a genuinely talented athlete, is a major force on the basketball court with a big future in the pros, and he is the respectable, "responsible" model they want. From the beginning of his college days he has willingly gone the road of business-executive-in-finishing-school, "refining" himself to prescribed standards and, you can't help feeling, ringing it all up on his pocket calculator as his technical proficiency at basketball improves and his image becomes more polished. But Sampson could not deliver; perhaps, ironically, being able to count for several years on becoming a millionaire when he left college, he just wasn't hungry enough. In any case, when his Virginia team was knocked out of the championships by North Carolina State, the shifting of gears could be heard in the background, as North Carolina State came increasingly to be called "a team of destiny" — even the expression "America's team" was run up the flagpole a time or two, it seems.

But before North Carolina State would meet Houston in the championship game, they each had to win a semi-final contest. North Carolina State fairly easily defeated Georgia — which, unlike NC State, was not really cast in the role of "Cinderella," nor certainly of a "team of destiny," even though they upset powerful basketball institutions, like North Carolina University and St. John's, on their way to the Final Four. But then, Georgia relied on speed and quick leaping ability on the one hand but on the other hand it almost certainly didn't have enough of this to match up against Houston. The other semi-final game, between Houston and Louisville, concentrated everything that Phi Slama Jama raises. Houston won, surging from behind in the second half and clearly establishing their superiority over another great team that has been known as "the Doctors of Dunk." If you love the city game, as it is best played by those who play it best, you went crazy over this game. Even the "experts" had to tip their hat to it — it was exciting, thrill-packed, etc., etc., . . . but — but, they complained, it was not a model for coaching, it was too much a player's game, things were getting out of hand. Billy Packer, the CBS commentator (and himself a former coach), was forced to say: you can draw up all the "x's" and "o's" you want (to diagram strategy and tactics), but these players just have so much ability they have taken the game beyond that.

But again, it's not that there wasn't any coaching. Without getting into too much detail here, a key aspect of Houston's surge from behind was Lewis' tactic of switching in the second half from the more static zone defense to the more fluid and intense man-to-man defense, and he made a number of other good coaching moves as well. But the point is that these moves precisely *unleashed* what the Houston players do best — or as Lewis himself put it, "Phi Slama Jama got rolling" — and this was coaching that was directly opposite to the "expert commentary" given by Bobby Knight when he was interviewed at half time and asked what Houston, then trailing by five points, would have to do to get back in the game. This, as I said, was a game where the chairs should have been thrown onto the court in appreciation; there were repeatedly great plays, and on both sides, because Louisville too thrives on its quickness and leaping ability. But Louisville has become something of the acceptable, institutionalized version of this — they are a very disciplined team, Billy Packer was quick to remind us — while Houston remained the upstarts. And the upstarts won. They won with a display that not only shook the backboards in the "pit" (the gym in Albuquerque where the game was played); it reverberated much higher as well. Pete Axthelm, writing in *Newsweek*, reported that during this game "As usual, CBS had a microphone on the backboards to catch the sounds of bounces and tickled twine; the network didn't use it when Phi Slama Jama sounded too much like gunfire." Well, it seems that, as with Earl Manigault's game-stopper, the dunks of Houston resounded with "Noise that everyone understands."

Interviewed by Billy Packer after the game, Clyde Drexler was asked about his double-pump (raise it up in one hand, bring it down, raise it up again in two hands) jam — which *Sports Illustrated* referred to as "your basic play of the century" — and he replied, "Oh, it's just one of those things I've been working on." This response, coupled with Drexler's wry smile, meant two things: first, Drexler was saying that was a bad move and I know it, and to top it off I'm gonna play like it was no big thing; but second, moves like that are not a simple spontaneous expression of "pure ability", they have to be worked on just like everything else — and it's all a question of where you're coming from *what* you choose to work on and develop to new levels. It is this that Guy Lewis was referring to when he hit back, in his own way, at attacks on his team: "Hey, it takes discipline to dunk," he retorted.

This, among other things, was thrown back in the face of Houston — and of everyone whose hopes rode and whose spirits rose with them — when Houston lost the championship game, at the last second, on a dunk shot by a North Carolina State player. And it was remarkable to see how far things went, to what lengths those in control went, to bring about the defeat of Phi Slama Jama.

First there was the North Carolina State coach, Jim Valvano, playing a cross between Rocky and a Mafia lawyer. Beginning literally right after the Houston victory over Louisville in the semi-finals, Valvano — with more than a little help from his friends — protested and protested that Houston was too awesome, that the only way his team would have a chance would be to slow the game way down, to make Houston's key players commit fouls, to force the game to be completely different than the Houston-Louisville game had been. The whole point of this riff, including the part about how Houston was so overpowering, was to create public opinion and a favorable atmosphere where just about anything that was done that helped North Carolina State beat Houston would seem justified. Despite Valvano's humble pie routine, I couldn't help thinking, as North Carolina State was cast in the role of the "underdog," of those neanderthals during the "Iran hostage crisis" who kept bellowing, "no more Mr. Nice Guy, we've been pushed around too long" — underdogs with

nothing but the U.S. empire and its military might behind them!

North Carolina State, the "team of destiny," would show that discipline can bring the forces of chaos to order, can stuff the genie back into the bottle. "We made them take ordinary shots and they couldn't make those," a North Carolina State player is reported to have said in summing up how his team won. How many times I've heard that! — but in the past these were the words of a smug suburban white brat boasting of how his team showed "them" up and "put them back in their place." Yet North Carolina State's starting line-up was all-Black, like Houston's — and here was one of North Carolina State's starting team repeating this same line. It seems that at this point the city game — like the cities themselves — can't be run with just the old white power structure: they need a Black contingent in the superstructure to help do it.

Judging from all events, these kinds will be found spewing forth every manner of worn-out reactionary drivel. Certainly no disappointment in this regard, Thurl Bailey, one of the heroes of North Carolina State's victory over Houston, went out of his way in an immediate post-game interview to "thank god . . . without him on our side we wouldn't be here." Even that one — "god on our side" — found its way into this year's NCAA basketball championships!

I was reluctant to say so, in fact at first I didn't even think it was true — but after reviewing the tape of the Houston-North Carolina State game, it seems very clear that direct steps were taken to straight up cheat Houston out of the victory. How this was done was as simple as it was deadly: Clyde Drexler was charged with three fouls very quickly in the first half and then with his fourth foul several minutes before that half ended. Since the fifth foul puts you out of the game, these early fouls on Drexler struck a crippling blow to his whole style of play and thus to the Houston team as a whole. It disrupted their flow and specifically broke down the rhythm between Drexler and Olajuwon which was the basic beat of the Houston team. Olajuwon had to go all out early to keep Houston in the game, and this came back to haunt them later, in the second half, when they had forged into the lead. Olajuwon was then exhausted and forced to go to the bench for a rest with about 10 minutes of play left, and it was seemingly this, in part at least, that tempted Lewis into trying a slowdown tactic to enable Olajuwon to catch his breath and not to become worn out again when he returned to the game. This, in turn, made it easier for North Carolina State to pick and choose when and who to foul, to force Houston to win or lose the game with free throws and with whoever was proving to be their least effective free throw shooters (Valvano later said straight up that they would have kept on fouling whoever missed free throws and that they would have used this tactic 8, 9 or more times, whatever it took to "be in a position to win"). The end result was that North Carolina State was able to catch up and, at the final buzzer, to win. Again, the early fouls called on Drexler were key in this: without those fouls Houston would almost certainly have built up a considerably bigger lead than they did have, despite everything, with 10 minutes to go in the game; and had their lead been, say, 12 points or more at that stage, North Carolina State's deliberate fouling tactics would not have worked, they would have been forced into a faster tempo to try to catch up, thus turning the game even more to Houston's advantage. And in reviewing the tape it is very clear to me that only one of those calls against Drexler (the second foul called on him) was legitimate (the first was no foul, period; the third and fourth ones should have been called on the North Carolina State players who made contact with him, one actually grabbing his legs, before the other contact was made, on the fourth foul).

Even though a review of the tape strongly convinced me of this, I remain reluctant to focus too much on it, because the much more profound "fixing" of the game was the social atmosphere that was built up. Houston came into that gym carrying a tremendous weight, far beyond the normal pressure of a big basketball game. On the one hand they were not prepared to deal with what was somehow at issue, in its larger implications, and on the other hand they had a sense of it to a certain extent. This is revealed by a comment by Clyde Drexler, quoted in the *New York Times* in an article written the day of the game: asked if he thought that the winning of the national championship would lead to Phi Slama Jama being recognized as one of the greatest college basketball teams ever, Drexler replied, "I'm hoping we will, but they'll probably say we were lucky."

Given the whole atmosphere that was created and the way things were almost bound to go, given the whole setup, it was going to come down to Houston having to shoot free throw after free throw and make enough to hang on for the win (if this had been at the Rucker Tournament and Valvano had tried his tactics and the officials had made the kind of calls they did, chairs would have been thrown again — but for a different reason and *at* definite targets!). It is not accidental that Houston is not a very good free throw shooting team. Free throw shooting is the antithesis of everything Phi Slama Jama is about: it is static — standing on a line with everything at a standstill while you shoot with no one in your face and no one's face to put it in — it is the forte, as Axthelm himself once acknowledged, of kids in small towns (and the suburbs) who "develop accurate shots and precise skills" but not "moves" and definitely not the defiant dunk. This is not to say that city kids cannot learn to shoot free throws — or that the Houston players were bound to miss the free throws they did or to lose the game that night, even with everything they were up against — but dunking and "moves" take discipline, take working on them, just as free throw shooting does, and it's not accidental that different kinds of players, from different worlds, devote their time and effort to different styles of basketball. Let the NCAA hold a free throw shooting contest next time and see how exciting it is, how aesthetically pleasing, and how many people come to see it!

It is these NCAA officials who have continued to resist the adoption of a shot clock in college basketball to limit how long a team can hold the ball without even taking a shot at the basket. And generally the rules they have adopted, especially as they are actually applied, are geared to keeping the players from breaking loose and "playing out of control." One of the biggest instances of this, one of the biggest fetters on the productive force of creative, liberating basketball is the rule on offensive fouls and specifically what is called "taking the charge." This refers to a situation where a defensive player moves to a spot where he can anticipate an offensive player will be running, or jumping, and then stands there ("establishes position") so that the offensive player runs into or lands on him, thus committing an offensive foul. Well, I say the way it should be is this: if you're playing defense and you're trying to guard somebody and they just try to run over you or push you aside, okay that's a foul on the offensive player; but if you aren't trying to guard them, you just run to a spot and wait for them to run into or land on you, then it's a foul on you, motherfucker, and get out of the way next time so somebody can play basketball like it's supposed to be played, like people are capable of playing it nowadays. Such a rule change would really strike a subversive blow; the whole point of the rule as it now stands is to put a shackle on the bustin' loose style of play, especially on moves to the basket and above all the jam (after somebody does a truly beautiful move, maybe capping off the whole thing off with a thundering slam, there is some chump in the way, who apparently can't do anything

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Photograph donated to the RW by its author.

## All-American Murder

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Kaufman, not only did the Prosecutor's Office arrange the manslaughter plea bargain, but it was also negligent in providing him with any of the reports concerning the case; the judge now says he was misinformed. Readers of these pages will be familiar with the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office, and its head, William Cahalan — for his role in the railroad and political persecution of Darnell Summers.

For their part, Cahalan and the Prosecutor's Office admit no wrong, blaming Kaufman for the entire matter.

Kaufman and Cahalan are not the only officials feeling the heat. Detroit, under the reign of Mayor Coleman Young, has invested great political effort in presenting itself as a bastion of liberal reform regarding its police and judicial system; gone forever, the mainly Black masses are repeatedly told, are the days when the

police and courts served as rock-solid enforcers of white supremacy. With a very high degree of outrage over the sentence among the masses throughout the city, officials are falling over each other to voice their "concerns." As a spokesman for Mayor Young told 600 demonstrators, mainly Asian, but including significant numbers of Black people and other nationalities, in downtown Detroit on May 9th: "If Americans and citizens begin to seriously question the practice of that (criminal justice) system, then the system is indeed in jeopardy. We share

your frustrations and the mayor supports your call for a complete investigation." No doubt the mayor is genuinely "concerned" since it is his role to calm or deflect just these kinds of questions. Unfortunately for Young, the system will assert itself, and right now there is this need to whip up an "America Number One" atmosphere of chauvinism extending even to the encouragement of lynch-mob acts, and this can and does make it quite difficult to "sell America" to those many who are sensing how rotten the product really is. □

## Phi Slama Jama

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else to stop it but wait to be landed on when everything that matters has already been done anyway).

Let us remember that it is the rule makers who, in their infinite wisdom and love for the game of basketball, made the dunk itself illegal in college and high school basketball for a number of years (but interestingly enough, not the pros) and who continue to make dunking illegal in the warm-ups for college and high school games. It is no accident, I think, that the years the no-dunk rule was in effect were in the 1960s and early 1970s! A common rationalization for why this rule was instituted was that it had become too easy for tall players to dunk the ball, with Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (then known as Lew Alcindor) cited as the worst "offender." But the following comment reported by Pete Axthelm in his book *The City Game* is much closer to the mark:

"Look, if a guy is seven feet tall, he is going to score from in close whether he stuffs or just lays the ball in," explained Robert Bownes. "That rule wasn't put in to stop seven-footers. It was put in to stop the six-foot-two brothers who could dazzle the crowd and embarrass much bigger white kids by dunking. The white establishment has an uncomfortable feeling that blacks are dominating too many areas of sports. So they're setting up all kinds of restrictions and barriers. Everyone knows that dunking is a trademark of great playground black athletes. And so they took it away. It's as simple as that."

While there is much that is true and profound in these comments, today it is not quite as simple as that. Now the "white establishment" is especially concerned to distinguish between different kinds, different classes, of Blacks, in sports as well as in other spheres, and even between different kinds of dunks! This is why North Carolina State's victory — achieved by going against the whole spirit of the game of basketball as it is played today and forcing the game into something lifeless and ugly — is useful to them and they declare this putrid perversion a game of high drama capped off with a thrilling finish, a dunk that is... perfectly acceptable. And this is why they had to smother, to extinguish the example, the spirit of Phi Slama Jama: through a defeat of Houston if at all possible without showing their hand too blatantly; or if somehow Houston won, then it could be loved to death, squeezing the life out of it that way. But there is no question that the preferred method was to leave Houston defeated and its followers demoralized.

In the chapter on Earl Manigault in *The City Game* the story is told of how

somebody who couldn't play on Manigault's level at all loudly challenged him to a game, and

"Earl quietly agreed to play him one-on-one. The word went out within minutes, and immediately there was a big crowd gathered for the drama.

"Then they started playing. Earl went over the guy and dunked. Then he blocked the guy's first shot. It was obvious that the man had nothing to offer against Earl. But he was really determined to win himself a rep. So he started pushing and shoving and fouling. Earl didn't say a word. He just kept making his moves and beating the guy, and the guy kept grabbing and jostling him to try to stop him. It got to the point where it wasn't really basketball. And suddenly Earl put down the ball and said, 'I don't need this. You're the best.' Then he just walked away.

"Well, if Earl had gone on and whipped the guy 30 to 0, he couldn't have proved any more than he did."

Imagine if, after Houston had established their clear lead and once North Carolina State started in with its fouling routine, taking things even more clearly to the point where it wasn't really basketball, Houston had walked off the court and left North Carolina State to collect their honors, if things could have been gotten together for such a ceremony. That would have been by far the best way that Phi Slama Jama could have triumphed — and that would have been the nearest thing to a real revolution that you could ever hope to see on a basketball court! Which is why something like that will happen only when things all over are heading toward revolution for real.

"What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice there is in these Parisians!" Marx wrote about the Paris Communards a month before they were brutally crushed. Even if they should be defeated, he wrote then, even if the Commune "should be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile dogs of the old society," what the Communards had achieved and the legacy this left could not be wiped out. "Just compare those Parisians, storming heaven," Marx said, "with those slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, the clod-hopping Junkers and above all, of philistinism..." Am I stretching things a bit here? — yes, but if you know what I'm talking about you know what I mean when I say I couldn't help thinking of this in the aftermath of the NCAA basketball championships and the impact of Phi Slama Jama despite its final defeat. Who will even remember North Carolina State? Already now they are only of importance for their negative role, as the despoilers of Phi Slama Jama, for their willingness and ability to serve in their mediocrity as a model of discipline — a discipline that serves self-righteous world order americana, heading toward its eventual extinction with god on its side. The spirit that was reflected in Phi Slama Jama will live on and soar again... and again. □

# Holy War

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the end might justify the means. At bottom we get only the careful statement that:

"there must be no misunderstanding our profound skepticism about the moral acceptability of any use of nuclear weapons."

In the realm of wiping out civilizations, "skepticism" comes cheap.

Even those principles which are seemingly most unshakable in the Letter turn out, upon inspection, to be pockmarked with loopholes. Take the stricture that "the intentional killing of civilians or non-combatants is always wrong." Seems plain enough, but off in another part of the Letter we read:

"mobilization of forces in modern war includes not only the military, but to a significant degree the political, economic, and social sectors. It is not always easy to determine who is involved in a 'war effort' and to what degree." (our emphasis—RW)

The bishops want, in other words, to debate about who might qualify as "innocent" civilians! (To be fair, we are given some absolute categories of innocents: "schoolchildren, hospital patients, the elderly..." and some others. Perhaps further contributions to the Letter will find that only certain wards in hospitals are off limits to U.S. nukes...)

Some Catholic peace activists have insistently raised that the Church simply drop all these "doubts," and qualifications and come out cleanly against nuclear war, and furthermore call on the public to loudly demand the same. But in the Church's view this cannot be, for there is a greater evil yet than nuclear war. Early on and throughout the Letter we find a very partisan political position:

"To pretend that as a nation we have lived up to all our own ideas would be patently dishonest... But having said this... it is imperative that we confront reality. The facts simply do not support the comparison, made at times even in our own society, between our way of life, in which the most basic human rights are recognized, even if they are not always adequately supported, and those totalitarian and tyrannical regimes in which such rights are either denied or systematically suppressed."

The Letter is concerned to finger the Soviets as the source of blame for the evils of this world, while upholding (if sometimes gently chiding) its own imperialist partner, going so far a few sentences later as to compare the moral qualities of the opposing military alliances!

"NATO is an alliance of democratic countries which have freely chosen their association. The Warsaw Pact is not."

And a telling statement continues from there:

"A glory of the United States is the range of freedoms its system permits us... we do not imagine that we could exercise the same freedoms in contemporary Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union. Free people must always pay a proportionate price and run some risks — responsibly — to preserve their freedom." (our emphasis)

Such holy positions (with God on their side) form the matrix for all 140 pages of argument. The question of nukes and nuclear war is never addressed outside the certainty of the "justice" of the U.S. imperialist cause and the "evil" of the Soviet side, and therefore of the need for the U.S. — the carrier of Western "values" and, for heaven's sake, the Church — to ultimately triumph. The kind of war the bishops are "pondering" about is an inter-imperialist war for redivision of the world. Can such a war be just? From the vantage point of the proletariat and oppressed masses of the world the answer is beyond doubt: not on your life! But the bishops see things through the eyes of a different class.

All this delineates a monumental contradiction for Church doctrine. It must recognize the horrors of nuclear war (and who does not?) but it also knows that the possession and use of nuclear weapons must be held open if "Western values" are to triumph. How to present the world with a "strong stand for peace" and still uphold U.S. power and its victory in the

coming conflict, a power that relies on nuclear weapons? This is the double-edged task that is worked out in the Pastoral Letter.

At the moment there are many anti-war Catholics who welcome the peace letter, with all its "faults." A common sentiment was expressed by one Catholic peace activist outside the Bishops Conference in Chicago as the Pastoral Letter was being approved. Yes, the Letter left much to be desired, but "it is creating a better political climate right now to raise the issue of nuclear war." This feeling has certainly been reinforced lately as the TV, newspapers, and even *Rolling Stone* magazine have been full of Catholic priests looking quite progressive indeed as they bring the Letter to wealthy, backward suburbanites, good ol' boys in Cicero and parishes of well-paid defense-plant workers, and in general "raising the issue" of nuclear war. It is easy enough to look progressive next to a Reaganite in his Seville. But more importantly, a "progressive" image in the short run serves a longer-term goal. As the first draft of the Letter put it:

"when large parts of society even perceive that the means used to conduct war are immoral, the perception can provoke widespread cynicism and disruption of the social order."

Such sentiment is *already* out there in society, and while "disruption" on a big scale manifestly has not yet occurred in this country, as Father Hesburgh pointed out — why wait? The Church is being positioned for a key role at *this* future point and is not simply responding to the moment. As things approach the point of confrontation between the two blocs, the U.S. will sorely need a credible voice, such as that of the Church, to justify, if not sanctify, the massive destruction which must be wreaked for the sake of U.S. imperialism. On this choice, the Letter has spoken plainly enough—the very logic of the document, the ideology and material interests of the Church will compel it to make this "judgment." At that time, the loopholes and argumentation for "just war" from the Pastoral Letter may be resurrected from the fine print.

In this sense there is something to the idea of a "new moment" which appears in the Letter. This "new moment" has not been produced simply by the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, as the Pastoral Letter would have it, but by the fact that the U.S. is now facing an enemy as powerful as itself, going into a confrontation where it must put all its empire on the line. This has called forth, as Bob Avakian writes, a crisis of the old bourgeois values which were based on

"... the success that had been enjoyed by U.S. capital in expanding through exploitation and parasitic plunder and assuming a dominant position in the world. Now, however, all that is being fundamentally called into question and this is creating a real and profound 'crisis of ideology.' The U.S. imperialists are in serious — one could even say desperate — need of some new lies to buttress the old reactionary values and the system they serve." ("So Many Lies in So Little Space," *RW* No. 197)

The "peace church" is one expression of the imperialists' search for "new lies to buttress the old, reactionary values" (while at the same time the bourgeoisie promotes its Jerry Falwells and Armies of God, those who will cling to, and fight to the death for the *old* lies). And frankly, these "new lies" aren't all that new either.

Furthermore, the politics of the new "progressive image" in no way go beyond the framework of debate within the ruling class right now. It is true that after release of an earlier draft, the bishops were accused by rightwing columnist Michael Novack of turning "profoundly anti-American." The Administration also publicly leaned on the bishops during this same period, leaking a story to Novack that U.S. ambassador-at-large Gen. Vernon Walters had been sent to the Vatican to ask for Papal intervention to "moderate" the Letter. Administration spokesman William Clarke sent a public letter to the bishops, which hit the newsstands even before the bishops got their own copies, which accused the NCCB of "misreading" U.S. policy. Thus encouraged, Archbishop Oscar Lipscomb, of Mobile, Alabama

## Mr. Watt's Advice to Christian Graduates

The U.S. "is a hurting nation, a nation that needs help." So spoke Interior Secretary James Watt, as he urged graduates of Jerry Falwell's college to "be part of a Christian revolution," according to the *New York Times*, May 2. Watt said, "We have surrendered schools to those who experiment with our children. And we have seen the forces that would deny political liberty and spiritual freedom consume our schools. We have seen government used by the enemies of liberty here in America, God's chosen place." Watt called for national opposition to those that would "seek to destroy life for the convenience of others," and said to the graduates, "We are asking you to bring a change to America and the world."

To give a more concrete idea of the programme of the Christian revolution Watt incites here, one may look at Guatemala under President Rios Montt, U.S. puppet and avowed fundamentalist evangelical cut from the Falwell mold. Who are the "enemies of freedom" and how are they to be combatted?

An account of a report released by Americus Watch, a human rights group,

appeared in the *New York Times* on May 8. The *Times* states: "According to the report, 'The Guatemalan Government's counterinsurgency program, begun in early 1982, has been continued and expanded.' The study said that under the Government of President Efraim Rios Montt, there had been a systematic campaign to murder Indian men, women and children whom the army regards as supporting the insurgents or who resist army directives. 'Although civilian men of all ages have been shot in large numbers by the Guatemalan Army, women and children are particular victims; women are routinely raped before being killed; children are smashed against walls, choked, burned alive or murdered by machete or bayonet,' the report said. Although the report did not say how many Guatemalans had been killed, it estimated that an increasing number of Indians, between 70,000 and 100,000 had fled to southern Mexico. Aryeh Neier, co-chairman of Americus Watch, said, 'No estimates of the number killed were available because no human rights group is able to function safely in Guatemala.'" □

proclaimed that perhaps the destruction of the earth might not be so high a price to pay anyway:

"The worst evil that can befall us is not the loss of our life, or even of all human life... Should this world and our species remain in such a way that such life in the Father is not possible to the generations that follow... then we have threatened not just the sovereignty of God over the world but the victory of Christ over sin and death." (*Foreign Affairs*, Spring, 1983)

In recent months, the administration has moderated its tone (the Letter was altered considerably from the earlier draft, including the addition of material fingering the Soviet Union, such as that cited above), but the bishops continue to be played as an opposition.

Singled out have been the calls for a "halt" to new strategic weapons systems (in language virtually identical to the national "freeze" resolution), and the rejection of "first-use" of nuclear weapons, among some other points.

But all this hubbub has obscured the fact that nothing in the Letter goes beyond what many mainline ruling class representatives have been saying for some time. There is a debate within the ruling class over certain tactics of overall U.S. strategic policy, and the Letter takes a definite side in the debate.

The "freeze" position is spearheaded in the bourgeoisie by Edward Kennedy and such notables as William Colby, Director of the CIA during the Vietnam War, and the noted liberal theologian Billy Graham. Put simply, it is an argument for "sufficiency" — that the U.S. already has enough nukes to wipe out the Soviets — coupled with the plea for talks toward verifiable reduction in arms. (The Pastoral Letter also insists on the "moral acceptability" of "deterrence" — this is linked to its overall "freeze," or "sufficiency," position.) Rejection of first-use has been argued preeminently in an article in *Foreign Affairs* by McGeorge Bundy, Robert MacNamara, George Kennan, and Gerald Smith, which holds that the Soviets, who have already abjured a first-strike, have an unnecessary propaganda edge. In fact, at this time both these positions mainly revolve around U.S. propaganda posture, although they each have implications for military strategy and weapons procurement. None of the ruling class figures promoting these positions are opponents of building the U.S. nuclear arsenal, and none have illusions about where things are headed.

The side chosen by the bishops in these debates does put their stress on a stronger "peace component" in the propaganda war against the Soviets.

As Henry Kissinger put it, in an article in *Newsweek*: "The United States must learn to combine military strength with a strategy for peace. A positive diplomatic program is the prerequisite for maintaining public and allied support for a

strong defense and foreign policy." This view has come more into the limelight recently, as the approval of the Pastoral Letter coincided with a House "freeze" resolution and new calls for strengthening the U.S. "negotiating stance" in response to Soviet proposals.

Those supporting the Reagan approach are concerned to stress the full-steam ahead deployment of new weapons vital to U.S. military planning, particularly the Pershing II and Cruises in Europe and the MX. Nonetheless, all understand the need for "peacemaking" as well as arms buildup overall; these debates are about how *best* to prepare.

The credibility and ultimate role of the Church is best served now by positions which differ from those dominant in the administration. This differing emphasis has brought friction and not a little bouncing back and forth of position by the bishops; after all, the Church does not have the job of putting the nukes in place. Reagan does. But all this does *not* reflect a fundamental divergence on U.S. policy.

The European bishops, and especially the French and German, have also objected to past drafts of the Letter, also in regard to the "freeze" language and rejection of first-use of nuclear weapons.

The German bishops have this month issued their own Pastoral Letter on war, which does the opposite of the U.S. Letter, betraying no doubt at all about the need for military strength. This interesting twist casts some light on what the Church is up to with these Letters (which have or will be issued in several European countries this spring). German political conditions differ from those in the U.S. and include a different array of political forces.

These differences were mediated by a delegate of the Pope at a meeting of U.S. and European clerics in January. The Europeans charged that the U.S. Church differed at least in spirit with the pronouncements of Pope John Paul II, who has actively been supporting the U.S. and helping deal with its hotspots around the world and promoting resistance within the Soviet bloc countries. The U.S. bishops' changes in the third and final draft may have partly reflected this pressure. But the Pope also made it known that overall it was all right for the U.S. bishops and others to "differ" with the public stance of the Vatican. (In promoting Joseph Bernardin to Cardinal in the midst of the writing of the Pastoral Letter, the Pope also signalled his support for the "peace church" idea.) The Pope's representative cautioned U.S. bishops at this meeting about the "important international dimensions" of the Letter that was then being drafted. This is true in a sense larger than Church political tactics. In effect a division of labor is being worked out in order that the Church may overall play the most effective role possible in the coming conjuncture. After all, God works in many ways. □

Overtown, December 1982.



A paramilitary training camp in the Everglades.



Somoza at his Miami home.

## Miami: Unexpected Crack

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garish displays of luxury and decadence, but in the masses' fierce and repeated outbreaks of resistance to police terror and national oppression. They have twice in a major way and several times in "minor" skirmishes gone way beyond the bounds of "legitimate protest" iconocized in the '70s and still maintaining a strong grip on the masses as the new decade unfolds. There has been no small amount of hand-wringing in every bourgeois quarter of this country over Miami, and it's not hard to see why. When the high school youth in the park were asked what they thought the difference was between Miami and the rest of the country, one 12-year-old girl answered calmly, "We're more alive here."

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Much of what exists in Miami is certainly not all that unique. Indeed, it's pretty typical of the experience of millions of Black people everywhere in this country — 50% unemployment, jammed into crumbling housing, meatgrinder "health care" — all that defines life for proletarians in the USA. Even the police force, made internationally famous by their brutal execution of Arthur McDuffie (and subsequent acquittal), which certainly stands in the top ranks of "law and order enforcement" (read: wanton murder of Blacks and other oppressed), can't be said to outrank such bastions of law and order as L.A. or Chicago or any number of other cities. (They haven't quite perfected the choke hold, for instance, utilized so effectively by their L.A. brethren.) What has set Miami apart has been how the contradictions propelling the world in the '70s — most decisively the drive toward world war by the two imperialist blocs — took particular form there, and have very visibly created one of those cracks and fissures that spell big problems for the bourgeoisie and rich opportunities for the proletariat.

There are those who look at Miami and its rebellions and see an anachronism, a throwback, a city that "was missed by the '60s." Any number of reformist types will run on endlessly about how "backward" the city is, how the "progress" Black people experienced in the '70s in such places as Atlanta and Detroit passed this city by. Ray Fauntroy, head of the Miami SCLC, sat in the president's office of the only Black-owned bank in town and moaned that Miami is "way behind the rest of the country."

In a sense he's right — that is, if your view of "progress" can be found in the city halls and office buildings of some cities where certain avenues to the upper reaches of America were opened up to Black petty-bourgeois and bourgeois forces in the '70s ("opened up" in relative terms, of course — keeping in mind who, after all, really runs things). Fauntroy's lament brings to mind the much-quoted infamous statement by a distraught Jesse Jackson in the wake of the

Overtown rebellion that "You have better leadership in Atlanta — in Andy Young people find hope even when they don't find help."

Well, this has no doubt been a factor. But unfortunately for those demagogues who have carved impressive careers for themselves out of promising "peace in the streets" so long as their own place in the sun is kept secure, and who see in the Miami rebellion a new bargaining chip to hang over their benefactors' heads (Fauntroy even went so far as to intone "There will be a revolution" if something isn't done), it has been much more than just a lack of Black faces in high places on the local scene in Miami that has thrust the fury of Black people into the streets there. Things aren't nearly that simple in this day and age.

In fact, far from a product of "southern racism" (though there's no lack of all-American reactionaries in the Miami area) or a "backward" city, the contradictions that created a particular and unique situation for the revolutionary strivings of the Black masses in Miami are those of a city that is very much rooted in the future — a city that has become quite decisive for the imperialists' war preparations, as the Caribbean and Central America have increasingly emerged as a focal point of the pre-war battles between the U.S. and Soviet blocs as well as the revolutionary strivings of the masses.

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Sinking into a sofa in her bright, futuristic office inside Miami's newly built Omni hotel and shopping center, a representative from the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce smirked, "Castro's takeover is the best thing that ever happened to this community." Outside her window you could watch the waves lap gently against the luxury liners awaiting a new flock of island vacationers, many of them from the elites of Latin America. You can't see it from there, but farther south in the Florida Keys stands one of Miami's chief landmarks — a sign rising from the water declaring in English and Spanish: "You are now only 90 miles from communism."

The resulting immigration, she went on, provided Miami with a solid base of not only trained professionals, but bourgeois forces with extensive ties throughout the Western hemisphere that have proved invaluable, not just economically but politically as well. "There are a number of expatriates here who have been, ah, shall we say, asked to leave their home countries; because when the junta takes over they kick everybody out — if they don't get them to kill them they kick them out. A number of them come here. There are a number of formerly very powerful Panamanians living here. I'm sure there are a number of them living here from every other country that's had a takeover in the last 20 years." Despite her imperialist-tinted analysis, you get the picture.

Miami is indeed the chief dumping

ground for every reactionary that has been forced to flee the revolutionary upsurges of the masses in this hemisphere. And for large numbers of pro-U.S. Latin American bourgeois, Miami has increasingly become a financial center, and many keep second homes there. But there is more — much more — involved in this. These people don't just sit around sipping margaritas and reminiscing over the good old days of unchallenged U.S. imperialist domination. A closer look at Miami reveals that it is the headquarters for an extensive underground — and not so underground — network of paramilitary organizations — "freedom fighters," as they like to fancy themselves — that have played a growing and increasingly vital role in defending and expanding the interests of U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean and Central and South America. And it is the politics of that imperialist protection racket that thoroughly dominate the political terrain of Miami.

Nowhere can you find a more impressive and eye-opening picture of Miami's "freedom fighters," their front-line role for U.S. imperialism and what role Miami plays in all of this, than in the saga of one Orlando Bosch.

Bosch is alternately referred to as a raving maniac and "the patriarch of Cuban terrorism." Both are apt descriptions. Coming to Miami in the wake of the revolution which overthrew the U.S. henchman Batista, Bosch gained a reputation as one of the most fanatical of the thousands of anti-Castro Cubans recruited and organized by the CIA and made famous by the Bay of Pigs invasion. He was once arrested in Miami for driving through downtown in a truck loaded with live cannon shells, and in one of his most famous exploits he led a bazooka attack on a Polish freighter docked in the Miami harbor. He did a few months in jail for that one, but it was after that — in the mid-'70s — that he rose to the top in a CIA-sponsored move to more firmly unite the several paramilitary organizations in Miami and greatly expand their international role.

In his book *The Great Heroin Coup*, Henrik Krüger describes Bosch's rise: "In 1974-75 a reign of terror struck Miami's Cuban community as opponents of Orlando Bosch were liquidated. The campaign continued well into 1976, during which Miami was rocked by over 700 bombings. And that year there was a notable upsurge in Cuban exile activity beyond the territorial U.S."

"On April 6 two Cuban fishing boats were attacked and destroyed, and one fisherman was killed. On April 22, a bomb exploded at Cuba's Lisbon embassy, killing two and seriously wounding several others.

"In June 1976 in the Dominican Republic town of Bona, the Cuban Action Movement, Cuban National Liberation Front, Brigade 2506, F-14 and the Cuban Nationalist Movement merged as Bosch's Coordination of United Revolutionary Organizations (CORU)."

There immediately followed a wave of

bombings, assassinations and kidnappings that spanned the globe from Mexico to Buenos Aires to Spain, including the bombing murder of Chile's former Secretary of State under the Allende government, in Washington — all of which were carried out by Bosch's CORU organization. According to Krüger, CORU's headquarters are in Miami. Originally, it was sustained by tight collaboration with the CIA and the Chilean junta's secret police (DINA). According to the Cuban former CIA agent Manuel Dármas, the CIA coordinated DINA's acts with CORU's, and supplied the latter with funds, advisors and explosives. The head of DINA's Miami-based force was reportedly Eduardo Sepulveda, the Chilean attaché in Miami and a top dog in DINA.

In 1976, Bosch and a CIA agent friend planted plastic explosives on a Cuban airliner in Venezuela, which exploded over the Atlantic, killing all 76 on board. Bosch was arrested by the Venezuelan government (he was apparently turned in by his CIA friend, possibly a result of the numerous conflicts and power struggles within this set-up that grew out of the rapidly intensifying situation faced by the imperialists) and held in a military prison.

Still being held, Bosch went on a hunger strike in March 1983, demanding to be released. A group of 20 Cubans and Nicaraguans set up a tent in Little Havana (the Cuban section of Miami) and started a hunger strike in support (the Nicaraguans have played an increasingly important role in the Miami scene, which we'll go more into shortly). For several days they were front-page news, the press and TV stations filled with endless statements and interviews calling for Venezuela to respect Bosch's "civil rights."

Three days into the hunger strike the Miami City Commission (city council) declared one Sunday "Orlando Bosch Day" in the city of Miami. Miami's liberal Mayor Ferre pointed out blithely that there was really nothing unusual about the act. After all, he pointed out, Menachem Begin, who murdered hundreds in his days as an "unofficial" terrorist of the Zionist Irgun, is today one of America's closest friends and heroes. Let's not beat around the bush here, gentlemen. This is, after all, war.

That same weekend two buildings were firebombed — the National Bank of Venezuela and an import/export company that has some dealings with Cuba. These bombings were reported on page 3 of the local section of the Monday paper, among the obits — quite surprising to see an event that would surely have received front-page coverage in any other city brushed off as blasé (and, need we add, had it been the FALN in New York the entire FBI would have launched an extensive nationwide manhunt to track down these "vicious terrorists"). But really it was, in relative terms, no big deal on the scene in Miami. Things actually are quite calm in Little Havana right now — certainly nothing compared to the average of two bombs a day in '76!

At the hunger strikers' camp in the  
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# Miami

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middle of Little Havana you can get an eye and earful of the politics behind all this. You can quickly see that these people are not only aiming at someday returning triumphantly to a "liberated" Cuba or Nicaragua (liberated by U.S. imperialism, of course). Much more is at stake here. The encampment, cautiously patrolled by fatigue-clad guards, is draped with American as well as Cuban flags and signs declaring "Down with communism, down with Castro." Their spokesman, who talks in terms of fighting "Russian imperialism," is careful to point out that "We are all poor people here. We're not fighting for the landowners or the capitalists — but we're not fighting *against* them either." Asked what the terms of their fight is today, he twists his face into an ominous expression and explains, "Castro plans to export his revolution throughout Central, South and North America."

Since the early '60s Miami has been consciously developed as a training ground and base area for pro-U.S. forces in the Caribbean Basin, but it was in the mid-'70s that the pace of things accelerated greatly, turning the city into a veritable fortress. Economically, it has seen a massive and quite unusual boom through the decade and continuing today based on its increasing role in Latin American and Caribbean trade. The *New York Times* (Sept. 21, 1981) described Miami as a city "with an annual Trade Fair of the Americas that this year registered \$67.8 million in sales; a newly formed free trade zone that does an average of \$10 million worth of business monthly, and a financial community that includes more out-of-state and international banks than any other city in the country save New York. The one-time winter vacation destination of the East Coast is now the nexus of trade that extends through all of Central and South America and much of the Caribbean."

But it's in the political and military arenas that Miami has played its increasingly key role in the region. Outfits such as Orlando Bosch's CORU, Enrique Bermudez's Nicaraguan Democratic Front and the well-known Alpha 66 and Omega 7, the largest and most influential of the Cuban paramilitary groups, are standard and quite legitimate currency in the political scene in the city, as evidenced by "Orlando Bosch Day." During the Mariel boatlift of 1980 the City Commission gave a \$15,000 grant to Alpha 66, which was feverishly recruiting from the refugees under the guise of "community work." And the *Miami Herald*, which has a daily Spanish edition, is the most widely read U.S. newspaper in Latin America and the Caribbean. Its influence is so widespread that during the last round of debate over sending U.S. aid to El Salvador, Salvadoran president Duarte wrote letters to the *Herald* to get out his position.

Fully in line with this role, the trade that has flowed through Miami has included a lot more than cement, machine parts and automobiles. Miami police chief Harms was recently quoted in *Esquire* magazine as saying, "If all the weapons sold in Miami stayed here, we'd sink." Miami has become the center for gun- and heavy artillery-running to reactionary regimes and groups in the area. Klaus Barbi, world-renowned Nazi, friend of the U.S. and Bolivian citizen, spent many happy days in Miami buying and shipping 200 tanks to Bolivia.

Along with the weapons, Miami is a chief exporter of highly trained "freedom fighters." The training camp just outside Miami's borders in the Everglades, called by its inhabitants "Camp Cuba-Nicaragua," is as well known around town as is Disney World. This and other similar camps were started by the Cubans, but took on a bigger dimension with the influx of Nicaraguan National Guardsmen who poured into Miami with their leader Somoza following his overthrow. These people have played a major role in beefing up and injecting new life into the paramilitary scene in Miami, calling their combined forces the "inter-American Expeditionary Task Force" or "Everglades Commandos" for short. It's from the Everglades that many of the current invasion force in Nicaragua were trained.

These groupings are also among the most significant political forces in Miami

politics. On the night of Reagan's famous speech outlining his Central American policy, a rally of 2000 Cubans and Nicaraguans was held in downtown Miami. The high point of the affair was the live broadcast — simultaneously translated into Spanish and broadcast over loudspeakers — of Reagan's speech, greeted with chants of "Viva Reagan!" When a local El Salvador and Nicaragua support group called for a demonstration against aid to El Salvador the next week, Omega 7 put out a call over the numerous Cuban radio stations for "blood to flow in the streets" if the demonstration happened. It was called off, but even the press conference called to explain why was viciously attacked and broken up by a crowd of 150 Cuban and Nicaraguan reactionaries, one of whom fired a high-powered rifle over people's heads. All this was cheered on by the cops in attendance.

## Miami's Immigrant Communities

These developments provide the setting for the quite unique circumstances the two major communities of immigrants in Miami find themselves in — the Cubans and Haitians. The bourgeoisie has poured tremendous effort and big bucks into building within the Cuban community a solid base for the politics of "defending democracy and fighting communism," making big political hay, of course, out of the fact that Miami's 600,000 Cubans fled "communism," and utilizing the relatively large petty bourgeois and bourgeois strata that came to this country ready-made for such a role. Today the Cubans make up the largest single grouping in Miami — a situation that in any other city would cause untold uproar about the need to "stem the tide of immigration." In Miami you hear all kinds of unusual comments coming from the mouths of bourgeois, like how much of a boon to the city this foreign community has been and how proud they are that Miami is bilingual. Not quite your typical response to a massive influx of immigration from the "third world."

But things are not the harmonious Garden of Eden they like to portray. A large portion of the Cuban community is made up of proletarians, stuffed into the garment industry that brags of its wages "below the national hourly level" and the hotels and restaurants that line the luxury beaches of Miami Beach. The Mariel boatlift refugees, largely proletarian and with a high percentage of blacks, are hated and feared — and since the boatlift a whole section of Little Havana is considered a slum. There are also "problems" with the youth who grew up in this country, and aren't so enamored with the patriotic crap spewing out from their parents.

Nevertheless there have been very conscious efforts to build up a *broad* base of American patriotism in the Cuban community. It is not just a chauvinist distortion that jobs were broadly opened up to the Cubans who came to Miami, even where they were formerly available to Black people such as in the hotel industry, one of Miami's leading employers. Even these minimum wage jobs represent a kind of sop to maintain a social base among the Cuban immigrants, keeping unemployment in the Cuban community extremely low while it soars over 30% in the Black community.

The situation has also caused contradictions with the U.S. imperialists' main social base, the white folks in the suburbs, many concentrated in the more privileged jobs (Miami is home to Eastern Airlines, one of the largest employers in the area). A popular bumper sticker in Miami reads "The Last American to Leave Miami, Please Bring the Flag" — reflecting their uneasiness that while these Cubans may be a patriotic bunch, they just aren't good red-blooded Americans. They're *still* immigrants.

Nevertheless, with all these contradictions the "Latinization of Miami" (as the *N.Y. Times* called it) has meant something radically different than the "Latinization" of someplace like L.A. It has been very much part of transforming Miami into a central staging area in the battle between East and West.

Miguel (not his real name) was born in the '50s, after his parents came to Miami during the Batista regime. He was in high school in the '60s, and was very much affected by the turmoil of that decade, becoming a social worker and a militant

religious peace activist in the '70s. He was sympathetic to the politics of Fidel Castro until the boatlift made him look much deeper into the imperialist politics driving that country today ("There were people still wearing their hospital clothes because they had been driven directly from the mental hospitals to the boat to 'clean Cuba out!'"). He describes the politics of Little Havana, and what it was like growing up amidst it:

"The problem in Miami is the Cuban community, which sees anything vaguely liberal as a communist plot. I mean, Reagan speaks for the Cuban community. Anything Reagan says, they already thought ten years ago." He went on to describe a scene where a doctor giving a talk on the medical effects of nuclear war was physically run off the stage by a group of Cuban doctors. He went on: "It's to the point in the Cuban community where it's dangerous to make certain statements. Before there was outright negotiations between Cuba and the United States, if you made comments, say, like 'there should be a dialog,' people were shot and killed — for saying things like that. One radio station was blown up. You know, none of these Cuban newspapers ever have editorials because they're afraid of saying something wrong. 'La Republica' has a bomb placed there about once every 4 or 5 months — and, you know, I consider that paper to be reactionary right. None of the Cuban TV stations here ever endorse a candidate — it's too dangerous, or people perceive it as too dangerous."

"When I was in high school, once, for instance, in 1972, I was on South Beach, which was where lots of Cuban kids used to go to the beach. And there was a Russian science ship that came in for 2 or 3 days to the port of Miami. There were demonstrations against it — and I made the mistake of saying on the beach to my cousins that I thought the ship should be there and people that overheard me went wild. I had to leave the beach, okay? An innocent statement like that — I was really surprised."

There have been three major waves of refugees from Cuba since the revolution in 1959 (a number of intellectuals also came here during the '50s to get away from Batista and settled in Miami and Tampa). The first, on the immediate heels of the revolution, were the bourgeois and comprador forces fleeing the wrath of the masses. Then during the '60s came a massive influx, led by a large part of the Cuban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia — 3,500 doctors, 18,000 businessmen and thousands of construction workers came. Almost immediately the Cuban community, which by the mid-'70s numbered around 500,000, had a highly developed and integrated class structure. Even more significant were the ties to bourgeois forces throughout Latin America they brought with them.

The third wave was of course the Mariel Boatlift of 1980, which in a period of 6 months swelled the size of the Cuban community by as many as 100,000. "God forbid that you tell anyone that you're from Mariel," laughed Miguel. Hailed as "brave freedom fighters and resisters" back in 1980, the Marielitos, as they are derisively called, pose some sticky problems for this set-up. These are people from the lower classes who once supported the revolution and are now disillusioned. One of the biggest reasons they gave, Miguel told us, was the wars in Angola and the Horn of Africa which have forced thousands of Cuban youth to directly fight in the service of Soviet social-imperialism. "The worst discrimination against the Mariel Cubans is from the Cubans from the earlier waves of immigration, and it's probably based on class," Miguel explained. Beyond that, it's reasoned — not without merit — that many of these refugees would not be any more excited about joining the slaughter in the service of American imperialism than they were about fighting for their former Soviet masters.

A recent article in the *Miami Herald* on Miami's 10 most powerful Cubans gave some interesting insight into the politics promoted by the "leaders of the Cuban community." Raul P. Masvidal, a bank president and number one on the list, is a classic example: "This is Raul Masvidal's second time around in Dade County. He came here once before, at 17, after having been arrested in an anti-Castro student disturbance in Cuba. Recruited by the CIA, he joined an intelligence unit and

trained for the invasion of Cuba. The Bay of Pigs invasion failed, and he never landed in Cuba. But he continued to work with the CIA while studying at the University of Miami. 'I was working with infiltration teams that were being trained in the Florida Keys.'

"During the 1962 missile crisis, he was persuaded by the agency to join the Army's special Cuban unit. 'It really is very simple,' says Masvidal. 'I came to this country at the suggestion of the American government. I am a guest who has been allowed to extend his stay. And this is why I have an obligation to do everything I can to help those who have been so good to me for the past 22 years.'

The idea of "helping those who have been so good to me for the past 22 years" is key to the politics actively promoted in the Cuban community. This is not just a matter of "lending a hand," but of being front-line troops in the "fight against communism." "Defend America," "Buy American" signs and American flags are seen all over Little Havana. The mentality of "caretakers of the American way of life" is very much part of the political climate of the city (dominant is more accurate) — people who have "lived under communist tyranny" and have a right not only to speak, but an ever-increasing responsibility to act as contradictions in the world move rapidly toward a showdown.

A word here about the cops. Half the street cops in Miami are Cubans, recruited in the past few years from the upper sections of the working class (such as construction workers) and lower petty bourgeoisie. And while we should point out once again that there is nothing unique about the fact that Miami cops are vicious murderers who aim their guns mainly at Black people, there is a particularity there worth noting. The caretaker mentality of these sections of Cubans fits perfectly with their role as occupying troops in the Black community, and is part of their unbridled (and officially sanctioned) pride in the murders that have sparked the rebellions. Recently the Latin Policeman's Association held a demonstration in front of the *Miami Herald* that police chief Harms spoke at (they were "protesting" the "biased" reporting of the 5 murders of Black people for making "sudden moves" in the previous 5 months). One of the group's banners read "Alvarez for president." (The cold-blooded murder of Nevell Johnson by cop Louis Alvarez sparked the Overtown rebellion.)

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But then again there are the Haitians. When close to 50,000 of them poured into Miami in the wake of the Cuban boatlift, it was a *major* thorn in the side of the imperialists, and they responded accordingly — throwing thousands into detention camps in what was then an unprecedented move in dealing with the "immigrant problem." "People came here looking for freedom and democracy," a Haitian revolutionary told us. "They found out what it was in Krome."

You can't really get a full picture of the conditions that have shaped Miami without seeing the impact of the Haitian masses on the Black community, which has been profound. The controversy among the masses prompted by the Haitian influx is intense. In any group of Black people in Overtown or Liberty City you will find someone who will start running down how Haitians are just "taking all our jobs" because they "will work for almost no pay," as well as other backward comments. But that will invariably be challenged by someone else arguing "But we're all Black" and maybe go into how the Haitians have no choice, even explaining who Duvalier is. At a discussion with some Haitians in the Haitian Refugee Center we got a picture of how deep the questions went: "When the refugees started coming in every day, some of them dead, Black friends of mine at work started coming up to me all the time asking just what is going on in Haiti." Everyone talks about the strikingly different "Welcome" given the Cubans and Haitians.

"Yeah, there was a lot of Haitians in the rebellions" was the common response to our queries about contact between the Black and Haitian communities. In schools, jobs and parts of the com-

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# Miami

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munities Blacks and Haitian proletarians have been thrust together and begun to develop important ties. Both Liberty City and Little Haiti are "combat zones" as far as the cops are concerned, although the response in Little Haiti is perhaps not generally as fierce as in Liberty City. The Haitians we talked to unanimously agreed that among Blacks in Miami there is more of an understanding and sense of solidarity with Haitians than in other cities with Haitian communities. "The Blacks here understand Haitians a lot better than they are told by the bourgeoisie."

Looking at the contrast between the two communities — Cuban and Haitian — gives a stark picture of just how political the "immigrant question" is in this country, how especially through the last decade it has concentrated and reflected the twists and turns of imperialist politics and inter-imperialist conflict. While the common view you hear in Miami is that the "welcome" afforded the Haitians is a product of racism, much more at the heart of it is the political make-up of those refugees. The fact that every year literally millions of people in the "third world" are forced into exile, many driven to the shores of the very imperialist bastions that rule over their countries is itself a searing indictment of imperialism and more than enough reason for its destruction. Immigrants, from the Turkish workers in Germany to Jamaicans in England to Mexicans, Salvadorans and Haitians in this country have brought with them a burning hatred of the "democracy" brought on their homelands by imperialism and often a good deal of experience in struggle. That has a potentially profound impact on the proletariat and masses broadly in the citadels themselves. This is a tremendous strategic strength of the proletariat entering this conjuncture, both a reflection and material manifestation of how deeply the world has been drawn together in the imperialist web and a solid material basis for proletarian internationalism in both the imperialist and oppressed nations. Of course this cuts both ways — especially as the two imperialist camps prepare for war. One side's refugees are the other side's propaganda. And the fact that two immigrant communities each from countries dominated by different blocs are thrust together in Miami makes for some explosive contradictions.

The hypocrisy of the imperialist pundits shows through starkly in Miami — there is no end of exposure of the "very real horrors of life under Soviet imperialism" (they often use that term) — and of course the hundreds of thousands of refugees are "living proof." Haitians of course are a different story, having fled the "democratic" regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier, firmly under the grip of U.S. imperialism. And while the masses in Overtown and Liberty City are not fully aware of the imperialist politics behind all this, it raises very big questions that get to the heart of imperialism — even the fact that this is the terms of things the masses are forced to deal with in that city has the effect of breaking people out of the narrow confines of their daily lives and into looking at the contradictions in the world that are causing these far-reaching changes in the character of the cities in this country.

## "THE CITY OF THE FUTURE"

Returning to the park in Overtown, "surrounded" doesn't seem at all like such a bad place to be in — it's more like a hand grenade is "surrounded" by someone sitting on it. Far from being intimidated into submission and passivity or outright despair at things ever changing in this city pregnant with an impressive array of imperialist defenders, Black people in Miami have become quite defiant and downright unruly, causing the whole world to take note. Here in the heart of a key base area for the bourgeoisie, things just don't seem to all be going as planned — they certainly did not include Miami becoming a genuine beacon light for the millions of oppressed suffocating under the heavy hand of their impending imperialist showdown, a *living* road sign to a future guaranteed to be full of surprises. *That's* not the "City of the Future" they like to brag about! It's not just or even mainly that their plans

for Miami are getting screwed up, it's what it means for the whole country (and even the world) that has them worried.

All of this puts events in Miami these last few years in quite a revealing light for the proletariat. Frankly the bourgeoisie in this country has been far more concerned for a good while with preparing to defeat their Soviet rivals than they have been with the masses at home — recognizing what for them has been and is, in the *immediate* sense, the greater threat. This has been and remains not a matter of choice, but of necessity. But that very necessity can land them in some very hot water indeed, and in very unexpected ways.

It's interesting to note in this light the degree to which the bourgeoisie was taken by surprise by the rebellion of 1980. You get a taste of their problem reading the Law Enforcement Administration's Report, appropriately entitled, "Prevention and Control of Urban Disorders in the 1980s." Pretty much the entire report is devoted to raising sharp criticisms and concerns at how unprepared the authorities were for the rebellion, especially in light of what was rapidly becoming the norm in the city. "There is always the danger that important indicators (of riots developing) will become so much a part of the regular environment that the police agency will develop a false sense of security. In Miami and Dade County, rock throwing at police response units is, in some areas, so common that it is often considered a routine occurrence." While they argue that a big problem has been a kind of fading into the past of the "lessons" of the '60s (for their side), what comes through most sharply is a sense that much more will be needed in this decade, the contradictions are far more intense and unpredictable, and *most* importantly that they are *seriously* out of touch with the pace and scope of developments among the masses, who, they point out, show a degree of sophistication that also caught all concerned off guard.

It would be impossible — and wrong — to pinpoint one or two specific reasons why all of this broke out in Miami when it is not breaking out anywhere else. There have been many factors — but it is clear that, most strikingly, living smack in the middle of the swirl of imperialist war preparations and the skirmishes that are part of that has had a profound effect on Black people in Miami. The facade of peace quickly crumbles when you are on the frontlines, when you are dealing in the kind of currency so prevalent down there. In a city where different factions of Cubans and Nicaraguans are blowing themselves to smithereens, where demonstrations are attacked by gun-wielding reactionaries as a matter of course, "peaceful protest" just doesn't seem to have much of a beat to it. For a long time, things in Miami have pointed in quite a different direction from the "solutions" of the '70s.

It is not as if the reasons for all of this are broadly or fully understood by the masses, but its numerous implications are something you find people arguing over and trying to understand throughout the Black community. It has created in the city a highly-charged *political* climate forcing people to confront, grope with, and understand a pretty broad range of developments in this decade. The immigration question, as we have pointed out, is itself in Miami very visibly rooted in the twists and turns of imperialist politics as they are taking shape today — and go way beyond merely the kind of divisions the imperialists enforce on the different nationalities in this country. Joe, a man from Liberty City who has been following not only events in Miami but, through the *Revolutionary Worker* and other means, events in the world as well brought out the kind of intense questions that get concentrated in the developments around Cuban and Haitian immigration even on a very basic level: "They welcomed the Cubans with open arms, man. As soon as they came on shore they gave them jobs, money, everything. They tried to detain the ones that were bad for the system — but mostly they're just helping the system. Because right at that particular time people were coming over from Haiti, right? So they already knew that, that a lot of people were going to be coming over from Haiti — they knew that from the get. And that's why they accepted the Cubans, right? For the simple reason that they

# So Why Not Yöi?

RW,

I just got tired of not seeing Yöi so I drove to North Carolina with my wife to see it in an art film theater there. We got there fifteen minutes before the very last feature! Found out it had been playing there for one month, including an extra week because the theater operators wanted to hold it over. They were quite taken with the fact that we had come all that way to see Yöi, said that was the "record" as far as distance to see something at their theater. They took us back in the office after the film and offered us our choice of stills from the film. In the envelope they had compiled was a copy of the RW interview with Güney. We told them that was how we first heard about Güney and Yöi and they told us someone had given that to them the week before (I think someone from the party in that area). They said the film had done fairly respectably for a foreign film of that type and disagreed with what we told them was the view in Atlanta among distributors that it didn't have an audience. They said they would be glad to refute that to any distributors or theater managers if we wanted them to. They had put up on display some articles about Yöi, including the *Village*

*Voice* ("Listen Turkey") and a piece by a local writer which was really good (compared Yöi to *Gandhi* in light of the Academy Awards and how disgusting that whole thing was; actually some good insights and exposures around popularization of those 2 films).

The struggle around getting Yöi here is interesting. We're hearing some ridiculous arguments about why it's not coming. These theaters play the most ridiculous garbage which has "no audience" and plays to empty theaters and then turn around and say that's why they won't play Yöi even though they want to, of course. I'm not saying all these guys are somehow down on Yöi but what I mean is every major foreign film that plays New York comes here, so why not Yöi? *Veronika Voss* played to an empty theater for a week. (I'm not saying that film is garbage, by the way.) *Siberiade* (which I call "Birth of a Superpower") played to small audiences and everything else comes here. We're enlisting a number of advanced to badger the main guys here to get this film to Atlanta.

A Reader

knew that the Haitians, you know, a lot of Blacks were coming to America, and they'd rather for the Cubans to have stuff because the Cubans are more organized, and they are more accepted. Because they're more for the system, and they got something. The Haitians don't really have anything to offer this country, no more than just busting their heads in them factories. Then after they got that straightened out they try to turn everybody against each other."

It is also only in light of these broader developments in Miami that the much-discussed question of the Black bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie can be understood. Just about every report, study, and article dealing with Miami talks about the fact that Black people have been "cut off from the mainstream," isolated from the economic and political life of the city. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission entitled their extensive study into the conditions of Black people in Miami in the wake of the 1980 rebellion, "Confronting Racial Isolation in Miami," reflecting that situation. They point out that not only has the more bourgeois strata of Blacks been generally squeezed out, but even for the proletariat any avenues into "better paying" jobs have been effectively cut off.

The murder of Arthur McDuffie — himself an insurance salesman — by a gang of cops sharply concentrated the extent of national oppression in this country as well as the particularities of this question in Miami. The fact that McDuffie had "made it" and met the fate of any brother in the street was a powerful motive force in the 1980 rebellion. One Black businessman described how because of this, even many in the upper strata, such as himself, who under other circumstances might have thought differently, supported the rebellion.

This has been a real phenomenon, and has been very much rooted in the overall developments in this city. Sonny Wright, president of Miami's only Black-owned bank, related to one reporter that in the '70s, a time when generally "a lot of opportunities" were opened up for sections of Black people throughout the country, in Miami "the money just wasn't there for Blacks." During the '70s, 1,289 Small Business Administration Economic Opportunity loans were granted to Hispanics while only 175 went to Blacks. While this had the appearance of bourgeois competition for the funds available, clearly it was a product of the overall international political considerations and needs in the area — and for obvious reasons building up and strengthening a sizeable social base of "caretakers" from the bourgeois as well as lower sections of "refugees from communist terror" has been far more crucial.

The "Civil Rights leaders" have themselves been affected by this phenomenon with more than a few knowing which side *their* bread is buttered on and showing some "interna-

nationalism" of their own. One day during the Bosch hunger strike a group of Black SCLC types came out to the encampment to picket... in support of Bosch. "It's a civil rights issue," they explained. Besides, these people are "fighting for freedom too, just like us." Ray Fauntroy told the RW he had given the hunger strikers advice on how to carry out the hunger strike, because of his "vast experience," saying, "Anyone who is willing to starve to death must have a good cause."

The contradictions in Miami go far deeper than "They don't have enough firemen." In fact it would be a big mistake to think that there is no middle class, Black bourgeoisie, or group of "political leaders." As shown in the last example, they are most definitely there, and are quite active — especially in the recent period. But there are contradictory attitudes among some of them, too. Most importantly, though, the mildly social-democratic, reform politics that have generally emerged from that strata in this period have been firmly overpowered by the politics of imperialist domination and war, which has had the effect of somewhat jarring the masses of Black people loose from the heavy hand of "reform within the system" so prominent nowadays. You can feel this constantly in the streets of Miami, especially and most sharply among the youth — where there is a fierceness and razor-edged rebelliousness that is quite uncharacteristic of many Black communities today. Bourgeois solutions are widely viewed with the intense cynicism and impatience they deserve, and those who promote them, if they aren't hated as traitors, are viewed broadly as virtually impotent in the face of those with the *real* power.

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Miami is a city of hard edges — edges sharpened not only by national oppression, but by the international imperatives of imperialism. Miami today is vivid testimony to the point in the recent Central Committee Report of the RCP that, "Great earth-moving forces are stirring beneath the surface of the planet; a giant eruption is brewing; and even as it brews, fissures and cracks are appearing in the still-intact crust, tossing upward movements, people, turmoil."

It's appropriate in that light to close with the words of T.D. Allman, writing in *Esquire* magazine in praise of Miami's emergence as a major city but with an uneasy eye over his shoulder: "The most disconcerting thing about Miami isn't the crime, drugs, and all the other Miami problems you hear so much about. It's the sensation — sometimes exhilarating, sometimes appalling, but always disorienting — that a chain reaction of explosive change has started in Miami that no one could stop now even if they tried."

NEXT: Miami's "dangerous and awesome" youth. □

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