



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

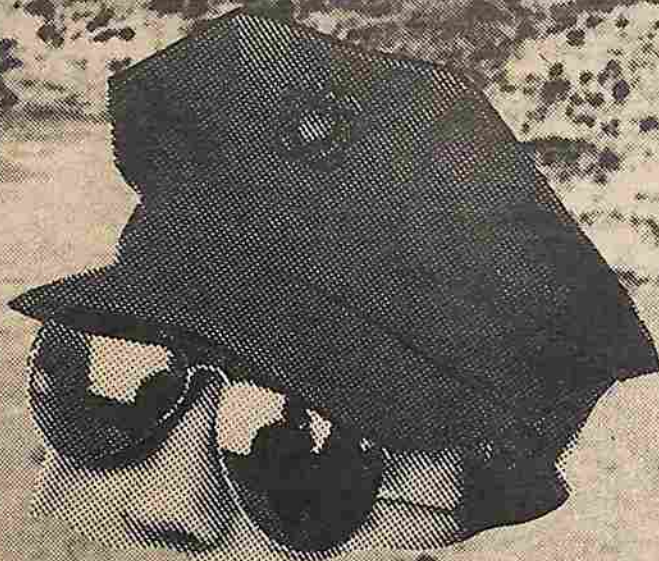
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It's Hard To Be An Officer And A Gentleman In El Salvador



In other situations at other times, the killing of one of "our boys" on duty in the neocolonies — especially a member of the Navy equivalent of the Green Berets and a high-ranking officer to boot — would immediately set in motion a chauvinistic frenzy of "Remember (whatever his name was)," "Defend America's Honor" (to say nothing of its *possessions*), and so forth. But poor Lieutenant Commander Albert A. Schaufelberger had the misfortune to get bumped off in the midst of the U.S. mess in El Salvador. This officer and gentleman was the Deputy Commander of the U.S. Military Group that oversees and directs the mass murder of actual and potential makers of trouble for the Salvadoran puppets and

their U.S. masters, and also the Chief of Security for the 55 officially acknowledged U.S. advisers. But rather than being profusely praised for his glorious contribution to the Salvadoran body count and other patriotic service to his country, it seems that Schaufelberger is being *reprimanded* (posthumously, of course) for his own ironic lack of security. Just one among many reports was an ABC News bit that highlighted, in block-letter graphics, Schaufelberger's mistakes: keeping too high a profile, establishing a pattern of travel, and removing a bullet-proof window from his car because the air conditioning didn't work. While Schaufelberger's little *faux pas* proved terminal, his superiors still have to deal —

and would rather not — with his ghost: a renewed spotlight on their deteriorating situation in El Salvador.

The contradictions were rearing their many heads at every turn. For example, the question of just *who* might be responsible — immediately and ultimately — for the officer's death was by no means easily answered. A nervous U.S. official initially responded, "It could have been from the left, it could have been from the right; you never know here." There was certainly plenty of evidence pointing to this being a case of the "trainer" being offed by some trainees. The *modus operandi* of the executioners had "death squad" written all over it; Schaufelberger

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It's Hard To Be An Officer And A Gentleman In El Salvador

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was waiting in his car to pick up his girlfriend who works at the Central American University when a van drove up, and a man got out and fired three small-calibre bullets into the Navy officer's head. His girlfriend supposedly called his military chief right away (why not an ambulance?), but the chief doesn't speak Spanish too well and claims to have never understood what was going on. Still, the phone call took eight minutes. Meanwhile, some students apparently called an ambulance, but it mysteriously never showed up; thirty-five minutes later, Schaufelberger's girlfriend piled him into a private car and took him to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead. There was other suspicious evidence as well. Schaufelberger had a reputation as something of a liberal imperialist trooper, citing poverty and so forth as causes of revolution — even while he was thrilled to be “limiting the spread of unfriendly governments in the Western hemisphere” — and criticizing some wealthy Salvadoran compradors for not treating their subjects nicely enough. Even worse, Schaufelberger was known to be supportive of the official (but generally circumvented) “restriction” against certain combat action that the U.S. troops are supposed to follow, thinking that it would prevent the U.S. from getting bogged down in a quagmire-type situation; meanwhile, virtually all the rest of his fellow “advisers” are eager to play Apocalypse Now. In fact, a statement from one of them — “It's like trying to treat a chest wound with a bandaid” — has been widely reported along with stories of Schaufelberger's death.

With all this evidence pointing to the so-called “far right” (and those for whom they toil), U.S. officials were “relieved” when the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), a faction of the guerrilla coalition Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), apparently took credit for Schaufelberger's killing. (The method by which this was announced, however, still leaves many questions as to who ultimately was behind the action, and the possibility that Schaufelberger was a victim of intense infighting cannot be ruled out.) At any rate, in this case, relief was still spelled l-o-w k-e-y, and Ronald Reagan et al., were not visible all over the tube, and there was no crying out to avenge the innocent U.S. commander. In the face of widespread ex-

posure of the U.S. role in El Salvador, and even more frantic worry in the U.S.'s hallowed halls over the potential for getting dangerously bogged down in the U.S.'s “backyard” while the whole world is at stake, more focus on the dangers to U.S. servicemen in Central America was not deemed to be in the national interest.

However, an increase in U.S. bludgeon was. The day after Schaufelberger's murder, the Defense Dept. announced that it was modernizing and re-opening an old World War 2 military base in Honduras and sending more than 100 new U.S. military advisers to it. This is in addition to the 62 that are already in Honduras. The new base is to be used to train troops slated to be among the first to get the benefit of U.S. counter-insurgency expertise. Two days later, the *New York Times* ran an article by its military expert citing anonymous U.S. officers calling for as many as 500 more advisers to be sent into El Salvador to train the currently floundering Salvadoran army. And this was followed up by a story in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* revealing that members of the U.S. military group are working full-time within the Salvadoran High Command, and are actually directing the war. The newspaper reported that the advisers were “overseeing activities in every important sector, including intelligence, logistics, operations and personnel.” Whatever the newspaper's purpose, the effect of this pronouncement was once again to intensify the pressure on opposition forces in Central America.

As we have pointed out in the *RW*, the purpose of this pressure has been to try to reverse the trend in Central America — most particularly, to try to limit the influence of pro-Soviet revisionist forces in the region by breaking up the historic compromise coalitions that they are engaged in. The U.S.'s hope is that if it beats on the opposition forces (and especially their bases of support) hard enough, the alliances will crack and the more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces (like the Social Democrat and Christian Democrat leaders in El Salvador's FDR) and some of the more nationalist forces as well will abandon their revisionist allies and come back under the U.S.'s wing. Last week, *Newsweek* reported that this split is exactly what the U.S. is trying to foment with its overt covert actions in Nicaragua; the magazine even named which Sandinista leaders were considered incorrigible by the administration and “would have to

go,” and which ones “are thought to be salvageable.”

But the problem — for the U.S. — is that none of this has been achieving the desired results, and in the case of Nicaragua, as the *Newsweek* article hastened to point out, it appears to be strengthening the “unity” of the Sandinistas — and thus the influence of the revisionists. There are great fears in the U.S. ruling class that this is also taking place in El Salvador's opposition coalition. This is what is giving rise to tactical splits within the U.S. They all agree on the need to break up the opposition and knock down the revisionists as much as possible (hence the reportage that “nobody wants to take the blame for losing El Salvador”). But the thieves — and murderers — are falling out over how to make this happen.

Thus, in the midst of the turmoil over the Schaufelberger incident and the attendant new U.S. escalations, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz announced that Thomas Enders, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, was being bounced out of his job and given another diplomatic post, probably as Ambassador to Spain. Immediately, the word went out that Enders had been “too moderate” for current U.S. requirements, called for too much “flexibility” in trying to negotiate with the opposition, and so forth. Laughably, the man who called in bombing strikes on civilian populations when he worked at the U.S. Embassy in Cambodia and is

considered the “architect” of the U.S. policy that has resulted in the murder of 40,000 Salvadorans, is being criticized and/or promoted for not being hard-line enough. Actually, he is a fine example of the extent of the U.S.'s moderation. And so is Deane Hinton, current U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, who is also expected to be replaced very soon. Hinton is best known for hammering together the new government of El Salvador after the death-squad elections last March, and for later “criticizing” some of the security forces when it suited the U.S.'s purpose at the time. Hinton is apparently leaving because he is too close to Enders — and both are said to be on the opposite side from UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and National Security Adviser William Clark. At this time the specific tiff here is unclear, although it seems that Enders opposed the recent release of yet another U.S. “White Paper” as “a bunch of reheated leftovers” — neglecting to mention that they were lies, half-truths, and hypocrisy left over from his old “White Papers.” At any rate, it is obvious that there is a great deal of disarray in the ranks of the imperialists over El Salvador. But the administration made it clear that it was “policy implementation” and not policy itself that was at issue.

But the policy itself is not exactly a ravishing success in Central America. And it is clear that no personnel changes will be able to resolve the many-sided contradictions hammering at the U.S.'s imperialist domination of the region. □

Humanitarian Aid

The U.S. announced last week that it is dispatching 20-25 military doctors for duty in El Salvador to train government medical workers. Administration Press Secretary Larry Speakes was quick to point out, however, that this in no way violates the limit of 55 military advisors in El Salvador, since the docs will be going for “humanitarian purposes.”

In a related development, a radio news broadcast in Chicago noted that out of

1,500 Salvadoran government soldiers wounded over the past few months, some 800 required amputations. The Salvadoran government appears none-too-adroit even when it comes to patching up its own cannon-fodder to send back into battle. America's humanitarian aid better get there, and quick. A 50-50 chance of losing a leg over a flesh wound can hardly be a big morale booster. □

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Flaming Red Banner From Revolutionary Prisoners In Peru

“To the Revolutionary Prisoners of the U.S.!”



We are prisoners of war in El Frontón, a sinister concentration camp where Peru's reactionaries, with daily torture, liquidation and assassination, are attempting to fulfill their dreams of breaking our revolutionary will and thus strike back at the glorious development of our guerrilla war which today is marching vigorously and surely towards the Conquest of Revolutionary Base Areas. From here, compañeros, from El Frontón, a filthy reactionary dungeon which we have converted into a frontline trench, we send our warmest greetings and support to the heroic revolutionary prisoners of the U.S., who right in the belly of the beast have dared and still dare to stand up in rebellion.

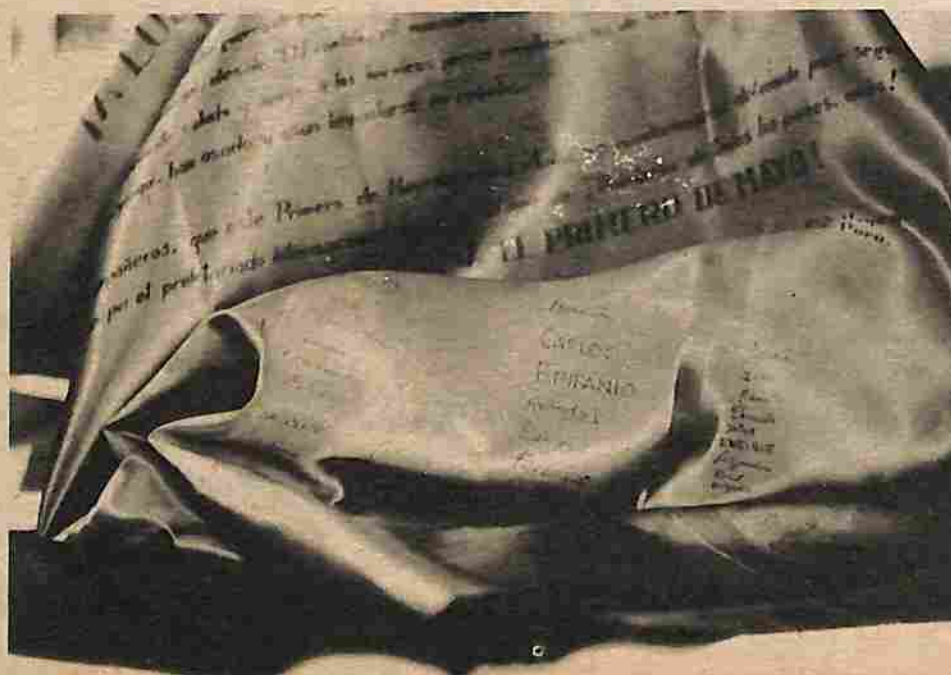
Compañeros, this May 1 unites us more firmly with all the world's revolutionaries, to continue in combat until the international proletariat storms the heavens, with the immortal slogan, "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!"

Long Live May Day!
El Frontón, May 1, 1983
Lima, Peru

This internationalist May Day exchange, done in black letters on a sheet of red satin three feet by two and a half with gold trim and two silk tassels, was made and sent out from a maximum security prison where no red item whatsoever is permitted. Not so much as a red sock or a red scarf is allowed to enter. El Frontón, an island in the Pacific across from Lima's port city of Callao, has been under total lockdown for most of the past month. During this time families of prisoners were forbidden to ride out in the military boats which are the only contact with the mainland.

This damp rock is now home to 400 men, including somewhat over 200 suspected members and supporters of the Communist Party of Peru, known in the press as Sendero Luminoso. It has become so crowded in recent months that many of the men sleep in the open, covered with old newspapers. Prisoners are brought here not only from the nearby coastal cities, but especially from the mountains, where local prisons have repeatedly proved unable to hold captured revolutionary fighters. There is a women's prison in Callao, where similar conditions prevail.

The authorities have not spared the slightest brutality towards these men. Their treatment includes starving them for days and then feeding them maggots, forcing them to lie on their bellies at gunpoint while guards walk across the yard on the backs of prisoners, and periodic orgies of gunfire aimed into the main yard where the political prisoners are concentrated. Under the leadership of their party, these prisoners have not only remained a symbol of the unbreakable revolutionary defiance rapidly spreading among Peru's masses, they have also, as they say, turned this prison into a revolutionary fortress, with daily study classes, physical training and all kinds of political struggle — including, evidently, this banner, for which lives must have been risked in order to celebrate May 1 in the proud manner of the revolutionary international proletariat. □



What Better Way . . .

At the celebration following Harold Washington's election as Chicago mayor somebody raised up a banner bearing the inscription: "Rizzo Is Next!" And sure enough, on May 17 Frank Rizzo was defeated in Philadelphia's Democratic mayoral primary by Black candidate Wilson Goode, who will probably win when the general election rolls around in November. Another city captured by a Black mayor. Further evidence of the trend stressed to the point of agony in the wake of the Washington election: the Black electorate has "come of age," Black people have become "part of the process," the system works.

That the system is working, and working hard, is beyond doubt — but by what means, and to what ends? Apart from the desire to knock the old Daley machine down a few pegs in Chicago, leading lights were set aglow by the success of the voter registration drives among Black people which preceded and accompanied the Washington campaign. In fact, no sooner had the Chicago victor stepped into the winner circle than attention began to focus on another, bigger horse race: there was Jesse Jackson (again), now talking about how the "time had come" for a Black presidential candidate (himself) and of the potential to register two million Black voters towards this aim. A *New York Times* editorial (May 11) bluntly surveyed the value of a Black "bid." The *Times*, for one thing, took issue with the way the subject had been framed to date: the question isn't whether Jackson in particular should "make the run," nor is it whether "any black candidate would achieve desirable leverage over the eventual Democratic nominee." This is just fluff. "There's a much more important question: how much such a candidacy could increase political participation by blacks and thus increase

their rightful political influence, not just for 1984 but for the future.

"What better way for blacks to express their growing frustration with high rates of unemployment, curtailment of federal programs including the erosion of affirmative action, and the apparent resurgence of racism, evidenced by increasing reports of racial violence?" Of course, "No black could now enter the primaries with any hope of reaching the White House. . . ." — it's just an "apparent resurgence of racism," mind you! "But he (or she) might well become the focus for a national black voter-registration drive."

What better way? — what better way indeed! There's more here than just a hollow and cynical call to increase the "rightful political influence" of Black people. They're admitting straight up that voter registration drives, Black mayors, or even Black presidential candidates have absolutely nothing to do with any kind of change in the position of the masses of Black people (except for the worse). But these things are certainly the best vehicle through which "frustration" might be expressed. Towards *this* end, the system is clearly working. At a time of profound and deepening crisis, a time when the oppression of the Black masses is all the more vivid and glaring — exactly now the system must work all the harder to bring forward the *ballot* and working within the system as not only "the better," but "the only" solution. And, of course, it is true that all this is "not just for 1984 but for the future." Signing 'em up for the vote in '84 is very much connected to signing 'em up for something else "in the future" when "political participation" will mean participation not in the polling booth, but the foxhole, and increasing one's political influence in the system will mean, above all, going down

with the Soviet social-imperialists so that there will be a U.S. imperialist system around to work within.

The cities are today the focus of the movement for "Black power" (what a contrast in the ring of these words today as compared with the '60s!) and this alone indicates the possibility of another future than that noted just above. Columnist Neal Peirce, following Washington's election, unknowingly got to this in an April 18 article in the *Chicago Sun Times*: "Mayors, in fact, are the cutting edge of U.S. black political power. Their ranks have swelled 159 percent — from 86 to 223 — in the last decade. The number of blacks in Congress, by contrast, has risen just 50 percent, from 14 to 21, raising questions about the popular theory that the federal arena is the best one for black interests." The Black agenda is now a local agenda: it's all just coming back around to the grassroots, the brother on the block (or in the office), the community from whence all political power emanates. . . . and so on.

But seriously, there is a point in these observations, if one can step out of the writer's own arena. Out of several hundred Senators and Congressmen, only 21 are Black. But there are Black mayors in 223 cities! And we're not just talking small towns here. Major cities with Black mayors include: Chicago, L.A., Detroit, Washington D.C., New Orleans, Atlanta, Oakland, Newark, Birmingham, Richmond and now, probably, Philly. And the Chicago election brought speculation by New York City Mayor Koch that the Big Apple would see a Black mayoral candidate in the '86 election. The question *actually* raised in the Peirce article is not that of the "best arena" for the pursuit of "black interests." The question raised — and

answered — is this: In which "arena" *especially* must figures like Harold Washington be brought to the forefront as the representatives of the system and in pursuit of *its* interests?

There is obviously some long range thinking involved here, some strategic recognition of the role and significance of the cities. The ruling class is well aware that the cities may become storm centers of a revolutionary movement, rooted among the proletariat and oppressed nationalities. And more, there is some recognition of the potential of such a struggle to draw in far broader sections of the people who can be won to supporting a revolutionary onslaught, or, at least, won to a position of "friendly neutrality." Certainly, stacked up against even the possibility of such a movement, the Washingtons, the Goodes, the Jacksons and the voter registration drives all embody the "better way."

And anyone who views as far-fetched the idea that these are the real terms of the "maturing" of the so-called Black political power might pause for a moment and wonder why it has become all the rage in certain circles. The *New York Times* editorial cited earlier reeks with the horror of things going over the edge in the '80s. It concludes with the remark that "the best weapon for promoting the welfare of black America is the ballot." The ballot, not the bullet. Interesting advice, but evidently not reciprocal. When it comes to ballots *and* bullets aimed against the masses of people, the bourgeoisie will continue to use both. □

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An important and timely analysis of the objective situation and the role of the party
 Report from a meeting of the Central Committee of the
 Revolutionary Communist Party, USA held in the latter part of 1982



In The Year Of The Missile

Reagan's voice echoed out into a gymnasium stocked with six other leaders of the Western bloc, many more media people, and mostly empty seats, in a refurbished resort of Williamsburg, Virginia, which he called "this beautiful village of the past." He spoke from behind a special podium of expensively carved mahogany reinforced with bullet-proof steel. It was a setting which nicely typified the eighth economic summit of the U.S.-led powers: barely hidden beneath an aura thick with wealth and power, beneath the stage-managed congeniality of fellow imperialist thieves, loomed the spectre of flying bullets. Military metaphors were rife: U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz described the submission of draft statements of the final communique to the assembled gentlemen as an "inspection of rifles" in the Marines. It soon became clear that economics at this economic summit was to take back seat to the politics of war — and in a much more open fashion than in previous meetings.

Not that friction over economic policies has lessened, it's just that economic solutions were clearly more out of reach than ever.

"There's no sense in beating around the bush," said Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, who revealed that high U.S. interest rates "were clearly opposed by everyone." And the U.S. piously promised to try and hold down its long-term interest rates which do play a big role in the financial instability of its bloc. In general, Reagan staked the U.S.'s position on the current supposed "recovery" which, if it became "sustained" would supposedly solve the bloc's financial problems automatically. However, even if

this "recovery" developed any substance (not a certainty by any means!) many analysts pointed out that increased business activity would result in increased demand for credit and so drive interest rates upwards and not down.

France raised quite a stink about the system of floating exchange rates for international currencies, a system which has resulted in an overvalued U.S. dollar and has hurt European economies. France proposed a new fixed-rate currency valuation system but the U.S., which pushed through the current floating rates in the seventies for its own benefit, was not about to budge.

On the other hand, there was sweeping agreement over the need to somehow cope with the staggering and unsustainable debt of dependent countries to the imperialists — a debt of 700 billion dollars, increased ten times over that of a decade ago — but there was in fact no notion as to how to do this. The final statement calls, among other things, for "increased resources" to be allocated to the International Monetary Fund, but capital for this in the massive amounts necessary is not available.

The U.S. was also pressed to cut back on its massive budget deficits, as another important contributor to bloc financial problems, but these deficits — projected to reach \$200 billion within a few years — are largely linked to the U.S. war budget, something which "everyone" agrees is necessary.

And so it went, the seven bloc leaders carrying on their "impromptu" discussions, without aides, in conversations which had already been substantially worked out through letters and interviews in the weeks and months beforehand.

Instead of dealing in any immediate way with the economic contradictions, then, the summit put them aside, and in their place as the *NY Times* put it, "security issues in general, forced their way to the front of discussions." Though nominally an unscheduled topic, war and the unity of the bloc in preparation for war took up more and more of the summit discussion.

"This was never intended to be an economic summit," said the chief economist of a New York bank, "this is the 'year of the missile,' and they aren't going to allow anything to interfere with that."

On Sunday, talks began on the wording of a communique of unity on the need for deploying U.S. medium-range nukes on European territory, talks which lasted throughout the entire day (of a three-day meeting). The final declaration included non-NATO members France and Japan as signatories, and revealed that, as one French spokesman put it, there might be problems over "the monetary floor" of the bloc but there was "no question over the need for a nuclear umbrella." The declaration bared the bloc's nuclear teeth right at its opening, stating that "we shall maintain sufficient military strength to deter any attack, to counter any threat, and to insure the peace." And while paying lip service to, as usual, the need for arms negotiations, it restated that the deployments "will proceed..." if negotiations fail, of course.

The Soviet Union replied on the same day the Western communique was issued, with a statement saying, in part, that "detente has been obliterated in full." This was a threat aimed not at the U.S. directly, with whom, of course,

detente has been dead for some time, but at the Europeans who have benefited in some ways from certain relations with the Soviets, and in good gangster style, served to remind the masses of people, especially in Europe, of the "consequences" of the sort of talk issuing from Williamsburg. This reinforced an earlier Soviet statement, issued on the eve of the summit, which reiterated threats to site medium-range Soviet missiles on Eastern European territory.

The Soviet statement serves to highlight the American need to stage-manage a "summit of unity" ... and of war ... so obviously and crudely as it did. After the Versailles summit last year, the U.S. and the Europeans publicly came to loggerheads over the question of the Yamal pipeline, the intra-bloc contradictions surfaced much too openly, and certainly did not project an image of battle-readiness. Now, with the Euromissile deployments set to begin, with the MX missile approved only days before the summit and the confrontation that much closer, the bloc could ill afford another such disaster. While last year, the U.S. and France were especially quarrelsome, this year all was compromise.

The Williamsburg summit has been a blatant expression, not of peace and harmony in the West, but of the problems of the U.S. bloc, both among its various imperialist powers, each pushing for its own best interests, and especially in dealing with its rival imperialist bloc. The economic problems of the bloc are deep and indeed insoluble except through a shattering redivision of the world achieved through a violent, decisive clash with the Soviets. □

From the New Programme of the RCP, USA

The Party And The Masses



All the great changes described above (in the *New Programme* of the RCP, USA) are achievable in one way only—proletarian revolution. And proletarian revolution is impossible without a revolutionary party. In this country that means the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

There is and there will be more crisis in this country. There will be world war, unless it is prevented by revolution. And there will be outbreaks of struggle—even massive outbreaks. But this, in itself, will never produce revolution. Through all this the bourgeoisie and its many agents, both open and in disguise, will be promoting one false solution after another, all ultimately coming down to one answer—“Keep America Number 1.” It is a vision that is as impossible as it is reactionary, but it will have forces grouped around it and can fool many for a time. The real question is, will there be *another* banner raised in this situation—the banner of proletarian revolution. And it is ultimately only a revolutionary party, guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, that can raise and carry that leading banner all the way through to victory.

Without such a party, the spontaneous, if sometimes very powerful, outbreaks of struggle against the many attacks and misery-producing effects of the capitalist system—even attempts at an uprising—all will eventually ebb, leaving the system that spawned them intact, if battered. Such struggles provide a strong basis for the work of the Party, but the Party’s crucial role lies in raising the consciousness of the masses involved to go over to something different—the struggle to seize power from the capitalist class. If the Party only goes tailing behind such struggles, and simply builds the struggle for reform, it will be like having no party at all—or even worse. Such a party would fall into “the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing”—which is revisionism, the betrayal of revolution. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA stands completely opposed to this line. It has been tempered and strengthened in struggle against this thinking, even within its own ranks, and will continue to wage and deepen the fight against it as it inevitably re-emerges.

A party such as this is the deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie, which of course attacks it in order to wipe out the banner of revolution before the masses in their millions can rally to it, the situa-

tion sharpens and the party can lead even broader masses in seizing power in the proletarian revolution. For just that same reason—and because without a party the working class ultimately has nothing at all—the advanced, class-conscious workers must step forward to build, support and defend the RCP, USA—and to unite with and join it. Party-building is a key task for the seizure of power. The Party must strengthen its political ties with the masses, carrying out agitation and propaganda, in particular using its press, supporting and assisting significant outbreaks of protest and struggle. It must strengthen its ties with the international communist movement of which it is one part. The Party must apply the “mass line,” using the science of revolution to concentrate the essential lessons from the ideas of the masses and the experience of the whole class struggle (as well as the struggle for production and scientific experiment) in this country and worldwide. In this way, both the Party and the masses will become more and more prepared for the goal of revolution.

The Party must constantly bring forward into its ranks those who dedicate their lives to the cause of international proletarian revolution, who seriously take up the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and carry out the Party’s line and tasks among the masses. The members the Party must attract are those whose dedication is not to narrow and personal interests, but to the historic mission of communism. To win victory, the Party must be made up of those who embody the best qualities of the proletariat, who expect sacrifice, jail, even the gas chamber, and not some cushy job. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against

any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in this country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

This will set the best possible conditions for the day revolution is victorious and the position of the Party in society changes and new contradictions, new—even harder and more historic—struggles come to the fore.

The Party will then occupy the strategic positions of leadership in the government, the economy and society as a whole, at the head of the proletariat in power. Then too, the leadership of the Party will be crucial, and so will continuing to revolutionize the Party. The latter question—of revolutionizing the proletarian party—has proven historically to be critical for the proletariat. For there are today many revisionist states whose leadership, capitalist to the bone, goes under the signboard of a “communist party.” In socialist society, the key levers of power will be in the hands of the Party members, who are theoretically and should actually be the most conscious and advanced members of the proletariat. But the real contradictions here, between leaders and led, can be transformed into something else: the relation between exploiters and exploited—Party members can be transformed into bourgeois elements and representatives of a new bourgeoisie. If this happens throughout society, and this new bourgeoisie is able to usurp power from the proletariat, then the society will no longer be a socialist one, but capitalist. This is why the main danger of capitalist restoration once socialism is established comes from within the communist party itself—par-

ticularly from a section of those in the top leading positions.

There will be only one way to prevent this—mass revolutionary struggle against it. Through this struggle, together with the study of the science of Marxism, the masses will be enabled to distinguish the capitalist road from the socialist road, revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries, and to better exercise their role as the masters of society. This was the way pioneered by Mao Tsetung in the Cultural Revolution. It means the genuine communists will support and lead the masses who rebel against new overlords. As Mao put it, “It is right to rebel against reactionaries.” Many of those who are in positions of authority and leadership can be revolutionized (or further revolutionized) through this. But there will be those who cannot, and they will have to be overthrown.

The genuine communists will place special emphasis on supporting and leading struggle to narrow the differences between leadership—and those who do “mental work” generally—and the masses. These differences must be attacked “from both sides,” involving the masses in the administration of society, in the affairs of state, etc., as well as in shaping and running education, culture and all other spheres of society and in mastering technical, scientific and other fields, on the one hand; and on the other hand, involving intellectual, technical and administrative personnel, political leaders, etc., in productive labor and scientific experiment as well as in political and ideological struggle and the study of Marxism and criticism of bourgeois ideology together with the broad masses.

There will be those who resist this and do so bitterly. While the proletariat wants its own elimination as a class—through the achievement of communist, classless society—there will be some in the Party who do not want to move to the abolition of classes, who do not want to narrow and eventually eliminate such differences, because *they* are in power and view and treat this as a kind of capital—instead of treating revolutionary leadership as a great responsibility to the international proletariat and its historic mission of communism. At every stage in the revolutionary process, there will be those who want to settle down and feather their nests. But they must not be allowed to do it—again a question of mass struggle to prevent this. And this struggle will bring forward new successors to the revolutionary cause. Communists are, in their essence, innovators and most of all rebels—not “able administrators,” or people whose orientation is to “get down to business.” If society and the Party are not constantly revolutionized through mass struggle, if the revolution is not actively supported and promoted internationally, then the only “business” that will get done is the business of capitalist restoration.

The genuine communists will lead the masses in this decisive battle to revolutionize the Party, and in that way strengthen the Party’s vanguard role—as part of the process of revolutionizing all of society and advancing toward the goal of a communist world with the abolition of all class distinctions and thus the need for the Party itself. □

The Sunday Paper Pogrom

On the morning of Wednesday, May 4, four Vietnamese students at Davis (California) High School were walking along the school tennis court, carrying their backpacks. James "Jay" Pierman and Russell Clark stepped in front of the Vietnamese youth and began taunting them. For the Vietnamese, this was nothing new. A small group of white students, including these two, had been harassing them for several weeks. But today, it will be different. Pierman pulled a 12-inch military-style knife and told his friend, "You go ahead and hit them. If anyone jumps in, I'll use the knife." As Clark began to punch one of the Vietnamese youth in the face, the other Vietnamese fought back. But the fight was quickly over as 17-year-old Thong Hy Huynh slumped to the ground from a stab wound inflicted by Pierman's knife. Even as several students rushed to give Thong emergency treatment in a desperate effort to save his life, his shirt was already drenched in blood and he was in a coma. Thong died in surgery a short time later, less than three years after he'd come to the U.S.

Reaction in Davis, a liberal college town of 36,000, was one of shock. Thong's funeral, held in English and Vietnamese, was attended by over 300 people, including over 150 Davis High students, who were released from school for the funeral, and a multinational delegation of 30 from an adult school in Sacramento. The City Council passed a resolution condemning the murder and reaffirming "its belief in interpersonal and international non-violence." Thousands of dollars have been raised toward the goal of \$100,000 for a memorial fund for Thong's family. Pierman is now being held in detention, awaiting a hearing in mid-June that will decide whether he will be tried as an adult or a juvenile.

As cold and brutal as Thong's death was, it might have gone down as an "isolated incident," another case of high school violence, unpublicized outside of the Sacramento Valley, where Davis is located. After all, there had been two unsolved murders of Indochinese in Modesto, not far from Davis, in the last year, and hardly a line about them could be found in the San Francisco Bay Area press. But the following Sunday, the *San Francisco Examiner* printed a story about Thong's murder and placed it at the top of its front page. Through distortions of facts and quotes, the article on the one hand painted a wild picture of racism running rampant at Davis High, and on the other hand all but blamed the Vietnamese youth for their own murder, especially by hammering away at their inability to integrate with other students. The bourgeoisie had very definite motives in covering this murder.

Not to say that there is no racist oppression in Davis — this is America, after all. But overall, this is quite a different scene from a town like Oroville, 80 miles north in the same Sacramento Valley. There, late last year, infighting among the Nazis resulted in the murder of a former Nazi member, a 17-year-old white youth, who had gone to the police with some information on Nazi activities and wasn't seen again. This put the spotlight on the vicious national oppression of the small Black population in Oroville, enforced by quite open cooperation between the Nazis and the police and courts (see *RW* 187).

Davis, by contrast, is an overwhelmingly white, middle to upper-middle class community. It is tied to the University of California at Davis, whose prestigious agricultural department draws students from around the country and the world. 50% of the adults in Davis are said to be educated beyond the bachelor's degree level. It was cited in 1980 by then-president Carter for having the most advanced energy conservation and recycling program in the country, and was the first in the U.S. to install bicycle lanes. The City Council, with three of its five members backed up by Tom Hayden's social-democratic Campaign for Economic Democracy, passed an ordinance in 1980 prohibiting the city from depositing funds in banks doing business with South Africa. You get the idea.

At Davis High, one of the more com-

petitive high schools in California, the murderer Pierman was the "outsider." Classified as a "slow learner," he'd been in and out of trouble with the authorities for petty crime, both in Orange County in Southern California where his family had lived before, and in Davis. He ran around with a group of youth that liked to pick fights in Davis and surrounding areas, and his mother admitted that he carried a bullwhip, a hatchet and a metal baseball bat in his car. By all accounts, this reactionary bully had no ties to any organized groups. But Pierman was a prime sucker for Nazi-type propaganda, and more "respectable" chauvinist garbage.

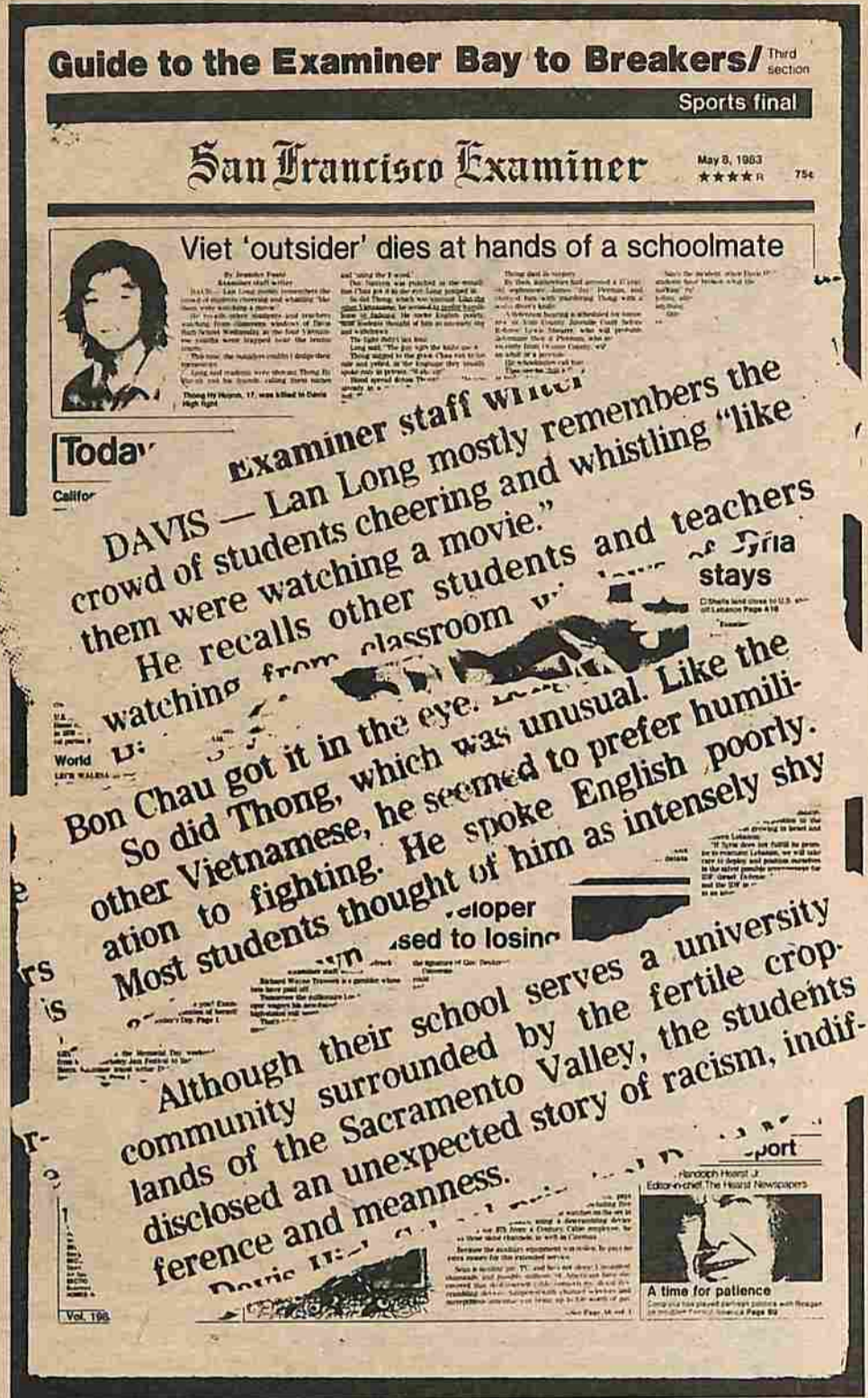
Of this there has been no shortage in this area, and increasingly directed at the large concentration of Indochinese. In Sacramento, where 11,000 Indochinese live, the Klan has held marches in projects with large refugee concentrations, spray-painting slogans like "Get out of the Capital!" Last summer in a community east of Sacramento, a group calling itself the Rancho Cordova Homeowners Association loudly complained of Indochinese tenants "messing up" their property, and circulated a petition calling for the internment of new refugees in camps until they learn "American values." Then, of course, there was the court-sanctioned murder of Vincent Chin by two white men in Detroit, which was in the local news shortly before the incident at Davis. Within Davis itself, in April of last year, KKK initials, swastikas and other graffiti were spray-painted on two houses, at Davis High and at another high school.

But still, the prevailing political atmosphere in Davis is not one of reaction running amok as the *Examiner* would have it. This makes the distortions in the *Examiner* article all the more stark and all the more indicative of a conscious political offensive being waged. First off, the article didn't appear until the Sunday edition, when it was placed as the top article on the front page, with Thong's photo and a title running across the page that read, "Viet 'Outsider' Dies At Hands of a Schoolmate." If you wanted maximum exposure, this was it. The combined *Examiner-Cronicle* (the two major papers in San Francisco) Sunday edition reaches 1.5 million people all over northern California. The reporter who wrote this article was also responsible for an article during the Oroville incident last year which conveniently gave wide publicity to the message that the Nazis wanted to deliver with the murder of the white youth — that the "snitch" had "paid the price" for being a "traitor to his race."

In the article itself, the *Examiner* reporter declares that her talks with the Davis High students "disclosed an unexpected story of racism, indifference and meanness." For openers, the reporter has one of Thong's friends remembering that while the fight was going on, there was "a crowd of students cheering and whistling, 'like they were watching a movie,'" and that other students and teachers were just watching from classroom windows. As Thong was being rushed to the high school, "The spectators went to class," in the words of the reporter. One student is quoted as saying, "I don't think anybody is really upset. They didn't know the guy (Thong) too well." What has been built up is a scene of cold indifference and even lust for blood.

At the same time, the article puts the blame on the Vietnamese youth themselves for somehow inviting harassment. "Like the other Vietnamese," the *Examiner* says, "he (Thong) seemed to prefer humiliation to fighting." One student is quoted as saying: "I guess the only people who get bothered are the people who make themselves outcasts. Only the ones who have problems can do something about it. They have to make themselves more acceptable.... Thong was too submissive. He just took it and walked away. That really pisses them off when you walk away." Part of this student's "quote" was picked up by UPI and appeared, among other places, in San Jose, where there is a sizeable Indochinese population.

One point that is repeated ad nauseam is that a big problem with the Vietnamese youth was that they "spoke English poor-



ly." After the above quote by the student about how the Vietnamese have to "make themselves more acceptable," the reporter goes on to inject the comment: "But the Vietnamese students couldn't manage high school slang. They couldn't gossip or study algebra with classmates." The very opening of the article, beginning with the quote from Thong's friend (using "them" instead of "they") is clearly meant to belittle the Vietnamese as not speaking "textbook" English. The article even manages to invoke Thong's own mother on this subject, who says, "He studied hard, but he didn't understand well the language."

One Davis High student wrote an angry letter to the *Examiner* exposing a number of lies in the article. The letter pointed out that there were at most two or three students egging on the fight — nothing like "a crowd cheering and whistling" mentioned in the article. Nor (as other witnesses also told the *RW*) did other students and teachers just passively watch the fight like "spectators," and then go back to class when the fight was over. Two teachers rushed immediately to the scene (although as the letter points out, even "immediately" in this case was too late), and three students administered emergency treatment to Thong before the ambulance arrived. The *Examiner* article made no mention of this, nor of the fact that a memorial fund is being collected by and from the community to help Thong's family. The letter ended: "Why did you wait until Sunday to run it on the front page of your paper several days after the incident? Should I believe less than half of what I read in your paper?" As for the quotes about the Vietnamese being "outcasts," the mother of the student wrote a letter to the Davis High principal accusing the reporter of misquoting her son, and saying that his intent was not to blame the Vietnamese, as the reporter implied, but rather to say he himself could

identify with the Vietnamese students. Certainly, the *Examiner* article was not designed to be subtle, nor overly concerned with the facts. It was meant to be a blunt hatchet that would leave crude and telling signals for certain forces to see. One intended effect is to further stir up and embolden the KKK and Nazi types in their attacks against non-whites, immigrants from oppressed nations and everything un-American. The article puts forth the Indochinese refugees as a perfect target for racist attacks — non-English-speaking, vulnerable, and submissive. Such a tack is in line with the recent barrage in the media attacking the Indochinese for everything from bringing TB to the U.S. and fishing with illegal nets to messing up apartment buildings. All this became very concrete only a day after the *Examiner* article appeared. The "White Students Union," a racist group from Sacramento, sneaked into Davis High in the early morning hours and dropped off over 1,000 leaflets denouncing immigrants for taking away jobs from whites and describing Pierman as an "inspiration to white students everywhere."

The *Examiner* article also takes a malicious swipe at the liberal politics of Davis, in particular the response on the part of many of the city's official figures to Thong's murder. After stating that Davis High's principal was preparing a message for the school assembly "that would 'heighten the students' consciousness' about sensitivity and conflict," the *Examiner* reporter dismisses this with one brisk touch: "It comes too late for Thong's mother, Phung, who wants to leave Davis...."

Now there is a certain truth being expressed here — a true confession, that is, from the viewpoint of the imperialists. The message being dropped on liberal Davis — with all the grace of a several-

Continued on page 10

More Reflections and Sketches

ON SAVIORS, REALISM AND WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM

by Bob Avakian

At first, I could only feel outrage upon hearing the report about an award given to Lillian Gish, and even more about her comments in connection with the infamous D.W. Griffith movie, *Birth of a Nation*, in which Gish was a "star." In response to a helpful interviewer's leading question — how do you answer the charge that this was a racist movie? (which of course and beyond any doubt it is, and therefore to even pose this as a "question" is to introduce apologies for the movie) — Gish let Woodrow Wilson speak for her. Wilson was President of the United States at the time *Birth of a Nation* was made (during WWI), and according to Gish, D.W. Griffith took the movie to the White House to show to Wilson. Wilson's comment, she said, was that it (the movie) was like writing history in lightning — and that it was all true!

Well, as I said, at first I could only feel outrage upon hearing about this. But then it struck me, how fitting it is after all — and what a perfect exposure. Wilson has been built up by the rulers of the country — and in general of the Western bloc — as a very symbol of democracy; more specifically, his name is advanced as the author of the pious declarations about the right of the nations to self-determination that came out of the Versailles Conference, where the victors in World War I sat down to carve up the spoils — in particular the colonial holdings — they had won and to dictate terms to the losers. Needless to say, the right of nations to self-determination did not apply to the oppressed nations that constituted the prizes for Wilson and his allies. Behind the "man of democracy" and the champion of self-determination — for all nations except those that our side holds as colonies, directly or indirectly — stands the real man, but more than that the imperialist Chief Executive, who hails a movie steeped in racism and reaction as a brilliant portrayal of the truth. How fitting indeed. And is it any wonder that the oppressed peoples around the world found nothing in Wilson & Co., after all, but the same old slavemasters?

But it is not a question of one man and his hypocrisy, no matter how significant they may be. Lenin once pointed out that all systems of exploitation require two functions, that of hangman and that of priest. In the same spirit we can say that so long as such systems continue to exist they will always have the need to bring forth saviors of the masses to console them in their misery and make more tolerable the terror and brutality that is the main and ultimate means of persuading the oppressed to accept their lot — and the present system that assigns them that lot. All this, including the need for saviors of this kind, is especially necessary in those times when the system is strained to the extreme and put to the test.

Before Woodrow Wilson there was Abraham Lincoln, "who freed the slaves," so they say. That Lincoln only signed the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves — belatedly, two years into the Civil War — because the needs of his class, the bourgeoisie, dictated it then and not out of any alleged belief in the "equality of man" is revealed very clearly in the following statements by Lincoln himself:

"There is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

"Negro equality! Fudge! How long, in the Government of a God great enough to make and rule the universe, shall there continue to be knives to vend, and fools to quip, so low a piece of demagogism as this."

(These statements by Lincoln, the first in a public debate in 1858 and the second in a private note in 1859, are cited by Stephen Jay Gould in his book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, page 35.)

We don't even have to talk about George Washington, "father of his country" and owner of slaves. But in Gould's book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, he cites statements by other "founding fathers" expressing flagrant racism. This includes not only Benjamin Franklin, but also a major theoretician, sometimes also called the "father" of "American democracy," Thomas Jefferson — after whom, incidentally (or not so incidentally) the American Communist Party names a number of its bookstores! Jefferson wrote that, "I advance it, therefore, as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstance, are inferior to the whites in the endowment both of body and of mind." (Gould, page 32)

Returning to the present century, since Woodrow Wilson there have been Franklin Delano Roosevelt and, in more recent times, the Kennedy clan put forward as fatherly protectors, saviors of the oppressed and downtrodden. Roosevelt, among other things, was the Commander-in-Chief of segregated armed forces for many years, while the Kennedy brothers belonged to exclusive, all-white social and country clubs, before this became too politically embarrassing and they resigned with much public fanfare. Of course, there have been many profound changes in the U.S. and the world as a whole since the time of Woodrow Wilson and WWI, or Roosevelt and WW2, and it is not possible for the oppressors — and the oppressors as saviors — of the masses to say certain things in the same way, without blush or disguise, as their

forefathers said them. But the point is precisely that the George Washingtons, Benjamin Franklins, Thomas Jeffersons, Abraham Lincolns and so on are indeed the political forefathers of the present day Presidents, Senators, Congressmen and the ruling class they represent. If you don't believe me, ask them.

But, again, the essential point is not that these are rotten leaders or false messiahs, but that a thoroughly rotten system, which was always based on exploitation and by now has long since outlived any historical usefulness, can only bring forth rot as leadership and at the same time must continue to manufacture these false messiahs. And on top of everything else, perhaps the most ridiculous and disgusting lie of all is that the oppressed have no other choice but to seek salvation through such a system and by placing their faith in whoever is sent forth as yet the latest in this endless succession of saviors. In political terms, this is called "working within the system" and a common variation on this theme, particularly in terms of exercising that great inalienable right to vote for one slavemaster or another, is called "choosing the lesser evil." Well, in the latest election farces, a beautiful example of this logic and where it leads was provided in the example of Black people in Alabama choosing the lesser evil and electing... George Wallace! Not the old, proudly, loudly and smugly racist George Wallace, of course, but the "new" George Wallace, man — nay, savior — of "all the people." If this is an extreme example, it is an extreme that proves the rule and shows this working within the system and choosing the lesser evil for what it is, in all its petty ridiculousness — and viciousness.

Yet this, according to the conventional wisdom and the ruling ideas, is called "Realism," while the program of a party such as ours — calling for the proletariat and other oppressed to abolish the system that produces and perpetuates the injuries and insults that are daily life, to abolish this through the same means that are used to enforce it — this is dismissed as "unrealistic" or attacked as irresponsible, or worse. To those who say so, we would like to ask: after how many more outrages have been endured, after how many more saviors have come along to cover for and help continue them, after how much more unnecessary poverty, suffering, sickness, death, war, murder, discrimination, degradation, humiliation and the lying promises of lesser evils, after how many more studies, how many more psychological experts and wise men trying to convince the oppressed it's their own fault — after how much of all this, and more, will it be alright for the oppressed to turn from the dead end of working within the system and accepting the lesser evil and embark on the only realistic road for them, the path of serious political preparation for the time when it will be possible to rise up and finally strike this down?!

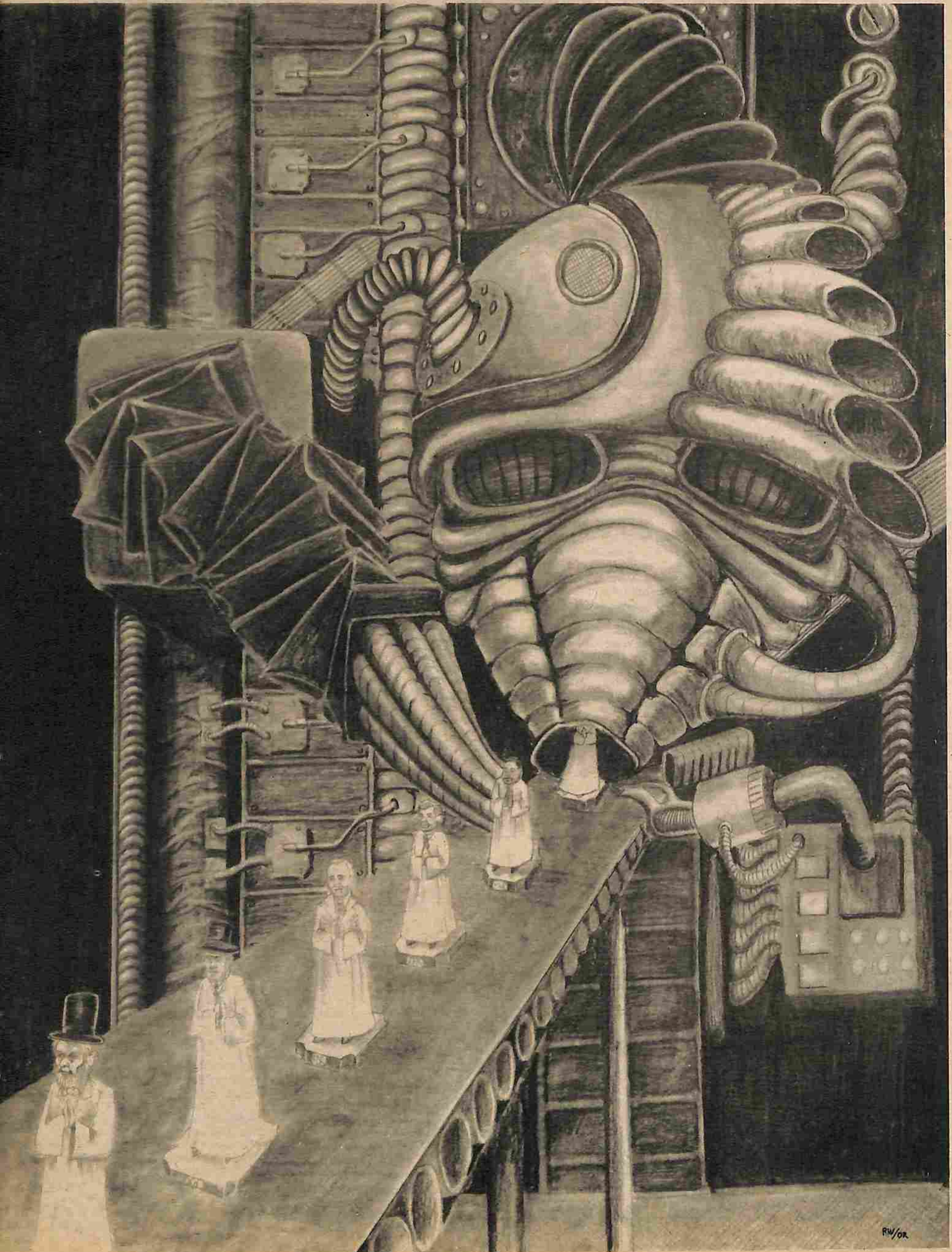
Let's bring this up to date and finish with it. As reported in the *New York Times* (Jan. 16, 1983), George Bush, former CIA head and now Vice President of the USA, "saluted the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. today for providing an example that nurtured his son into a leader of crusade (sic) for civil rights." Now Martin Luther King, Jr., quiet as it's kept, was promoted as a savior — in opposition to "more militant" leaders like Malcolm X — by powerful sections of the ruling class, represented especially by the Kennedys, and he was beholden to them. He had a mass following and was willing at times to mobilize masses, but he based his efforts on working for peaceful change within the system and through the intercession of elite elements among Black people dependent on the cooperation of such ruling class representatives. And when he was called upon to try to hold back the rising tide of Black rebellion, he answered this call, consistent with his own philosophy. Nothing demonstrates this more graphically or damningly than King's acts when Detroit was burst apart in 1967 by the most powerful of the Black urban rebellions of the '60s. A rebellion which even drew in a number of white proletarians to fight against the police and authorities — a rebellion which, in retaliation, was also marked by the cold-blooded murder of scores of Black people by the armed forces of the state but which nevertheless required not only the national guard but airborne army units to put it down. At this very time King declared, if blood must be spilled, let it be ours!

King himself was murdered, not to eliminate a real leader of the oppressed but as part of the same intense struggles within the ruling class that cut down those he was most close and most beholden to, the Kennedy brothers, John and Bobby. And now that King and the particular intra-ruling class struggles that he was caught up in have passed, the ruling class as a whole seeks to turn his death to their political advantage by using it to promote the myth that he must have been for the poor and oppressed, or else why did the mighty cut him down? But when George Bush can feel comfortable gushing unqualified praise for the model of Martin Luther King, that is a strong indication of who King belongs to.

The *New York Times* article ends with Bush delivering the following pat on the head: "You did teach in the end, and you taught us so much," the Vice President said. "You stood up before us white folks and said, 'I love you. Do you love me?'" So tonight I'll make it plain: Yes, we do. We truly do."

Well, excuse me while I throw up! And excuse us — or better yet, don't — when we overthrow. □

This article concludes the series "More Reflections and Sketches."



What's Haunting Baby Doc?



The latest round of carefully orchestrated elections in Haiti occurs amidst a continuing erosion in the social base of support propping up the Duvalier regime.

The series of austerity and disciplinary measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund in 1981-82, which were designed to cut down on the massive anarchy and corruption in the Haitian economy in order to streamline and "rationalize" it according to accepted international norms of imperialist exploitation and investment criteria, have had no positive effect on the immiserated condition of the Haitian peasantry and working class, but have greatly intensified the squabbling and feuding between different factions of the Duvalier family and others of the bureaucratic caste. The regime finds itself pitted against not only the broad masses of the Haitian people, but also practically the entire urban petty bourgeoisie and the pro-U.S. comprador bourgeoisie, which are ardently desirous of introducing a reform administration, though fearful of moving too fast and possibly inadvertently precipitating a popular upheaval.

"Baby Doc" Duvalier, "president for life" of Haiti and son of the notorious "Papa Doc," has reason to be somewhat leery of his U.S. patrons. Top U.S. Latin America and Caribbean policy specialists, while quarreling on many issues, could form a Greek chorus on the subject of getting rid of Duvalier and finding so-

meone more "suitable." Duvalier's ability to rely on the army is tenuous, because the Haitian officer corps, including the officers of the elite "Leopard" anti-guerrilla/anti-terrorist strike force, are all trained at U.S. military bases and well versed in the precepts of loyalty to the empire. The IMF, which has sought to get a hammerlock on Haitian finance, ramrodded one of its own employees into the post of Haiti's Minister of Finance as a condition for continued economic assistance. Duvalier finally found a way to sack the man, but Baby Doc still cannot shake the uneasy feeling that Big Brother is not only watching, but that his trigger finger is getting itchy. There is, after all, a certain unsettling ambiguity in the official appellation, "president for life."

Against this background, the scheduled municipal and parliamentary elections may be seen as a rather pathetic attempt to demonstrate progress toward "reform" and "modernization" by the Duvalier regime. Not only the United States, but also the French, the Germans, the Israelis, and the Chinese are influential in Haitian political, economic, and military affairs, and they all have something to say about the demonstrated incompetence of Duvalier. As in El Salvador and elsewhere, "democratic elections" are always a good way to establish a regime's "bona fides" and are something to point to as an earnest of "clear progress," and as collateral against the next loan or the next stay of execution.

The acquiescence of the Duvalier regime to such election rigmaroles in recent years (the current round is not the first) has been grudging, but it has been forthcoming — because, for one thing, Duvalier himself does not have to run.

In most areas of Haiti, the elections are greeted with elaborate indifference by the populace: there are more pressing problems to worry about, the candidates are unexciting, no one is greatly fooled. There are several parties running on "opposition" platforms: the two largest are the Christian Democrats, supported mainly by the United States, and the Social Democrats, who are also closer perhaps to the United States official labor movement than to the Social Democrats of Europe. Another group, IFO PADA, is closely affiliated politically with the French Socialist Party, and draws support generally from European capital.

In the north of Haiti, at Cap Haitien, a more militant and openly anti-Duvalier sentiment prevails. A certain freedom exists at Cap Haitien that is not to be found in other parts of the country: the Ton-Ton Macoutes, Duvalier's terrorist goon squads, don't have the courage to roam the open streets at Cap Haitien, because sometimes they end up the victims. At Cap Haitien, the elections are a hotter issue, although the candidates, despite a more colorful strain of anti-Duvalier rhetoric, are not running on a platform that goes beyond cosmetic reforms and "modernization" of Haitian administra-

tion within the existing economic and political superstructure.

But the tepidity of the election process is misleading, precisely because it represents what may be a last feeble attempt to prolong by a few years the Duvalier era.

Simultaneously, the contradiction between the regime and the masses, contradictions within the regime and within the Haitian ruling classes, and contradictions between the regime and imperialism are all intensifying past the point of amelioration. For the United States, the stabilization of Haiti is a critical part of its Caribbean Basin strategy. Currently under construction is a major U.S. military naval air base at the Haitian port zone of Môle-St. Nicholas, which is seen by U.S. planners as a nest-egg against the possible loss of the Guantanamo naval air base in Cuba, the lease on which expires in the late 1990s (although other events could supervene to terminate U.S. tenancy in the meanwhile). □

Pogrom

Continued from page 7

megaton nuclear warhead — is that all this concern and "sensitivity" about the racist killing is futile and out of date. To listen to the *Examiner*, a tide of reaction and chauvinism is engulfing nearly everything, turning youth into unfeeling monsters, and Davises into Muskogees. While many in Davis would undoubtedly echo the sentiments of the pastor of the Davis Community Church who asked in a sermon, "How did it happen? Who is to blame? and I find that those questions take us into some very complex territory," the *Examiner* dismisses such questioning with a wave of its editorial hand, and goes on with the business of slandering the victim, apologizing for the murderer, and setting up the Vietnamese for further attacks. The *Examiner*, for its reactionary reasons, has thrust some formidable political questions onto the agenda in this town, which do make the

politics of "sensitivity" and reform pale in comparison.

The bourgeois media has for some time now maintained two faces toward the immigrants from Indochina. On the one hand there is the incessant stream of chauvinist shit exemplified by the *Examiner* article on the death of Thong Hy Huynh. On the other hand there is the widespread and favorable publicity given to pro-U.S. reactionaries — former puppet government and military officials and their social base among the better-off Vietnamese who came to the U.S. in general, in the period just after the NLF victory. Mass reactionary, in some cases paramilitary, organizations have arisen among these upper strata Indochinese who publicly "confirm" a message very much needed by the U.S. imperialists — that life under the revisionists now in Indochina is worse than before the defeat of the U.S., and that (by direct implication) the U.S. should never have left. Clearly, this is of immense help in rehabilitating the "cause" of U.S. imperialism, and in targeting the Soviet Union in preparation for world war.

It is not difficult to see some of the reasons why the bourgeoisie would need to turn loose one section of Indochinese, while attempting to cage in and intimidate others. These "others" among the refugees represent a potential live grenade in the claws of the imperialists, not only because they find themselves at the very bottom of U.S. society and a target of American chauvinism at every turn, but because of their experiences in seeing, and in some cases fighting against, both U.S. imperialism and the Vietnamese revisionist regime. There are ethnic Chinese proletarians, for example, who were influenced by Mao and revolutionary China, fought to liberate Vietnam from the U.S. and then were literally thrown out to sea at the time of the war between the revisionists of China and Vietnam in 1978.

There is also, it would seem, an attempt to force the oppressed Indochinese under the wing of the more reactionary strata of Indochinese. The more recent and more oppressed immigrants are, as in the *Examiner* article, constantly bombarded with reminders that they are

isolated and vulnerable to attack, and that their only hope is to huddle closer together under the guardianship of the "tough, responsible leaders" in the Indochinese community. And who are these "leaders," those civic-minded figures who have the connections, who might be able to locate a meagre-paying job, who can speak a familiar language or teach English? Today, they are largely those very reactionary frontmen for the U.S. imperialists. This is a further way, apparently, in which the bourgeoisie hopes to blunt the anger and political explosiveness of the Indochinese, and to influence as many as possible with their reactionary "anti-communist" (read: anti-Soviet imperialist) politics, by driving the immigrants under the wing of their "chosen community leaders."

For the *Examiner*, then, and for those of its ilk, there is much at stake in the coverage of this incident in a Davis schoolyard, stakes too large to be bothered with petty concerns such as what really happened. □

Apartheid: Problem Child Of Imperialism

Over the last month or so, major representatives of the U.S. imperialist press, specifically the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, have been issuing open and urgent calls for a change in the relationship between the U.S. and South Africa. A central point in these calls has been the condemnation of the apartheid regime in South Africa and the branding of the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" as a failure in its attempt to achieve a semblance of stability in South Africa and in the region of southern Africa as a whole. The *Times* and the *Post* have been joined in this effort by recent congressional opposition to the current U.S. policy in southern Africa; on May 5, a House of Representatives Banking Subcommittee voted to bar U.S. participation in International Monetary Fund loans to the South African government on the basis of its continued apartheid set-up.

Numerous other figures, often associated with the "Andy Young line" in foreign policy, that is, the more refined neo-colonial line of "working together" with the various nationalist movements and governments in the region as opposed to "one-sidedly" embracing the apartheid regime, have reemerged as headlines over the last few weeks in connection with southern Africa. In this light, the Reverend Leon Sullivan, the author of the Sullivan principles in the mid-1970s — supposedly a code of conduct for U.S. corporations operating in South Africa and a vehicle through which these corporations would be able to play a role in gradually "reforming" apartheid — has been brought back into the picture. On May 10, Sullivan appeared as a guest col-

umnist on the editorial pages of the *Washington Post*. In his column, entitled "It's Time to Step Up the Pressure on South Africa," Sullivan bemoans the pace of change in South Africa over the last six years. While pointing to the various minor reforms and cosmetic changes in the apartheid regime during this period, Sullivan declared: "Unfortunately, even considering these beginnings, the vast changes necessary are not happening fast enough. The necessity for greater changes — visible, broad, effective and quick — is imperative." (The types of minor changes hailed as signs of reform in apartheid are actually quite indicative of what such anti-apartheid reformers as Sullivan have in mind for the future of South Africa — the training of a handful of black Azanians to serve in skilled jobs and a few supervisory positions, the beginnings of desegregation in the factories throughout South Africa in spite of the laws against this, and a few other petty social reforms, aimed at creating a black middle class to serve as a buffer between the government and the Azanian people.) Calling for nothing short of an end to apartheid, Sullivan held out the possibility of achieving "fundamental change" through peaceful means, but warned that the only alternative may well turn out to be "massive conflict and a devastating war."

In the wake of the bombing of the South African Air Force headquarters by the pro-Soviet forces of the African National Congress (ANC), the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* both seized on the opportunity to step up their "anti-apartheid" activity. On May 24, the *Post* ran an editorial which practically

justified the ANC bombing and condemned the apartheid regime. Even the all-purpose bogeyman of international terrorism, so much in fashion over the last couple of years, was dragged out and raked over the coals. "But it (the South African government — *RW*) deserves little sympathy. No act of terrorism can be justified. Yet plainly in South Africa special factors operate. The racist system by which the white minority rules is evil, and the blacks who are its principal victims have virtually no possibility of changing it peacefully. South Africa appeals for support on the basis that it is combatting something, terrorism, to which all civilized people must be opposed. But terrorism is, in its South African incarnation, something the South Africans have created themselves." The *Post* editorial went on to call for "any sort of discussion at all" with the "black majority" in South Africa, and declared the apartheid system to be the root of all "underlying tension" not only in South Africa itself but throughout the entire region. Two days later, the *Times* ran a similar editorial along with a guest column which stated that the cosmetic reforms of the apartheid regime "will not likely satisfy the black majority — which will be the final arbiter of change in South Africa." And, common to all of the anti-apartheid criticisms from these quarters of late, has been an outright rejection of simplistic solutions to the problems in southern Africa and a denunciation of a foreign policy supposedly based on knee-jerk anti-Sovietism, or, as one *Post* columnist put it, a "fly by the seat of Reagan's pants" foreign policy.

From all of the above it is obvious that a significant section of the U.S. ruling class is none too happy about the current state of affairs in southern Africa. What stands out in all of this is the dripping hypocrisy contained within all their pious pronouncements against the "evil" apartheid. After all, it was less than a year ago that both the *Times* and the *Post* were referring to the Afrikaners, descendants

of the Dutch colonial settlers in South Africa, as the "white tribe" of the region which had somehow just naturally come into dominance in South Africa. And, it was many of these same horrified imperialist gentlemen who not only helped sire the apartheid system in southern Africa but also nurtured and maintained it for decades. Now, suddenly, these same gentlemen are crying "foul" — they have come to recognize the evil that is their child, and they are ready to carry out their painful duty.

In reality, the only evil that these imperialists have come to recognize is that the continued existence of the apartheid regime poses difficulties for their strategic designs in southern Africa. The key to their sudden discovery lies in the international situation and the quickening pace of developments towards world war. The bottom line in their opposition to apartheid and rejection of "knee-jerk" anti-Sovietism is not whether or not opposition to the Soviet imperialists in today's world should be the basis for U.S. foreign policy, but how best to really oppose the Soviets. The "evil" they recognize in apartheid has nothing to do with the fascist oppression of the Azanian masses or with the military and economic domination by the apartheid regime throughout the area. In fact, if anything, in the eyes of the U.S. imperialists these remain the strong points of the apartheid regime.

But the U.S. imperialists are in somewhat of a bind here. An important part of the U.S. strategy in southern Africa involves pulling all of the various pro-U.S. regimes in the region into a working alliance with the main economic and military power in the area, South Africa. And, more importantly, it requires the maintenance and fortification of a strong and relatively stable South Africa as the major player with regard to forging an effective opposition to their Soviet imperialist rivals. At the same time, however, the fact that the apartheid regime rules South

Continued on page 14

Bob
Avakian
on
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One month into the government's prosecution of revolutionary nationalists and supporters indicted on federal RICO (Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organizations) violations plus other charges, a telling picture is surfacing of the depth and scope of the activities of the political police. As each new round of "evidence" is introduced and as each new prosecution witness testifies, the government succeeds in unraveling in greater detail just what it has been up to for over the past year and a half.

In this case the focus of attack has centered on revolutionary nationalists including the Republic of New Afrika, former Black Panther Party members, and the Black Liberation Army. Others being targeted include members of the May 19th Communist Organization. The defendants on trial — Sekou Odinga, Bilal Sunni-Ali, Chui Ferguson, Jamal (Edward Joseph) and Silvia Baraldini — are being tried on charges of constituting a "criminal enterprise" and engaging in and conspiring to engage in the activities of the enterprise through a "pattern of racketeering," along with charges of felony armed robbery and murder. A sixth defendant, Illiana Robinson, is charged with accessory after the fact. The RICO indictment was returned by a grand jury 13 months after the October 20, 1981 attempted Brinks expropriation in Nyack, Rockland County, New York. This is obviously no "criminal trial" — though the government attempts to retain the thinnest of veneers to this effect. In fact, the indictment and trial are a blatant political attack and they mark the first time the government has attempted to use the broad, sweeping powers of the RICO statutes (allegedly designed to break up organized crime) to go after revolutionaries. This indictment was superseded three times, adding new names and charges along the way. Half of the defendants named are still being sought by the police. Efforts to continue to snatch up people include the FBI mailing out, in January 1983, a circular to thousands of health food stores, medical clinics, optometrists and opticians throughout the country which asks for their cooperation in the capture of Marilyn Buck. The circular contained Marilyn Buck's photo, her physical description, eyeglass prescription and medical needs. In the course of this lengthy investigation a number of people have been subpoenaed to the grand jury. Eight people are still in prison for refusing to cooperate with this grand jury; the grand jury which was established in October 1981 has recently been extended for another six months.

Use of Informants

The government's case in court consists of informants, government agents and selected items seized in numerous searches — in that order. RICO has very broad rules of evidence. In a sense there are none, at least as far as what the government can do. The prosecution's case is grounded primarily in the testimony of informants. There is a specific reason for this. A key informant to date has been Tyrone Rison, one of several informants prosecutors plan to bring forward. Rison was named as an unindicted "co-racketeer" in the indictment and since has pleaded guilty and agreed to testify for the government in exchange for promises of leniency and the release of his wife from prison on a separate robbery conviction in Georgia. The logic and the legality behind using Rison goes like this: as a self-confessed member of an alleged criminal enterprise anything that Rison said was admissible against the defendants. Rison could and did go on at length for days naming the defendants and others as participating in a number of alleged acts. Rison said things like, \$50,000 was given to Assata Shakur by defendants after her prison escape. Rison stated he did not see the money nor the alleged transaction. So how could he testify about it? Because he *heard* one of the defendants say that that was going to happen. Rison placed Bilal Sunni-Ali at the scene of a robbery in the Bronx. No security guard or anyone else has ever identified Bilal as being there nor is there any other "evidence" which places him there. But Rison's testimony was admissible *simply* because Rison as a co-conspirator said it happened. Rison also stated that another defendant was a weapons expert. How did he know? Because another defendant (who is a



Political Police Spin RICO Web In Brinks Trial

fugitive and not even in court) told him so. Whereas in a state case in straight-up robbery charges such testimony could be ruled inadmissible as hearsay, anything Rison said was perfectly admissible.

In fact, without Rison, and other informants, the government would have a hard, if not impossible time proceeding with this trial at all. Not one armored car security guard in any alleged robbery has ever identified any of the defendants as being participants. (In one embarrassing instance it came out in court that a security guard had identified Chui Ferguson as a suspect in one case, but the problem was that Ferguson had been in prison at the time the robbery occurred.)

The prosecution followed up Rison's testimony by introducing a host of government agents and "physical evidence" designed to make Rison credible. For instance Rison testified that he and defendants used certain weapons and handcuffs in robberies and stored money in a safe in a "safe house" in Mount Vernon, New York. So the government brought out a steady stream of pigs to testify that they had seized such and such weapons, while the prosecutor passed out bags of bullets, handcuffs and pictures of safes to the anonymous jury. But this physical evidence in and of itself is completely circumstantial — illegal possession of weapons (which no one is charged with) is not exactly proof of committing robbery.

The government also brought in a green ledger book they stated was found in the Mount Vernon "safe house." Rison testified that it was a financial record of how robbed money was used. Under questioning by the defense, however, Rison could not find *one entry* in the ledger for the amount of the alleged stolen monies. What the government is up to with this ledger is two-fold: firstly, it's to legitimize the use of RICO in this trial, e.g., to show illegally gotten money being used to "infiltrate legitimate business" which is more what RICO was supposed to be about. However, some of the "legitimate businesses" contained in this ledger turn out to be very political. For instance, there are entries for a support committee for a former Black Panther Party leader, Geronimo Pratt, one for ZANU, and one for the BAAANA Acupuncture Clinic in Harlem. And, secondly, if the government gets away with using the ledger as a record of illegal doings they establish yet another basis for targeting more and more individuals and groups for being connected up with the "criminal enterprise."

The "Evidence" Rope

Some of the evidence that has been introduced by the prosecution has nothing to do with the jury determining whether or not particular acts were even committed by the defendants. The reason for this is contained in the elasticity of RICO with the government offering just enough "proof" of alleged acts in order to establish the wide scope of activities of the "enterprise" and to rope in more people for being involved in one way or

another. For example, Sekou Odinga and Silvia Baraldini are accused of participating in a prison escape of Assata Shakur. (Technically RICO does not include prison escapes as an indictable act, so they are instead accused of kidnapping prison guards in the course of the prison escape.) The escape occurred in New Jersey. The court in New York does not even have jurisdiction over this. Likewise with evidence being introduced about a robbery in Inwood, New York. Inwood, too, is out of the court's jurisdiction. But evidence is being introduced as to these alleged crimes so the defendants can be convicted not specifically of committing these alleged crimes but of engaging in racketeering which these alleged acts are supposed to be a part of.

In fact a defendant need not be convicted of anything but being "in association" with the "criminal enterprise" and also conspiring to conduct the activities of the enterprise even when these alleged attempted activities never occurred. And in this indictment there are nine such alleged attempted acts which have never happened. Some rather outrageous evidence has been introduced to connect defendants as members of this criminal enterprise. For instance, Doctor Mutulu Shakur from the Harlem BAAANA Clinic is being sought by the political police and is accused of participating in every alleged act in the indictment. The prosecutor brought in as evidence against Jamal an invitation to an open house for the BAAANA Clinic which was seized from Jamal's apartment!

Further, it came out in court through questioning by defense attorneys that in the course of "safe house" searches every nook and cranny was dusted for fingerprints — apartment walls, bathroom and kitchen sinks, items like a bottle of cooking oil, a bathroom mirror, shower heads. Hair from sink drains and combs were carted off and sealed in government files. Even garbage was seized and dusted for prints. Books, papers — some of them personal items like rent receipts — and of course volumes of political literature were seized and checked for fingerprints, some of them subjected to the latest techniques. In total some 21 million fingerprints have been tested for. Three to four million comparisons of fingerprints have been made by the FBI. This trial still has some months to go, but one can expect the government to introduce incriminating "evidence" such as the four fingerprints belonging to Silvia Baraldini, most of which were found on publicly published documents of the May 19th Communist Organization seized in apartment searches.

The trial proceedings have also revealed that the investigation by the political police against sections of revolutionary nationalists was well under way *before* the October 20, 1981 Brinks incident. This is important because the bourgeoisie has sought to hang their justification for their all-out spying expedition on "solving the Brinks case." Under cross examination by the defense, government agents admitted that a select list of names

of individuals who were known activists in the Black liberation movement as well as other political individuals was submitted several times by FBI agents for fingerprint comparisons. This took place in June of 1981 as the government was already investigating a series of armored car robberies and attempting to make a link-up with radical groups. Some of the names it submitted included Basheer Hameed (James York) and Abdul Majid (Anthony Laborde) who would later be indicted, tried and convicted of charges of attempted murder of a New York City cop. Others included a member of SDS who is now a lawyer with the ACLU and Timothy Adams, who was a member of the Black Panther Party and who was either in prison at the time of these robberies or confined to a wheelchair after he was finally released from jail. Further, surveillance photos of defendants being used in this trial were taken well before October 20. In addition the grand jury which ultimately returned this RICO indictment was impeached two weeks before the October 20, 1981 incident. In this period, things like the financial records of the May 19th Communist Organization were subpoenaed by the government and automatically turned over to them by the banks. Indeed, all the political police need do is claim to be conducting a RICO investigation to start issuing subpoenas, placing wiretaps, etc. — all of which of course can be admitted as evidence at a later date.

While the parameters of what the prosecution has been able to bring into court have been very broad, conversely the judge has restricted at many points attempts by the defense to ask certain questions which would reveal the political nature of the government's attack. Questions by the defense of government agents concerning an FBI-compiled photo album of Black militants was not allowed. Inquiries about the government's COINTELPRO activities of the past were not allowed. And in one instance the judge would not allow the defense to ask the head detective in charge of investigating a robbery in the Bronx about a police report which contained descriptions given to his department by eyewitnesses; the judge ruled that *this* would be hearsay since the detectives had not personally interviewed the witnesses. Behind this was the fact that these descriptions as well as police sketches of suspects in no way resembled any of the defendants.

Keeping RICO to Use RICO

A few months ago the court of appeals in New York reversed an earlier RICO conviction of right-wing Croatian nationalists because the court considered that their criminal terrorist activities were conducted for political purposes and not financial and therefore did not constitute a RICO violation. A second court of appeals decision quickly overturned this one and reaffirmed the RICO conviction against the Croatian nationalists arguing that to consider it political motivation would risk "politicization" of RICO trials. Indeed the pruning of RICO as part of the weaponry to go after political opposition has been going on at the top levels of the government. On June 24, 1982 FBI Director William Webster testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, stating that "I believe our domestic security investigations today are best understood if they are viewed as another form of criminal intelligence. They entail not only determining who committed specific acts, but also how those individuals are related to others similarly motivated, how they are financed and supported logistically, and who their leadership is... (Terrorists) should be pursued as organized criminal enterprises and the FBI should undertake to gather both criminal intelligence and evidence for the prosecution. This would allow us to cross organizational lines in our investigation without regard to what the particular group or element of the group might call itself."

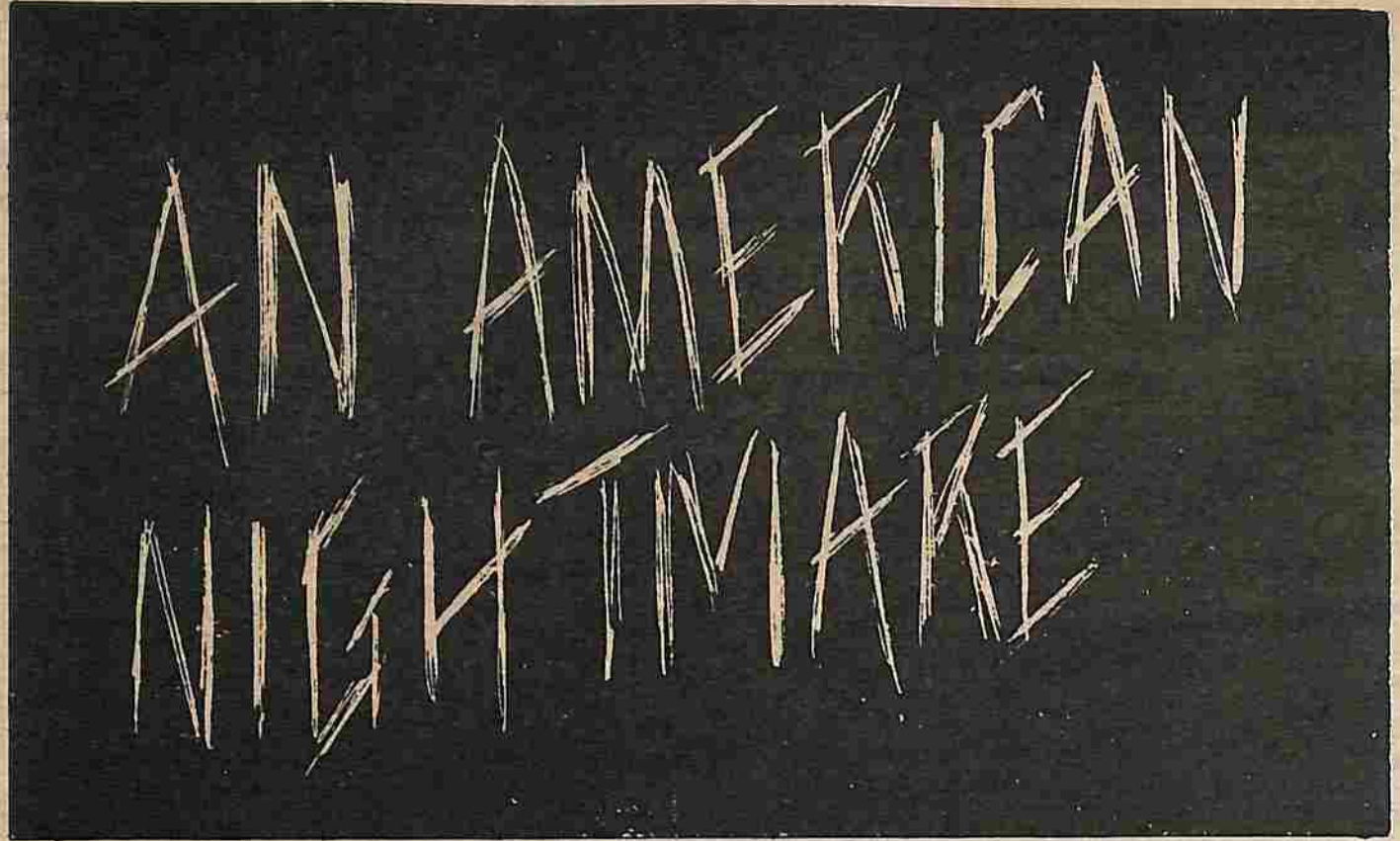
The trial currently going on in New York City certainly figures in as a major effort to break the ground in using RICO against revolutionary forces and is part of bigger preparations being made now by the bourgeoisie to investigate and to develop methods designed to crush political opposition, particularly in preparation for more turbulent times ahead. □

On the early morning of Saturday, May 21, the building manager of an apartment building in Seattle's University District, a white ex-cop, ex-Marine named Richard Botimer, gunned down Ray O'Neal, a Black University of Washington drama student. Despite the fact that this brutal murder was witnessed by several residents of the apartment building, the killer was set loose two days later and the prosecutor delayed ten days after the killing, supposedly investigating, before finally filing charges against Botimer.

It was early Saturday morning when Courtney Mortimer and Donald Chapman returned to their apartment along with Ray O'Neal and Chapman's brother, Marc. Shortly thereafter a resident of the apartment building next door, which Botimer also manages, saw Botimer out in the alley. During a conversation that followed, Botimer pulled a pistol out of his pocket and told of his attempts to have Chapman and Mortimer evicted from the building. The resident, Darryl Jenkins, tried to convince Botimer not to go up to the apartment. "He (Botimer) said: 'I am an ex-cop and a former Marine, and I can handle the situation,'" Jenkins told the University of Washington *Daily*. And Jenkins added, "He had his mind set on violence." When Botimer arrived at the door of Mortimer's and Chapman's apartment, an argument quickly started. When Ray intervened on his friends' behalf, Botimer pulled out his gun. According to one account of the scene Botimer pulled his gun out and began waving it around, threatening Ray and his friends; when Ray told him to put the gun down and began to push him away, Botimer fired one shot at Ray, hitting him in the chest, fired again at him, and then fired a third shot in the direction of Ray's friends.

The authorities, from the very beginning, made it clear they had no intention of charging Botimer in what was a clear case of premeditated murder. Botimer was brought in and was later seen drinking coffee with Seattle police detectives at the precinct station. On the other hand, Ray's two friends, eyewitnesses to the murder, were grabbed by the police, jabbed with billyclubs, held in a partial chokehold around the neck and taken down to the same precinct where they were interrogated for some four hours. "We were treated like we were responsible for shooting Ray," one of them said at a press conference held later.

Botimer was held for investigation for two days, but it was obvious that the authorities intended to do nothing. On



the Monday following the murder, Botimer was released on \$20,000 bond. By the following Wednesday still no charges were filed and the bond was dropped as well. A police source later told one newspaper that they hadn't even finished the investigation by Wednesday because, in the newspaper's words, "Until the extent of feelings about the shooting became known, police had considered the event a routine case." In other words, just another Black lynched — nothing to get excited about.

However, authorities got a good taste of the "extent of feelings" this murder has triggered as protests erupted for 3 days in a row. Angry Black students jammed the courtroom where the Wednesday proceedings were held, and cries of "Murderer! Murderer!" filled the air. After Botimer had been released and whisked out of the back entrance by officials, the students jammed into the County Prosecutor's office demanding to see the prosecutor and know why no charges had been filed. The prosecutor, obviously caught off guard, could do no more than claim he couldn't do anything until the "investigation" had been completed and say that he would decide whether to press charges "in the next cou-

ple of days." Later the prosecutor's office stalled again, saying a decision would be made by the following Tuesday or Wednesday.

Meanwhile University officials joined in the official silence. Botimer, who is also a UW student, was still going to classes, and the University had nothing to say in reply to the many students and others who were demanding to know why a known killer was being allowed to freely roam the campus. In fact, it may well be that the University was actively protecting Botimer as students reported seeing him being driven around campus in a state owned car.

On the following day, Thursday, some 150 angry students marched through the campus and then continued over to the nearby apartment building where Ray O'Neal was murdered. On Friday a memorial for Ray O'Neal was held in the student union building as part of Black Awareness Week. And the following Wednesday a press conference of several Black community leaders, which was attended by many of Ray's family and some of the witnesses to the murder, was held to denounce the authorities' handling of the case.

On that same Wednesday, finally, the

prosecutor announced his decision to press charges of second degree murder against Botimer. The prosecutor's office was obviously facing a hard decision, and decided the best way to deal with the situation was to go through the motions of "prosecuting" the case in the hope of cooling the situation out. This is hardly a new trick, the pretense of prosecuting is a standard tactic in dealing with such situations.

A professor in the University's drama department described Ray as "terribly talented and gifted." He had appeared in a number of plays, auditioned and won a place in the University's advanced drama class for the next year, and won a summer scholarship as part of the Spencer Tracy Memorial acting program. "They're always talking about making something out of yourself," Ray's brother told the *RW*. "He was doing it...he had a dream. The great American dream — I call it the great American nightmare because they put it in your head. But every time you get it in your head they wake you up and say, 'hey, nigger, you're still here.'... There's no way to protect yourself and your family from this monster, it's too big and too hungry. You've got to kill the monster." □

Apartheid: Problem Child of Imperialism

Continued from page 11

Africa has given rise to numerous and sharp political problems. It has proven to be politically difficult for the U.S. to pull the various pro-U.S. regimes into an open alliance with the South African apartheid regime. This has to do both with the contradictions between these various bourgeois nationalist governments and South Africa, and the effect which these forces entering into an alliance with the apartheid regime would have on the contradiction between the governments and the masses of people in their own countries. And, in a certain sense, the continued existence of the apartheid regime has also somewhat limited the political, economic, and military role South Africa can play in the region — especially in terms of countering Soviet influence and facilitating U.S. inroads into the various pro-Soviet regimes in the area.

And beyond all this, the U.S. is also confronted with the extremely important requirement of maintaining a stable South Africa. Obviously, the apartheid regime can only continue to heighten the contradiction between the Azanian masses and the South African ruling class and their U.S. sponsors as well as providing good conditions for pro-Soviet forces. A wave of rebellion or revolutionary upsurge among the Azanian people clearly has the potential of upsetting the entire U.S. apperant, not only in South Africa

and southern Africa but throughout the entire continent.

How to set up the best possible alignment of forces in preparation for war against the Soviets — this is the central issue around which differences within the U.S. ruling class have recently surfaced. Over the last few years, U.S. policy has centered around openly embracing the apartheid regime, buttressing it up and relying on its sheer economic and military prowess to bully the rest of the region into line. However, it now appears as though at least a section of the U.S. imperialists have summed up that apartheid, for all its past service to U.S. interests, raises more stumbling blocks in the way of achieving overall U.S. goals than it is worth. And, while these imperialists are not especially fond of any such "changing of regimes," due to the potential political turmoil and forces that could be unleashed by such a move, when the alternative appears to be a potentially massive disruption of U.S. plans throughout the region, there is a compelling argument to recognize, call out and change the "prevailing evil." In the view of these forces, at the very least a substantial reworking of the political scenario in South Africa is required. While this new scenario undoubtedly envisions major changes in the apartheid set-up, it most likely does not involve scrapping every aspect of it and totally abandoning the Afrikaners. Such a move could also

be disastrous for the U.S. imperialists, both because of the potential conflict with the Afrikaners that it would undoubtedly spark off, and because, to put it plainly, some of the finer points of repression and domination that have been refined by the apartheid regime over the years will still be a major requirement for what the U.S. has to do in South Africa and southern Africa. This new scenario seems more designed to serve as a pressure release and to possibly fashion some sort of ruling alliance between the Afrikaners, other sections of the South African ruling class, and whatever black oppositional forces can be brought in.

At the very least, this scenario involves setting up a "loyal opposition" inside South Africa which would join forces like those headed by Harry Oppenheimer, one of the main South African industrialists and an imperialist in his own right, and other members of the "enlightened" section of the South African ruling class, together with various moderate and "radical" black forces. Oppenheimer is a particularly interesting political force in South Africa and is revealing in terms of just what the content of this new political arrangement would be. Oppenheimer is the head of the Anglo American Corporation and runs most of the mining operations in South Africa (interestingly enough, he also runs much of the mining in many of the other countries in the region, both pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet). Aligned with the so-called "enlightened" section of the South African ruling class, Oppenheimer, recently featured in a *New York Times Magazine* article as an "arch capitalist and would-be reformer," has thrown his support behind the Progressive Federal Party and come out openly

against apartheid and in favor of a "one man, one vote" political system in South Africa. It is forces such as those represented by Oppenheimer that the U.S. imperialists who have recently come out against apartheid would see playing a role in a "new South Africa." It is noteworthy that Oppenheimer and his political camp are also seen by the Soviet imperialists as potential allies in any attempt by forces aligned with the Soviets to come to power in South Africa.

The fact that these differences over how to proceed are surfacing in the press now is also somewhat timely in terms of the "sensitive negotiations" currently being carried out by the U.S. and its allies throughout southern Africa — including meetings between South Africa and Angola; South Africa and Mozambique; the U.S. and Angola; the U.S. and Mozambique; and the continuing negotiations around Namibia. As the May 24 edition of the *Washington Post* put it: "What is clear, however, is that many winds are swirling in and around this powderkeg region. What happens in the next few weeks may set a pattern in southern Africa for a long time."

Although the differences within the ranks of the U.S. ruling class have yet to be resolved, the U.S. imperialists as a whole are firmly united around what overall has to be pulled together and done in southern Africa. Their differences are tactical differences and the struggle is over how to shore up and serve the greater interests of U.S. imperialism in preparation for war. At the same time, however, these differences oftentimes give rise to splits and cracks through which a genuine revolutionary upsurge may very well take root and flourish. □

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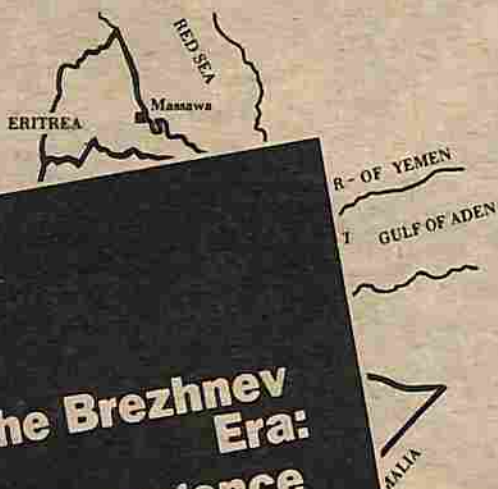
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