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**Chile:
U.S. Ponders Life
After Pinochet**



Almost ten years after the U.S. put its torturer-general Pinochet in power amid the slaughter of 30,000 Chileans, ABC News suddenly discovered that the Generalissimo is so "isolated" that he "may have to resort to the force of arms." On June 26, the *New York Times* announced that a "secret Gallup poll" had concluded that Pinochet had to go. The *Times* didn't say whether old Gallup had just polled the State Department or broader U.S. imperialist circles. What these announcements have revealed is that Pinochet is becoming increasingly isolated from the U.S. ruling class because the open force of arms which the U.S. advised and conspired to launch in the first place and which has been the junta's trademark ever since is now no longer working the way it used to.

The waves of protests and strikes battering the regime escalated abruptly May 1, when 600 demonstrators attacked by police attacked right back in a two-hour battle that raged through Santiago's main thoroughfares. A general strike against the regime — the first general strike in nearly a decade — was called for May 11 by Rodolfo Seguel, president of the state-run Copper Miners' Union (CTC), one of the few major unions where the Christian Democrats have had some influence.

Seguel called off the strike on May 10, after meeting with the U.S. embassy.
Continued on page 14

800 Livermore Demonstrators Still Interned

"We have a little problem," said Judge Al Lewis on Wednesday, June 22, two days after the mass arrest of over 1000 blockaders at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. "The protesters are refusing to be loaded on the buses." As we went to press, a week and a half after the original actions, there were still nearly 700 demonstrators in jail, still refusing to be loaded on the buses for arraignment and sentencing; they were resisting the harshest terms for sentencing yet offered to blockaders at Livermore, or to any anti-nuke civil disobedience in the Bay Area. Livermore's "little problem" had become a national political sore point for the government. By Tuesday, June 28, the local judges dropped the most controversial part of the sentence that they had been trying to impose: two years probation for all arrested. Yet most protesters were still refusing to plead guilty, demanding the remaining penalties — fines of \$500 — be dropped, and that people be released with time served.

Livermore officials made it widely known in the weeks since the demonstration why they were demanding these heavy sentences. There have been no less than eight demonstrations against Livermore labs in the past year alone, as one government official pointed out. With anti-nuke sentiment certain to heat up even more both here and in Europe, perhaps in the very near future, there is a necessity for the imperialists to make moves like these. Many activists pointed out, for example, that two years probation would mean that anyone arrested for anti-nuke activity while on probation would face six months in jail.

On top of the demand for probation, the Livermore courts had at first demanded that any demonstrators trying to get bailed out without pleading guilty had to pay the full \$1000 bail instead of the usual 10%; demonstrators who gave false names (the great majority) were charged with an extra misdemeanor; on top of all that, the conditions inside the jail got increasingly oppressive as the week wore on. Demonstrators were denied access to most reading material, including local newspapers; when about 150 demonstrators went on a hunger strike, partly in solidarity with a hunger strike by those arrested for demonstrations against the Trident-missile submarines in Groton, Connecticut, and partly to protest nukes and the conditions of release, jail officials made a rule that all arrested had to go through the food lines, whether eating or not! "This is not Camp Friendly or Camp Sunshine," growled the jail commander when he announced the new rules, which included orders that sanitary napkins, sheets, toilet paper and cups be used only for their "intended purposes."

After a week of this, Assistant DA Hurley blustered to the press, "Sooner or later, the unity of these people, their own silliness, is going to reflect on them. I think they really feel they're proving something. They're just immature and

stubborn." These people just haven't grown up and learned to love the bomb! But the fact is that, to the authorities, this wasn't silly at all, as shown nicely by Judge Al Lewis, a member of an informal group which functions as the Livermore Chamber of Commerce. At one point when demonstrators again refused to appear in court, he threatened to tear down the tent inside the jail grounds in which male demonstrators were held.

While local authorities put out their hard line, other bourgeois forces were obviously less than happy at the prospect of 700 or 800 anti-nukers continuing to hold the limelight. National TV news was beginning to feature Livermore cops calling for arraignment over bullhorns and being greeted with boos and scores of raised fists. All this publicity focusing on the sensitive issue of Euromissiles and other new weapons was clearly unwelcome.

An edition of *Nightline* on Monday night, June 27, reflected some of these concerns. In something of a reversal of *Nightline*'s previous week's hatchet-job coverage of the anti-nuke actions across the U.S., the emphasis this time seemed to be on just how *American* civil disobedience really was. According to *Nightline*, America is the worldwide source of non-violent civil disobedience. Even Gandhi learned his stuff from Henry David Thoreau according to featured guest Daniel Ellsberg, still incarcerated near Livermore. The heart of the *Nightline* program was a debate between Ellsberg and a reactionary think-tank "expert" on civil disobedience. The show seemed to convey a warning to the bourgeoisie: "Get these people out of the tent and away from the spotlight!"

During the debate segment, in a display of patriotism unusual for his social-democratic self, Ellsberg bent over backwards to represent the movement as harmless to imperialism and harmful to internationalism. When Ted Koppel asked Ellsberg if he had any reflections about how cheap a price people in this country pay for civil disobedience compared to, say, someplace like the Soviet Union, Ellsberg said it caused him "for the thousandth-millionth time in my life to be happy I live in this country. The glory of this country . . . the glory of the tolerance . . . the freedom which we have . . . worth fighting for, struggling for, struggling to keep, and dying for if necessary."

Undoubtedly, within the camp, there must be many who object to this patriotic poison being promoted as representative of the politics of the action!

Reports from the camp indicate high spirits and continued determination to force authorities to back down further. Inside and outside the jail, anti-nuke activists have been grappling with just what the government is up to with its sharpening attack on the movement and its accelerating development and deployment of nukes, and just what it will take to actually stop such madness. □

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Adelman Defines Disarmament

When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently asked Kenneth L. Adelman, the Reagan administration's new Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, to spell out the administration's strategy for negotiations with Moscow over the issue of deployment of the MX land-based intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), Adelman blandly responded in a letter to the committee that the Soviet Union would have to dismantle all 668 of its own SS-18 and SS-19 ICBMs before the administration would reconsider its plan to deploy at least 100 of the ten-warhead MX.

A number of Senators made a big show about being shocked by Adelman's "disarming frankness." For what Adelman's proposal obviously amounted to was a casting aside (for the moment) of the "disarmament talks" charade and straight out advocating disarmament of the rival power. The Soviet heavy ICBMs are overwhelmingly the chief pillar in its force structure — the Soviets do not rely on a U.S.-style triad of missiles launched from land, sea, and air. "Get rid of them!" is the message of the Adelman letter, and to make matters deliberately even more clear, Adelman also told the committee that "even if Moscow agreed to the longstanding (U.S.) demand for drastic cuts in its missile force, some MX missiles would be deployed."

The Adelman letter, in fact, is even more draconian than the "official" U.S. negotiating position "on the table" at the START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) in Geneva. The U.S. has demanded there that the Soviets agree to a cap of 210 medium to heavy ICBMs, without distinguishing between the SS-17, -18, or -19. But the Adelman formulation would leave the Soviets with 150 SS-17s (while entirely scrapping the heavier SS-18 and SS-19 complements).

As part of a recent spiraling series of increasingly shrill and crude U.S. and NATO statements, the letter amounts to a brazen declaration that, no matter what the Soviets do, the U.S. is going to deploy the MX.

It has been clear for some time, of course, that the MX is backed by a broad consensus of the bourgeoisie, despite the turbulent political history of this program, and despite continued reservations about its cost (it is the single most expensive federal U.S. expenditure ever) and its vulnerability to a Soviet strike. These internal bickerings were basically resolved with the Snowcroft Commission report in April, which recommended, among other things, selling the MX as part of a new "arms control" package(!), which ridiculous line of imperialist propaganda was very evident during the Congressional "debate" on the missile in May. But that part of the sales job is very much over and done with. In fact, the heart of the Snowcroft report underlined the military necessity of the MX, and the importance to the whole Western bloc of refusing to back off from deploying the missile, of showing Western "will" to the Soviets. The flaunting of Western "will" to prepare, in all its bloody and grotesque glory, is now come to the fore, the U.S. assuming an air of swaggering indifference, even a certain eagerness to "get on with" the next spiral in the arms race, as if to taunt the Soviets: catch us if you can!

Kenneth Adelman, a relatively young neo-conservative who was an aide to U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick before his nomination by Reagan to replace Eugene Rostow as Arms Control Director, was chosen deliberately as one who had made a modest name for himself by sneering at arms control in a few *Commentary* articles and *Wall Street Journal* editorials. (Adelman once wrote that those who are overly concerned with arms control are "attempting to stave off Armageddon, with visions of mushroom clouds dancing in their heads.") Adelman's predecessor Rostow was an alumnus of the self-described "nuclear war-fighters," Committee on the Present Danger, but he was a "big," prestigious name and an arms control professional. Adelman is a "small fry" who had no experience in the arms control field other than to denounce it as a waste of time. The sacking of Rostow and the nomination of Adelman was seen, among other

considerations, as a decisive downgrading of the significance attached to arms control negotiations with the Soviets in the Reagan administration's scheme of priorities.

Adelman's nomination was contested in the Senate, but when the vote came, much of the noisy opposition to him seemed to melt away.

The first major squawk since Adelman's appointment came on June 15th, when he testified in secret before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Several senators claimed to be upset when Adelman made his intimation that the MX deployment was likely to go forward even if Moscow made huge cuts in its land based ICBMs. This prompted the committee's request for a formal letter from Adelman spelling out the U.S. negotiating position. The letter has done much to draw the glare of worldwide attention to Adelman's cavalier attitude. But was this merely Adelman sounding off here, the eccentric and inexperienced ideologue indulging his neurosis? Surely a steadier hand would soon grasp the rudder!

Not one day after the letter was made public, there were, indeed, a series of "clarifications" and "downplayings" of Adelman's letter. But on examination, despite some cluck-clucking that the letter might have been "a little untidy" and "does not represent a new negotiating position," the Adelman letter was backed up and reinforced. First, it became known that the letter, far from being the work solely of Adelman's fevered mind, was circulated to and cleared by the State Department and the National Security Council as well. Then the Senate Foreign Relations Committee called on Acting Assistant Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam to appear; but Dam reiterated that "the administration might deploy the MX missile even if Moscow agreed to drastic reductions in its strategic nuclear arms."

Dam, according to the *Washington Post*, emphasized that the MX "was in no sense a 'bargaining chip' built in to be traded away," that the MX "is a vital aspect of our national security" and that "no part of the existing U.S. START proposal at Geneva prohibits the planned 100 missile deployment." Dam is correct here: according to the *Washington Post* the U.S. proposal on the table at Geneva, while limiting the existing force of Soviet multiple warhead missiles to 210, does not contain any restrictions on the

Continued on page 12

Tina Fishman Case

High-Level Kidnappers Strike Again

Late Tuesday afternoon, June 28th, California Superior Court Judge Gerald Ragan ordered the kidnapping of Tina Fishman's daughter, Riva, extended for 30 more days. Without even a specific request from Ted Fishman's attorney, Ragan took the initiative and issued the order in a backroom meeting with John Balliet, a lawyer for the San Mateo County Public Defender's Office, who had been inserted into the case by the court recently as a lawyer for Riva Fishman—"in the interests of the child." This phrase has been used to cover every kind of reactionary maneuver and political attack in this case, but never has it been stretched so far as in this order and in the current round of this battle. Ragan did not even bother to give a legal justification for his order, which is in effect a blanket endorsement of every parental kidnapping, is directly in opposition to the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act and the Parental Kidnapping Act,

and a direct reversal of Ragan's own decision of less than one week before, when he ruled that he did not have jurisdiction and could not issue an extension of any kind in the case. Ragan's total explanation for his extension was, "it would be cruel to send Riva back only to find that Illinois declines jurisdiction."

Illinois has not yet declined jurisdiction, and by all standards of even bourgeois legality, only they can act on the case at this point. No matter, says Ragan, extend the kidnapping. We should thank the honorable judge for demonstrating so clearly that a certain class has state power, and it will be exercised, law or no law, to carry out the political aims and interests of that class. The kidnapping of Riva Fishman is an important front in the attack on the RCP, and a trend-setting case in the use of child custody as a club over women. "It would be cruel" indeed to those who rule to let the laws stand in the way of aims like that



Tina Fishman

in times like these.

Of course, the perpetrators of this kidnapping have never been too scrupulous in their sticking to the law. Ragan admitted he "stretched the law" when he extended the kidnapping for six more months in December 1982. And in Judge Browning's original kidnapping order in 1981, he admitted that by all legal standards Tina was a fit mother, and he had to invent the justification of Tina's "neglect of the intangibles of parenting" as a way to justify the political attack. But even then Browning could only order a temporary kidnapping, justified hypocritically by the fact that Tina was a Mao Tsetung Defendant, facing many years in prison, and forced to go to Washington, D.C. for the case. (Of course, putting further pressure on the Mao Tsetung Defendants was the immediate political purpose of the kidnapping at that time.)

Today, this kidnapping has become notorious, and has aroused broad outrage and been actively opposed by diverse progressive social forces. The courts are thus up against a sharp legal/political problem — Ted is asking to make the kidnapping permanent, and to do this, the courts need to make a ruling that even more clearly than ever before would be based solely on the fact that Tina is an active supporter of the RCP. This problem has led to the case bouncing back and forth from Chicago to California, and to some turmoil in the camp of Ted's lawyers.

Since Ragan's ruling in December, Ted has fired one lawyer in Chicago and one in California. He has stated that he would act as his own attorney in both states, and has supposedly filed his own legal documents. Although he had been instructed in December by Ragan to get a ruling in Chicago that refused jurisdiction, and then another in California that gave him permanent custody, all before July 1st, the date Ragan's first extension of the kidnapping expired, Ted didn't even get a court date in Chicago until June 21. As all this came to a crunch, Ted got some legal assistance from high places. In Chicago, a lawyer from a very big and prestigious corporate law firm "volunteered" to take Ted's case without pay. In California, an as yet unknown "third party" is paying for a lawyer from San Diego to represent Ted in the hearings in the Bay Area. And at the June 23 hearing in California, the lawyer mentioned above, John Balliet, was brought in to represent the "interests of the child."

All this high-powered legal assistance brought into the case hasn't yet solved the problem, and the judges in Chicago and California have handled the case like a hot potato. The judge in Chicago refused to take jurisdiction on June 21, postponing the decision to July 7, although every law clearly gives Illinois jurisdiction. In chambers, the Chicago judge stated that if he had to decide jurisdiction, he would decline it, as Ted desired. In California, on June 23, Judge Ragan also refused to grant an extension, saying he had no jurisdiction, although he repeatedly stated his "personal" opinion which was that Riva should stay with Ted; he practically begged Ted's lawyers for legal arguments to justify this: "What

I need from you is arguments on jurisdiction." Lawyers informed Ragan of a law which allowed him to call the judge in Chicago and discuss how to find a legal way to continue the kidnapping. That was hardly enough; Ragan obviously wanted higher legal authorities to take responsibility for a decision as hot as this; he ended up the hearing by telling Ted to get his extension from the District Court of Appeals. On June 28th, he signed an order telling Ted to hand Riva over to Tina on July 1st. That very same afternoon, he reversed himself, and gave the order described above for a 30-day extension of the kidnapping.

The nakedness of Ragan's extension and the obvious determination of powerful ruling class forces to continue the kidnapping by any means necessary continues to be packaged in the incredibly hypocritical "in the interests of the child." This threadbare line is at this point the only argument the reactionary lawyers and courts can advance, and it has been taken to great lengths. Particularly vicious, along these lines, was the scene staged in the courtroom in Redwood City at the June 23rd hearing. In the middle of the hearing, Riva Fishman, who has not been allowed into previous hearings by the court, ran into the courtroom, shouting that she wanted to see the hearing. When Tina went over to her, she hit Tina, and said "I hate you." This scene was played up by an article in the *S.F. Examiner* which ran under the headline, "Hated Mom Wins Custody of Girl." The article quoted Ragan as saying that Riva had been "tortured" by the case, and that, "I believe the child should not be returned to her mother. The child obviously has great hatred for her mother as borne out in court. But I can't do it, I do not have the jurisdiction to change the date." The whole scene was a sick and desperate move, and Harriet, Ted's current wife, was seen outside the courtroom coaching Riva less than a minute before she ran in. The stated purpose of Judge Ragan's first extension of the kidnapping in December was to "bring Riva and her mother closer together." As Ragan knew well, it was used instead to calculatedly and cynically manipulate Riva, and use her as one more weapon in a much larger political attack with very high stakes. Not only was this whole scene and its instant replay in the media a fine example of how low these reactionaries will go, but it has been previously noted by a number of people familiar with this case that when this child was living with her mother, she was not alienated from or instructed to hate her father; and such a scene being whipped up in the courtroom is only further indication of just who are the "fanatics" in this case and who is using the question of "family relations" to the most blatant and vicious political ends. And we would suggest that if the judge were asked to rule on a poll conducted among 12-year-olds which indicated they were opposed to a third world war, he would declare them all "brainwashed."

At this point, lawyers for Tina are filing a writ to the Appeals Court demanding reversal of Ragan's extension of the kidnapping, and are filing a formal complaint to the Judiciary Committee which oversees the judges in California for his blatantly illegal decision. □

S.F. May Day Trial Sentencing:

3 Years Under the Gun

On June 21, Judge Raymond Arata handed down a highly political sentence in the case of a Chicana woman convicted of two felonies stemming from the 1981 May Day march in San Francisco's Mission District (see *RW* No. 206): 90 days in county jail, a \$1,000 fine, three years probation, three years warrantless search, and no weapons during the probation period. Overall, the outrageous conditions of the sentence are along the lines of the objective that the bourgeoisie wants to ram through with the trials of the May Day defendants: to set a precedent for stepping up legal and political attacks on the party and its supporters. The government is also pushing ahead with a retrial of two other defendants whose cases ended up in hung juries. The bourgeoisie is going to great lengths to pursue this

serious attack, in the process trampling on much of its own "legal procedures," despite the real risks involved.

Throughout the trial, the bourgeoisie has attempted to keep the outrageous railroad under a lid through a coordinated media blackout, even though the '81 May Day action itself was covered prominently in major Bay Area newspapers and TV news. Only the local Spanish-language TV station showed up to cover the sentencing hearing. Despite such efforts, a good deal of exposure about this blatant political assault has come to light, and there is potential for more damaging material surfacing and creating further problems for the government. The case has become a topic of debate in legal circles and certain sections of the progressive and revolutionary forces in the Bay

Area. The defendants have been on several radio interviews, including on the day of the sentencing. A feminist group in Berkeley has started a petition denouncing the railroad. The judge himself admitted during the hearing that he had received and read a "significant number" of letters in support of the defendant. All this had something to do with the fact that the state was neither willing nor able at this time to go all the way in the sentencing. There had been rumors beforehand that a representative from the Police Officers Association would make an appearance in court to demand jail time and that Officer Fulton, the supposed "victim" of assault on May Day, would also make a statement, presumably to ask for harsh treatment of his tormentor. Neither, as it turned out, showed up in court;

nor did the DA himself, who put in the recommendation of a state prison term through a substitute.

But the conviction and the sentence are a conspicuous break in the general pattern in the Bay Area, where over the past several years intense government attacks on the RCP have resulted in hundreds of arrests, but only two convictions, both back in 1979. Clearly, the intensity with which the authorities have pursued this railroad is an indication that they are preparing for more. Moreover, the way the sentencing came down makes it all the more evident that the trial is part of a larger political attack involving a new "anti-terrorist" law passed by the California legislature last fall. The law was championed by then-Attorney Gen-

Continued on page 12

Pope To Walesa: "Go Fishing"

"It (the pope's visit) enabled us to encounter an unusual phenomenon of our time, that is, the personality of the Polish-born pope combines the historical view of the world with diplomatic refinements, the intellectual skill of a philosopher and writer, with the faith and simplicity of a highland parish priest, the natural charisma and greatness with the charm of a fine actor Thanks to his generally recognized authority and his knowledge of present-day Poland . . . he can draw it closer to truth." And who, it must be asked, is the author of these fawning sentiments? Lech Walesa? Polish archbishop Glemp? No, the above is an excerpt from a commentary on the Pope's visit to Poland that appeared in *Polityka*, the theoretical journal of the Polish United Workers' Party. Here, one is tempted to exclaim, "Look who's kissing up to the pope!" And it turns out that kissing the papal ring is something which, according to the press, a number of Polish party and government officials actually knelt and did as the pope departed for Rome (and perhaps even more revealingly, as he arrived from Rome).

But aside from what such behavior says about the nature of Soviet-bloc "socialism," the cynical embracing of the pope and the sudden heralding of his visit as "a tremendous success" by Poland's rulers reflected anything but subservience to the West and was in fact part of the "Polish deal" that was hammered out by the principal parties concerned. And the spectacle of the authorities (who only days before had issued stern protests that the West was "playing" with John Paul's visit) now associating themselves with the Catholic Church and portraying the visit as an uplifting joint national experience was something quite different than the motives of the Western press, which finally dropped the pretense that John Paul was handing the commies their heads on a plate and, by the week's end, had taken to enfolding the spirit of "solidarity" into the suffocating arms of Mother Mary. By the time the pope was winging his way back home, all parties seemed to have magically regained their composure. Candid appraisals, blunt summations and some remarkably subtle news leaks designed to convey the denouement of the pope's tour were now the order of the day.

What has, in fact, been signed, sealed and delivered by the pope's visit was fleshed out in a series of "revelations" in the press centered around the fate and future status of Lech Walesa. It will be remembered, of course, that the pope's demand for, and Jaruzelski's "acquiescence" in, an unscheduled meeting with Walesa was originally portrayed in the press as a "tough concession" wrested from the embarrassed authorities. But by the time the pope finally met Walesa in the waning hours of the trip in a "private and unpublicized audience" out of sight of eager press who waited in vain for another "gutsy" papal pronouncement, it was clear something else was up. As film of a smiling Jaruzelski and the pope shaking hands was run and rerun on Polish TV, the Vatican pointedly withheld the release of photographs of Walesa and the pope together. Instead the international wires featured a single picture of a shirtless and decidedly solitary Walesa fishing peacefully on a river near Gdansk, looking for all the world like a paunchy retiree.

The guillotine fell promptly with a resounding thud as a front-page editorial, entitled "Honor to the Sacrifice," appeared in *L'Osservatore Romano*, the official Vatican newspaper. It noted that "Officially Lech Walesa once more leaves the scene We can say he has

lost his battle. Sometimes the sacrifice of uncomfortable people is necessary so a higher goal can be born for the community." Refusing to comment on the content of his discussion with the pope, Walesa himself would only say that, "It is not important who negotiates but what is being negotiated. If there are better people to do that, then OK, let them go ahead."

The resignation the following day of the Rev. Virgilio Levi, the deputy editor who wrote the Vatican editorial, and his insistence that it represented his personal assessment of the situation and not official Vatican policy, only served to reinforce the message being delivered as the good Reverend dutifully followed his own advice about "sacrifices for the higher good." As the *New York Times* noted sardonically: "... the Vatican did not explicitly repudiate the article, and many Vatican officials were said to believe that the author's resignation came not because the article was inaccurate but because it made the Vatican position on Mr. Walesa public in too blunt a fashion." And if there were any doubts that the Church's position was anything but what the U.S.-led bloc had scripted in advance, there was Reagan's comment to Polish-Americans in Chicago around the same time: "Time may pass, but the American people will never, never forget the brave people of Poland and their courageous struggle."

By the week's end, specific details were being leaked right and left by "authoritative Vatican sources." Walesa had been asked by the pope to temporarily "vanish" from the public scene. One news report noted that non-Catholic newspapers in Italy had a field day with this, running headlines like "Pope Fires Walesa." Walesa was also warned that street disturbances and public demonstrations should be avoided "at all costs" and that pro-

tests should be restricted to writing letters to the authorities. Further, the union was instructed (as the *New York Times* put it) to "always turn for advice to the Roman Catholic episcopate in Poland. The episcopate, they (Vatican sources) said, would be in constant touch with John Paul himself." (Archbishop Glemp, who will still be running the show, is no doubt having a special hotline installed for frequent conference calls with the Vatican and the White House.)

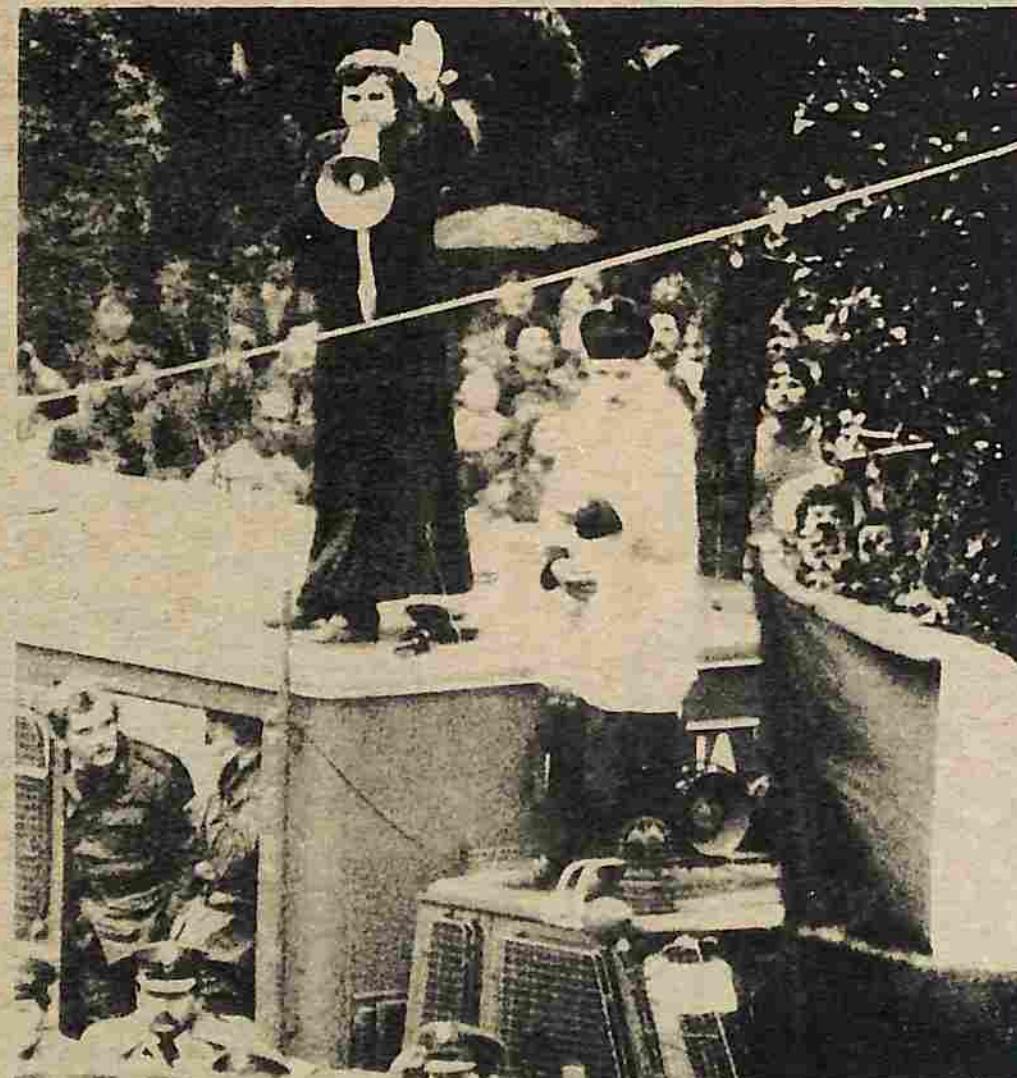
In return, it is being advertised that the Jaruzelski regime has agreed to lift martial law, grant amnesty to most of the remaining internees, and go through the motions, at least, of making certain other as yet unspecified "concessions" — while remaining firmly in control. And if the Polish authorities deliver as promised, Reagan made it clear last week that Western sanctions would be lifted posthaste (it has also been thrown out that the Church itself, and perhaps also U.S. banks, might be willing to funnel a few billion or so into Polish agriculture). It has also been revealed by Solidarity sources that the package might include the formation of some kind of organization, perhaps even an "independent" trade union to replace Solidarity, sponsored by the Church and led by someone other than Walesa. (Certainly the Polish rulers are aware that their own government-sponsored trade unions have not exactly captured the public's enthusiasm.)

So while certain particulars remain to be worked out, the cat has definitely been let out of the bag. In deference to Poland's "political realities," the troublesome Solidarity movement has been certified as officially defunct by those U.S. bloc "champions of freedom" who, having milked it for everything it was worth, are now "putting it to sleep" as mercifully as possible. As the *New York*

Times editorialized: "Polish patriots have passed this way before. Just as Soviet power and Polish history drove the Pope and union leaders together, they may now dictate a parting of the ways . . ." The Catholic Church, we are being informed, has shed its guise as "mediator" and will now function as principal negotiator for U.S.-bloc interests in Poland.

None of this was worked out during the pope's "historic trip" or in the attendant "tough negotiating sessions" between the pope and Jaruzelski. UPI revealed, for example, that the whole papal Polish production was worked out to the last detail weeks before the pope's trip by Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, often dubbed the Vatican's foreign minister, who went to Warsaw and sealed the deal with Polish government officials.

In this light, it is interesting to note that one CBS news special summing up the pope's trip remarked that the initial meeting — exaggerated in the press as an "historic confrontation" between the pope and Jaruzelski — was supposed to be the "payoff" to the government for allowing the pope to come (that is, Jaruzelski would be seen publicly with the pope and a certain aura of legitimacy bestowed upon the authorities). Unfortunately, however, the Polish public "wasn't buying it" and the pope was forced to step up his "solidarity" rhetoric in response to the expectations of the crowds. Thus, the report went on to explain, the necessity for the highly publicized "surprise" second meeting between the general and the pontiff (and, in contrast, Walesa's blacked-out and considerably more humble papal audience) to indicate just who was meant to be seen with whom and what for. □



Not blessings, but crowd control — Catholic clergy perch on a police van while trying to keep things cool during the papal visit.

Correspondence

Some Facts and Trends in the Situation Among Black People

Dear RW:

In the course of recent research, I have come across some very interesting material and statistics on various classes and strata among (and between) Black people. I thought RW readers would find some of this data interesting and useful.

Black-Owned Businesses

"Anyway you look at it, the record of the country's largest black-owned businesses over the last decade is one of America's greatest success stories," says the editorial staff of *Black Enterprise*. "Though the national economy was practically stagnant throughout most of the period, these companies showed strong, sustained growth between 1972 and 1981." Despite two recessions the top 100 Black businesses increased their total sales from \$473 million in 1972 to \$1.9 billion in 1981. In constant dollars, without inflation, this amounts to an 81% gain, compared to 24% for the Gross National Product as a whole. In other words, these largest Black-owned businesses expanded three times faster than the economy as a whole.

Further, these top 100 Black businesses have branched out into new areas of the economy. Historically the largest Black businesses have been in areas of the economy such as auto dealerships and retail. However, in the last decade or so the imperialists have cut Black businesses into some of the action in areas of the economy such as oil distribution, construction, industrial supply services, and electronics, including defense contracting. An example is Wallace and Wallace Enterprises, which distributes petroleum products and only started in business in 1974. By the end of 1981 it had become the second largest Black-owned business, with only Motown Industries being larger. (This phenomenal growth rate does, however, need to be put in perspective. The \$1.9 billion sales of the top 100 Black businesses combined, for example, compares unfavorably to the 1982 total sales of \$1.92 billion for MAPCO, the 182nd largest U.S. corporation, and \$2.02 billion for Englehard, the 180th largest.)

With current economic disturbances, the bankruptcy rate is hitting Black-owned businesses in different ways.

There is very sharp stratification among Black businesses in general. As of 1977, the latest available statistics show 231,203 Black-owned businesses in the U.S. with gross receipts of \$8.6 billion. The vast majority of these — something like 5 out of every 6 — have no paid employees. These smaller Black businesses are very vulnerable to economic downturns, one survey estimating that in 1970 the failure rate among Black-owned or managed firms was 31%, in 1975 at 39%, and in 1980 at 45%.

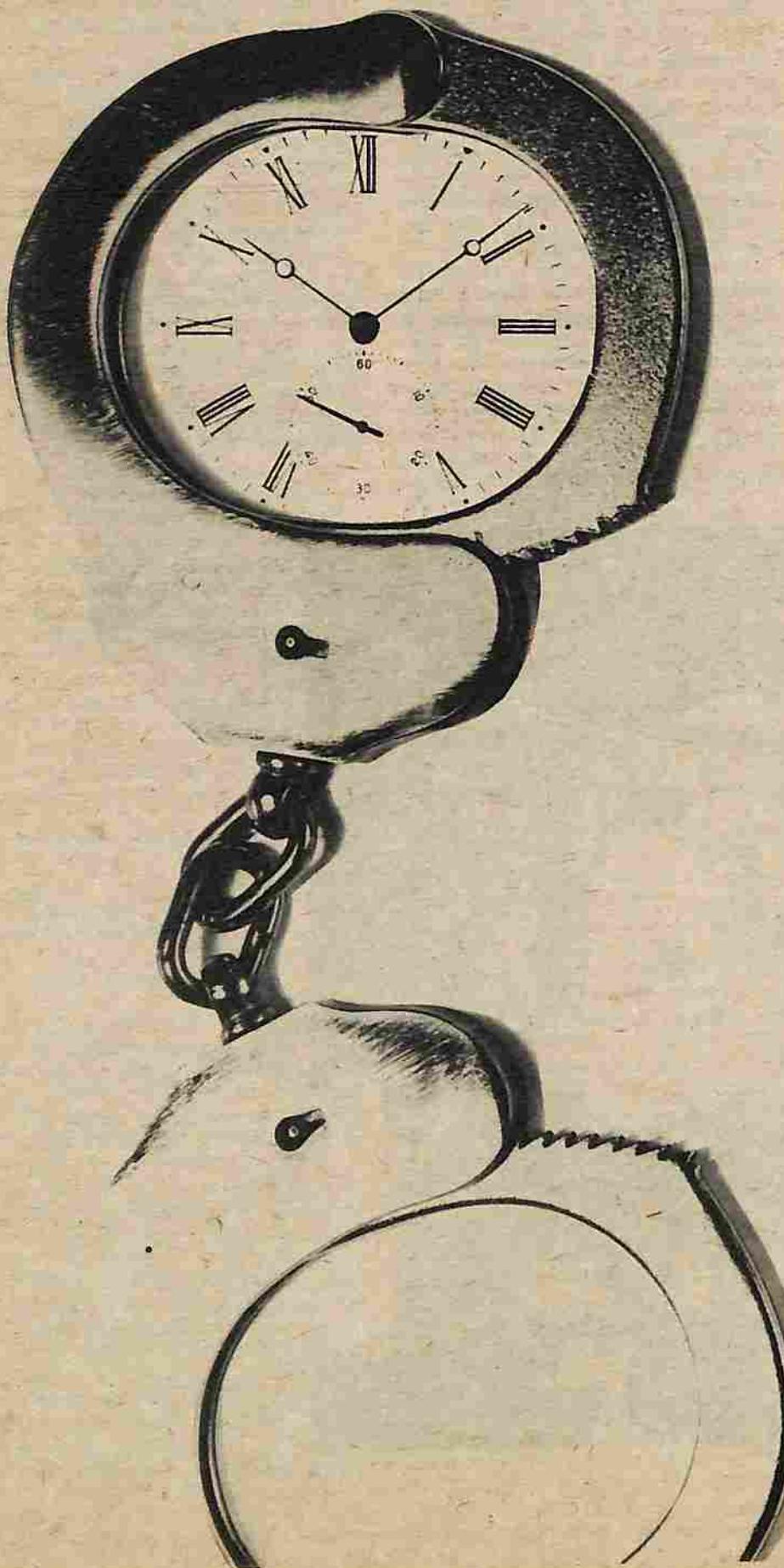
But the same phenomenon which affects smaller Black businesses doesn't hold true for larger ones which continue to be propped up. In fact among Black-owned businesses involved in the U.S. Commerce Department Minority Business Development Agency's programs (28,000, mostly Black), the bankruptcy rate from October 1981 to March 1982 was not quite as large as for all companies in the country as a whole, although both are rising. Another way to look at this is that there have been very few reported bankruptcies to firms Black banks have loaned money to, which are usually larger Black businesses. There seem to be

several reasons for this: larger Black-owned businesses seem to be less weighed down by large debt burdens because they didn't have access to begin with; there are few Black businesses in manufacturing where bankruptcies are especially high. But most importantly, larger Black businesses continue to be propped up by imperialism.

There are several ways this comes about. The federal government continues to play a major role in aiding the growth and development of larger Black businesses. It is significant, for example, that in December 1982, the Reagan administration announced a program for Black businesses, ordering the federal government to procure \$15 billion in goods and services during the next three years from Black businesses, making \$1.5 billion in credit assistance and \$300 million in management and technical assistance available, assigning the Small Business Development Agency to assist in the formation of 60,000 new minority businesses and help expand 60,000 existing ones. Also, federal contracting agencies were instructed to increase minority business

Continued on page 15

Coleman Young Slaps Curfew on Detroit Youth



This past Wednesday, June 29, at a meeting of local police and criminal justice officials, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young announced that a strict curfew for youth under 18 would be put into effect for the summer. Lurking behind this so-called anti-crime measure is a vicious attack on the youth of Detroit.

Under the provisions of this statute — which was announced along with several other "anti-crime measures" — all youth under 18 must be off the streets by 10 p.m. Sunday through Thursday nights. On the weekends, the curfew takes effect at 11 p.m. So over the hot summer months the city's youth are under the gun to be home and in their pajamas by either 10 or 11 at night! Youth picked up by the police who are in violation of this ordinance will be taken down and held at the headquarters of the police "gang squad" — a.k.a. the Youth Services Bureau. They will be held there until claimed by their parents. Those whose parents don't show up will have to make an appearance before a juvenile court judge the following day. Parents are liable under this curfew as well. For those whose kids are repeat offenders there is the possibility of being charged with a misdemeanor, a possible fine or even jail time. Theaters, discos, and video arcades are now all prohibited from allowing youth on the premises after curfew.

This step was shrouded in a whole lot of slander aimed at inflaming a certain kind of public opinion about youth. The mayor in his announcement cited a rash of "innocent bystander" shootings as one factor that prompted the curfew. He declared, without much explanation, "All the incidents had one thing in common — uncontrollable youth." Speaking in more general terms he went on to say, "One common characteristic of increased crime is a great number of uncontrollable young people... roaming the streets at will and gathering in large numbers. The curfew brings a large section of young people under control." And controlling the city's youth is what this curfew is all about.

The implementation of this measure — which has been on the books for 7 years but not enforced since the summer of 1976 — may not necessarily take the form of massive, blanket "carding" of youth. It can be employed more selectively than that. Police Commander William Dwyer made it clear that the police will use "discretion" in enforcing the ordinance. "If kids are at a baseball game and behaving properly, we won't tell them to leave," he said. The measure will be a

very handy club for the police to wield over the heads of the "uncontrollable youth." The curfew is being implemented along with several other moves. Two divisions of the Tactical Services Section will be consolidated into one city-wide strike force for greater mobility. Greater numbers of police officers are going to be concentrated in certain key areas — especially the main city park where youth hang out. And the mayor has also threatened to close down those well known "dens of crime" that dot the city neighborhoods — the youth arcades. In trying to justify what to some may seem a premature move (this measure is not borne out by the crime statistics the mayor cited) Young said, "While blood is not flowing in the streets we want to be prepared for any emergency." He went on to give a sense of just what kind of emergency was uppermost in his thinking. This was a step, he said, "To cool out the possibilities of a long hot summer." Speaking further in terms that this particular mayor is well familiar with he explained, "When you buy a fire extinguisher, it doesn't mean your house is on fire." The potential fires referred to here involve something more flammable than purse-snatchings.

The big question is the effect of the ordinance on the "uncontrollables." One youth interviewed on television said it will only serve to draw more youth out into the streets to taunt the police. Several indicated that if the police start combing the main avenues the side streets will fill up with youth out and about on a hot summer's night.

Instituting a curfew is only a minor switch in gears for the mayor who has recently spent much of his time talking about the plight of Detroit's hungry and homeless. And it is a role he is no less adept at playing and certainly a very valuable one. Posturing as a straight-talking, streetwise Black man, he strives to come off more as the stern father figure to the city's youth than as a chief political representative of the local state apparatus. In 1976, invoking the same stance, he mobilized and unleashed a special youth gang squad to terrorize young people in Detroit. And he was able to diffuse opposition to that move in a way that no white mayor could have. And it should be pointed out that this mayor had been elected to office three years earlier in 1973 on a wave of opposition to the notorious police STRESS (Stop the Robberies Enjoy Safe Streets) Unit that murdered 17 Black youth in the course of a year's operation. □

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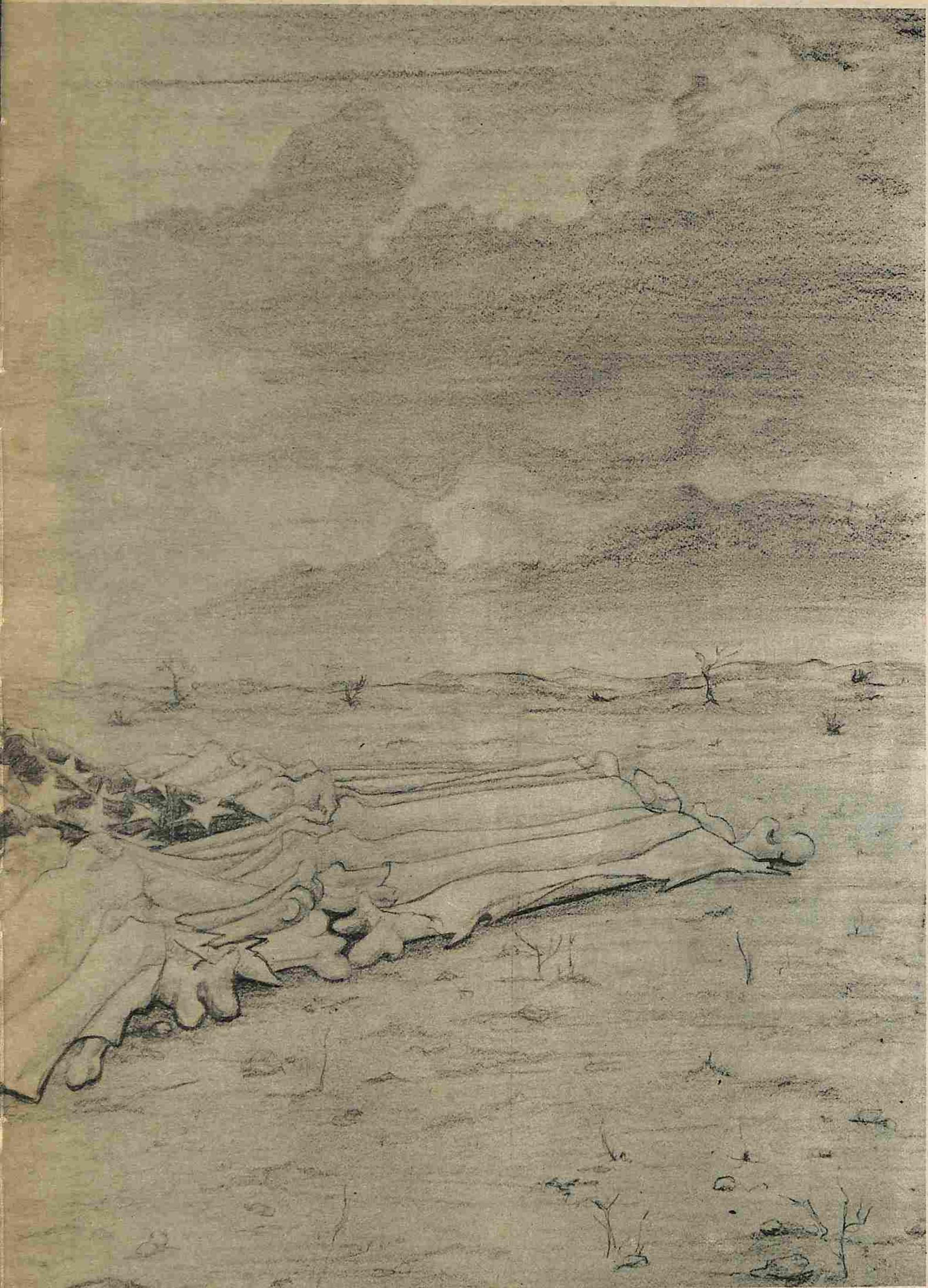
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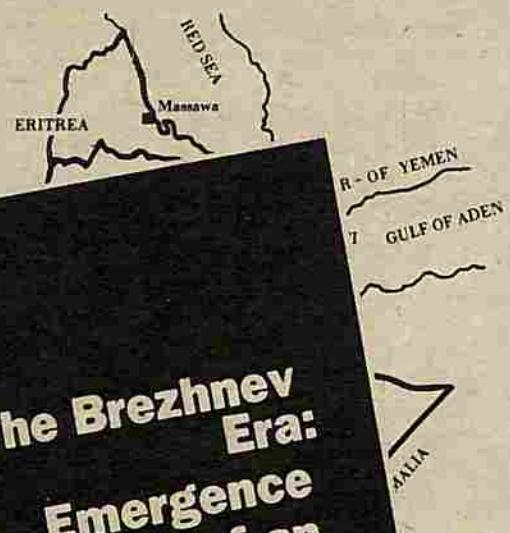
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On June 25, the Hissen Habré government in Chad — backed, armed and put in power by the U.S. and its bloc — announced that the forces under the command of Goukouni Oueddei and his Government of National Unity (GUNT) had seized control of at least one-third of the country. Goukouni, the main opposition force against the Habré government, is based in the Tibesti region of northern Chad, the area bordering on Libya, and is backed and armed by Libya, other pro-Soviet regimes, and through them, by the Soviet imperialists. Habré's announcement was precipitated by the fact that on June 23, Goukouni's army, using what the U.S. State Department has called "massive Libyan logistical assistance," overran and seized Faya-Largeau, strategically the most important city in northern Chad and supposedly one of Habré's military strongholds. The capture of Faya-Largeau caps off a six-month military campaign by Goukouni during which at least five other towns and one other strategic outpost have been seized. With Faya-Largeau under his control, Goukouni not only commands a good portion of northern Chad but also controls the main highway into the Chadian capital of Ndjamenya from the north. Habré's position has been made even more precarious since December of 1982, when Goukouni and GUNT managed to unite the majority of the other nine warring factions in Chad against Habré and his U.S.-bloc sponsors. Many of these forces, including some who had once been part of Habré's government, are attacking Habré positions in the south simultaneous with Goukouni's advances in the north. On his part, Habré has instituted a general mobilization of the people in the areas under his control — press-ganging students, truckdrivers and police into his armed forces. And, Goukouni's military campaign has sparked off a significant increase in support activity for Habré within the U.S. bloc.

In reality, the issue of "Who rules Chad" is anything but an internal affair. Perhaps the most significant "internal" aspect of this war has been the utter devastation and ruin forced upon the masses of Chadian people as the imperialists and their agents battle for control. According to some reports, close to a quarter of the population of 4 million has been forced to refugee camps in Cameroon, Nigeria and Sudan. Ndjamenya, once a thriving city of between 200,000 to 300,000 people had, by the end of 1981, been reduced to less than 80,000 people. The effect of this exodus of Chadian refugees has been far-reaching — in Cameroon, the site of one of the main refugee camps has swollen into a town ten times its original size, with more than 100,000 people stuffed into a 250-hectare site.

For those remaining in Chad the situation is equally bad if not worse. Ndjamenya is in total ruins — the entire commercial sector of the city has been completely destroyed, most of the buildings bombed out, gutted by fire and looted by the various armies that have occupied the capital over the last few years. The buildings that remain standing are thoroughly riddled with bullet holes. Sporadic gunfire frequently punctuates the night as daytime soldiers break up into vying gangs at night in order to battle each other and rob the people left living in the city. Water and electricity are only occasionally available at best, and even then only to one or two sectors of the city. There's literally no functioning economy in all of Chad. The northern regions of the country are mostly desert areas and mainly inhabited by nomadic herdsmen. The economy of the north was mainly based on cattle and trade with the south. The effect of the war has been to cut cattle-raising down to almost one quarter of what it had been prior to 1979. Trading patterns with the south have been totally disrupted. In the south, the economy was based on cotton production. Since the war, Chad's infrastructure has been completely destroyed, with the result being a massive disruption of cotton production since there is no way to transport the cotton grown out of the area and no way to get the materials necessary to maintain cotton-growing. 70% of the people of Chad are dependent on agriculture to survive. The war and the drought have forced most farmers to concentrate solely on subsistence farming in order to stay alive. Given this, plus the lack of an ur-

Imperialist "Non-Intervention" Explodes in Chad

ban economy and the destruction of Chad's roads and bridges, the system of exchange between the urban areas and the countryside is in a total shambles. The residents of Ndjamenya are only able to get food because refugees from the camps in Cameroon bring some of their emergency food supplies across the Chari River at night and sell them to the residents of the city.

As we pointed out in earlier issues of the *RW*, Chad has been a long-time focus of interimperialist contention between the U.S.- and Soviet-led blocs in Africa. The battle over who actually represented Chad was one of the "dividing-line issues" around which the August and November 1982 attempts to pull together the 19th summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were aborted. And, Chad also figured among the "great compromises" which eventually allowed the OAU summit to be held in early June 1983. The volatile and temporary nature of this compromise was underlined by its very terms. Although Goukouni was prevented from attending the summit by being placed under conditions approximating house arrest, he nonetheless announced that he would soon be in a position to seize power in Chad. On the other side, Habré was allowed to assume Chad's OAU seat and thereby was granted official, if temporary, recognition as the Chadian government. However, the echoes of the closing speeches of the OAU summit had not even died down when Chad once again exploded.

The significance of the current war in Chad is not to be found in the war itself

— warring bourgeois factions and changing governments have practically become the norm in Chad since 1979. Rather, its significance lies in what it reveals about the imperialist machinations behind the war, and what this indicates about the situation in Africa and the world today. Of course, shedding some light on these machinations is going to take a little digging, since all parties involved in Chad today — imperialist and otherwise — claim that they "will not tolerate," and are acting only to prevent, "foreign intervention" in Chad's internal affairs. In the particular case of Chad, this is not only an outrageous example of self-serving hypocrisy but actually teeters on the verge of the ridiculous. Virtually every political and military development in Chad since 1979 has been knee-deep in, and indeed hinged upon, the maneuverings of the imperialists and their allies.

Imperialist "non-involvement"

The U.S., having long ago honed the art of imperialist "non-involvement" into a fine tool for defending and extending the interests of its empire, has been one of the principal players in the unfolding Chadian drama. During the 1981-82 segment of the war in Chad, which overthrew the Goukouni regime set up in 1980 and brought Habré to power in June of 1982, the U.S. used the cover of "anti-Libyan expansionism" to line up international political and military support for Habré. On this same basis the U.S. funneled arms and military supplies to Habré through the pro-U.S. regimes of Sudan and Egypt. And, although the U.S. has recently hit out at Goukouni and Libya

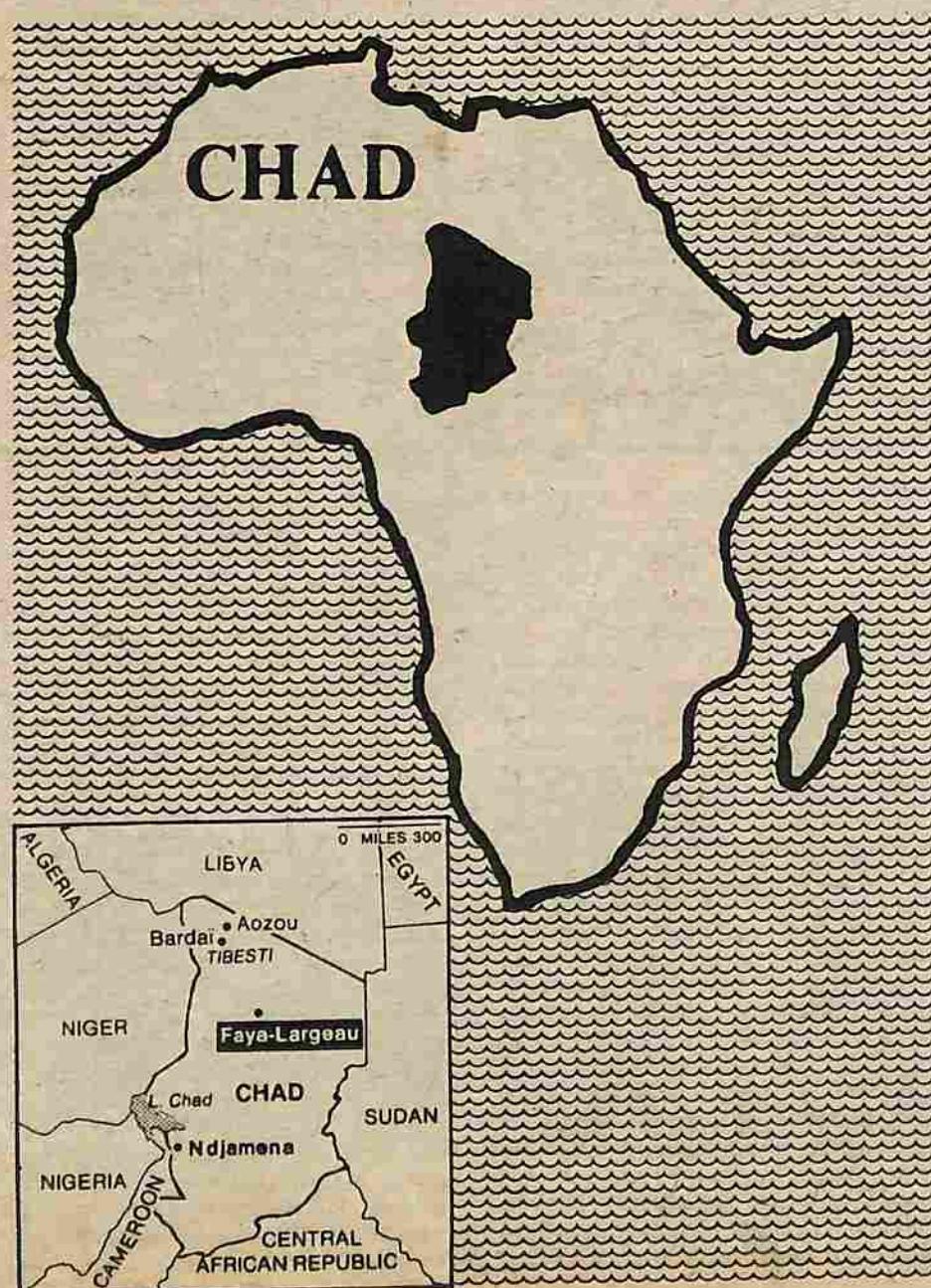
for using "non-Chadian Africans" in their latest military moves, the U.S. itself, together with France and other members of its bloc, also dispatched "non-Chadian Africans" into Chad during 1981-82. The U.S. not only supported but helped finance the OAU "peacekeeping force," made up of troops from Zaire and Nigeria as well as from a few other pro-U.S. regimes, that was sent into Chad to "maintain order" and ended up playing the same role as all such "peacekeeping forces" — maintaining order while the pro-U.S. regime of Habré assumed power.

But best of all is the fact that even as the U.S. was recently expressing "concerned worry" over large-scale Libyan involvement in Chad, testimony before a U.S. Congressional intelligence committee on June 27 revealed that the U.S. itself has had quite a large-scale direct involvement in Chad. According to this testimony — which was originally covered by a few television network news programs but was conspicuously absent from any major newspaper coverage — the CIA had directly funneled \$10 million in military aid to Habré in 1981 and another \$12 million later. Although the CIA admitted that this aid directly contributed to Habré's ability to overthrow Goukouni in 1981, they ridiculously stated that this was not their original intention. Instead, the CIA would have us believe that the U.S. merely wanted to teach Qaddafi, whose troops were fighting on Goukouni's side, "a lesson." According to the U.S., Habré simply exceeded all of their expectations when he managed to seize power.

Today, beyond whatever covert programs are continuing to go on, the U.S. has kept up the other aspects of its active "non-involvement." In addition to engineering the OAU position on Chad — including getting the organization to promise that if, for some reason, Habré was unable to attend the 19th summit, his seat would not be filled by Goukouni — the U.S. was also behind the recent moves to set up a Chad-Sudan mutual defense pact. And, the U.S. has undoubtedly put pressure on Nigeria, Habré's main source of fuel and other energy-related supplies, to call off its skirmishes with Chad and re-open the Chad/Nigeria border, at least for the time being. (Nigeria and Chad have been at each other's throats for the last few months over who owns some newly formed islands in the middle of Lake Chad. Apparently these islands were formed by a drop in the water level of the lake.)

But France has by far been the most vocal member of the U.S. bloc in terms of opposing "foreign intervention" in Chad. And, interestingly, the "socialist" government of France has also been the most active imperialist power in the U.S. bloc in terms of direct intervention. Apparently the fact that France is the former colonial power and the current neocolonial power in Chad somehow makes its intervention less "foreign." Based on this, the involvement of the French imperialists in Chad has been quite intense over the last six months. Economically, the French imperialists have written off most of Chad's past debts and have recently signed a 1.3 billion CFA franc loan agreement with Chad in order to keep the Chadian government running and to begin to rehabilitate the infrastructure in Chad. Politically, the French have waged a full-scale international campaign to drum up support for the Habré regime. This has ranged from supporting Habré's efforts to oppose Libya in the UN to frequent visits by high-level French government officials to the Chadian capital. During a January tour of French neocolonies in west Africa, President Mitterand declared both his active support for Habré and his desire that the problem of Chad be solved by the Chadians themselves. However, based on what the French imperialists call their "historical obligation to Chad," France has maintained and increased their military aid to the Habré regime over the last few months. In late May a French government spokesman announced that France would be supplying arms to Habré "insofar as this could be done without direct intervention." However, with the recent military advances of Goukouni, the French qualifier of "without direct intervention" quickly went out the window. On June 27 France announced that

Continued on page 12



S.F. May Day Trial

Continued from page 4

eral George Deukmejian, who is now the governor. A key element in the bill enables the court, once it has established that a certain organization has "a history of violence," to outlaw even the discussion of certain topics by members of the group, including at non-public meetings of as few as two people — and meetings of target groups can be banned altogether. The probation officer's report and recommendation for the sentencing, which was cited by the judge at the hearing, and the actual content of the sentence itself, are clearly an attempt to inscribe on the record "a history of violence."

In an interview after the conviction, the probation officer directed a "hypothetical" question to the defendant: "What if" the judge were to give a choice — go to prison, or receive probation on the condition that she sever all ties with the RCP and drop out of revolutionary politics completely? This was a very political threat, calculated to bring more pressure to bear on the defendant to admit her "guilt" and show some "remorse." This "hypothetical" question then showed up in the probation officer's report to the court. A key part of the report reads: "(The defendant) appears to be an uncertain candidate for probation because, although she has no prior convictions as an adult or history of violence, the present offense is a very serious one in which a police officer was beaten and injured by the defendant as well as two co-defendants. The fact that the Revolutionary Communist Party, of whom the defendant is reportedly an active member or admittedly an associate, had been denied a parade permit, but yet paraded without a permit and involved numerous individuals in activities which escalated into a confrontation with the police, certainly intensifies the possibility of violence, not only to the police but to others as well. During my conversation with (the defendant), she stated that she will continue in her commitment to revolutionary activities... she plans to continue her association and activities with the Revolutionary Communist Party...."

As the bourgeoisie has done throughout the trial, the events of May Day 1981 were grossly twisted and turned upside down, with the police being presented as the "victim of violence." It's claimed that the RCP and its actions are what "intensified the possibility of violence, not only to the police but to others as well." In the trial, the court suppressed almost all evidence that would have exposed the brutal and systematic police attack on the march — evidence which has already led to the dropping of charges in past cases. The defense was allowed to enter into evidence two photographs out of hundreds showing pigs wading into the front of the march and beating people. But even this was deemed irrelevant: the police might have busted some heads at the front of the march, but this supposedly had no

thing whatever to do with the events toward the rear, where the alleged events involving the defendants took place. Never mind the fact that columns of TAC squad blocked off the front and rear of the march in a pincers movement, or that they moved in with clubs swinging and attacked anybody they could lay their hands on, including a 13-year-old youth and a woman who was beaten severely by a ring of half-a-dozen pigs. Thus in typical pig logic, the fact that the police carried out a vicious preplanned attack on the march becomes grounds for creating a "history of violence" for the RCP.

The probation officer goes on to recommend in his blatantly political report that "because of the offense itself, the serious threat to the community, the lack of responsibility in accepting the offense and lack of remorse," the defendant should be sent to state prison for "diagnostic evaluation" to obtain "additional opinions" on the sentence. The court decided not to go this route, but the line of attack in the probation officer's report set up things for the sentencing, in particular the imposition of the condition of warrantless search. Warrantless search is commonly handed down in cases where a person is convicted of possessing contraband — illegal guns, drugs, counterfeit money, etc. The usual routine of having to obtain a warrant from a court is waived for the police, and one becomes subject at any time to search of his or her person, home and vehicle. The warrant procedure, of course, is hardly any guarantee against illegal searches. But warrantless search gives the police a freer hand in harassing their targets, and, if the need arises, in carrying out a frame-up.

Beyond this, the imposition of warrantless search is part and parcel of building up the image and legal precedent of the RCP as an organization with "a history of violence." The defense lawyer objected to this condition on grounds that the defendant was not convicted of using, or even alleged to have used, "contraband." The alleged "dangerous weapon" that she was accused of using on the "vulnerable police officer" (in the judge's words) was a wooden stick for flying a red flag at the march. The judge's response to the objection was that the condition was being imposed because, according to the probation officer's report, the defendant said she will not renounce her commitment to revolutionary politics and ties with the party. This is another in a series of brazen political attacks by the authorities, in a trial where the defense has been all but handcuffed in its attempts to expose the political nature of the trial. The judge had a point to make, and he wasn't going to be subtle about it. The real "crime" that the defendant had been tried, convicted and sentenced for is her revolutionary politics and her "association" with the RCP.

The conviction will be appealed. The government intends to push through the fight to overturn the appeal as well as continue to pursue convictions in the retrial of the two other defendants, and it hopes that this conviction will lay a solid basis for further attack. The probation officer's report, for example, just happens to say that the pig "was beaten and

injured by the defendant as well as two other co-defendants" (our emphasis — RW). But there are also dangers for the bourgeoisie in pursuing this course. The transcripts of the first trial, which the government has been fighting to deny to the defense, would provide damning exposure of the outrageous rulings and maneuverings by the judge and the DA. There will be renewed struggle over the array of eyewitnesses and photographic

evidence that shed light on the police attack on the march, as well as over the politically explosive issue of police surveillance which the government shut out completely from the first trial. And there have been continuing contradictions within the bourgeoisie, sometimes bubbling to the surface, over how best to forge the police apparatus for the enormous tasks that lie ahead. □

Adelman

Continued from page 3

deployment of new U.S. missiles.

Much of the sputtering on Capitol Hill and in the ranks of the arms control establishment is not in reaction to the administration plans to deploy the MX; what is being objected to is image, i.e., the "heavy handed methods" by which the Reagan administration seemed intent on making the arms control farce so obvious. These forces consider it politically crucial that the United States appear to be pursuing arms limitation "with all seriousness and diligence." Their chief argument is that support in the U.S. and Europe for preparations for war can be seriously affected by whether or not the U.S. is perceived as "seriously working to achieve peace and reduce tensions."

In this light, more is being signaled here than a mere determination to deploy the MX. The attempt is being made to convey the impression that the U.S. is once again in the process of redeeming the upper hand, that it is in no mood to make concessions and doesn't feel like it needs to make any.

The U.S. still indulges in "peace" rhetoric, of course, and the recent spirit of calculated bellicosity ought not be construed as an abandonment of the U.S. imperialist "two track" policy: at the same time that they press ahead with war preparations, they continue to strive to convince U.S. and European public opinion of their own peaceful intentions and the pristine, "defensive" character of their own military buildup, as opposed to the menacingly aggressive nature of the "focus of evil in the modern world," the Soviet behemoth.

Nevertheless, given the critical political task of overriding and undercutting the opposition of much of European public opinion to the upcoming Pershing/cruise deployments — and, indeed, of consolidating mass support behind NATO and U.S. imperialist leadership — such recent U.S. propaganda moves as the Adelman letter and, of course, President Reagan's "Star War's" speech, might seem sure to lend credence to the view that the U.S. is responsible for the arms race because it will not reasonably negotiate with the Soviets. So why has the Reagan administration adopted — or rather continued with — this approach?

The Reagan administration appears to have determined that at present the best tactic is to stay with the image of an inexorable determination to carry out its strategic programs. They calculate that the "bull-in-the-china-shop" approach is useful in demonstrating that the U.S. is

leading and minding the store in its bloc; particularly right now to dismay and demoralize the European peace movement, underlining to the European masses the "futility" of attempting to stop the Pershing/cruise deployments and war preparations generally; and to attempt to force the Soviets to respond more openly with their own aggressive intentions, which indeed the Soviets have begun to do with gusto lately. While by no means abandoning the option of "appearing flexible" and "willing to negotiate" with the Soviet Union as a means of consolidating support in Europe and America, the U.S. at present is concerned not to be ambiguous — there is a certain stake in getting the "don't mess with the U.S." message out loud and clear, without wrapping it in too many layers of ambiguous deception that might blunt its impact.

What seems to be developing is not at all the abandoning of the "two-track" approach to U.S./NATO war moves, but an intensification of this strategy, especially focusing on Europe. The U.S. has the "keys" to the new missiles to be deployed, it is the bloc leader and must plunge ahead with the arms plans no matter what political flak it attracts by doing so. At the same time, other forces of the loyal opposition will certainly be brought forward to try and deflect the massive opposition to the new weapons into politically safe channels of parliamentary resolutions, arms talks, superpower summits perhaps, and so forth. Although these forces are somewhat on the ropes at the moment after the Kohl and Thatcher elections, it should be noted, for example, that the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD) has scheduled a party gathering in November, with the clear intent of "taking up" the missile question... and yes, this is the same SPD whose reigning then-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was the first to publicly call for deployment of the missiles in 1977!

The next period certainly promises to be politically quite wild and one in which the current mouthing off of Kenneth Adelman may appear as simply a minor jab. □

CORRECTION

In the article "Anti-nuke Protests in the Shadow of MX" (RW No. 211) the first sentence of the third paragraph on page 4 should have read:

Many activists noted the clear determination of both the U.S. and USSR to proceed with their headlong arms buildup and overall war preparations, despite as they say, years of organizing the massive opposition to these very arms programs... □

doubtedly contain an element of exaggeration, it is also a well-known fact that Goukouni would have difficulty even surviving without the extensive Libyan political and military support he has gotten. And it is through this support that the Soviets have actually been able to exercise their influence. One of Libya's main forms of support for Goukouni has been their ability to continue to supply him with a steady flow of Soviet weaponry. Goukouni's growing ties with the Soviet imperialists have been indicated recently by his statements that his goal is to institute a "period of socialist development" in Chad.

And, since we're talking about hypocrisy here, mention must be made of the pro-Soviet Ethiopian dictator, and the current chairman of the OAU, Mengistu. Taking a moment out from his brutal war against the Eritrean and Tigrean people, Mengistu recently appealed to the governments of Chad, Sudan and Libya to exercise restraint in the interests of maintaining the peace and stability of the region! □

Chad

Continued from page 11

it was airlifting 35 tons of military supplies, including anti-tank weapons and rockets, to Habré. And, although the French defense minister has stated that French troops would not be sent into Chad, this statement was most definitely qualified with the phrase, "for now."

Chad is one of the poorest countries in the world. Located in the center of Africa, it is thinly populated and mostly desert. So why are the various imperialists and Libya so intensely involved in the battle over control of Chad? The French imperialists definitely have a very particular interest in Chad, especially in relation to the defense of their African neocolonial empire. But these interests are secondary when compared to the importance of Chad to the overall interests of the U.S.-led bloc. From the standpoint of the U.S. bloc, maintaining Chad under the domination of Western imperialism, or at least keeping it out of the hands of

Libya and the Soviets, is intimately bound up with the broader issue of the bloc's strategic preparations for war with the Soviet-led bloc. One of the chief elements in this is the effort to isolate, weaken as much as possible and limit the influence and activity of Qaddafi and Libya, both in Africa and in the Middle East. Keeping Chad under the U.S. wing means that Libya is effectively surrounded — with the sea on one side and a chain of pro-U.S. regimes on all of the others.

From the other side, Qaddafi too has his own particular interests in Chad. For one thing, it's a question of being able to break out of the U.S. bloc's encirclement. For another, Chad would provide Libya with ready access into the rest of west Africa, and would definitely enhance Qaddafi's ability to influence the various Moslem opposition groups in these countries — an important aspect of Qaddafi's goal of forming a pan-Islamic federation. And, Qaddafi's interests in Chad neatly dovetail with the strategic interests of the Soviet imperialists in the region. At this point, an increase in Qaddafi's ability to "maneuver and influence" would definitely mean an increase in the Soviets'

own influence — especially since one of Qaddafi's best selling points is the fact that Libya is the main conduit for Soviet arms in most of Africa and the Middle East. Beyond this, if Chad were brought under Soviet domination, the Soviets would then be able to pose a formidable threat to two of the main pro-U.S. regimes in the region, Egypt and Sudan (based on this, Sudan would be neatly sandwiched between Libya-Chad and Ethiopia).

More Hypocrisy

For its part, Libya has been just as adamant about its opposition to "foreign intervention" in Chad. And, this Libyan declaration is just as hypocritical and ridiculous as the others. Since 1973, Libya has already annexed the mineral-rich Aouzou Strip region of Chad, that is, 30,000 square miles of Chadian territory, and in 1980 announced its intention of merging Libya with Chad. Libyan troops have more than once been used to fight on the side of Goukouni since 1979. Although U.S.-bloc allegations about the extent of Libyan involvement in Goukouni's recent military actions un-

Feds in Greensboro: keeping the can of worms sealed

For 13 months, from the spring of 1982 through the end of April 1983, a federal grand jury in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, investigated the murders of five members of the Communist Workers Party. The murders took place in Greensboro during an anti-Klan demonstration on November 3, 1979. After six Klan and Nazi gunmen were found not guilty in a state murder trial in 1980, and with widely known details of the involvement of government agents in planning and carrying out the massacre that day adding to the outrages of millions, the special grand jury was charged with the heavy responsibility of putting this case to rest once and for all.

The grand jury carried out "the longest civil rights investigation in U.S. history," according to federal prosecutors, examining over 2000 pieces of evidence and interviewing dozens of Klansmen, Nazis, cops, FBI agents, government officials on all levels, members of the CWP and others who were at the anti-Klan demonstration — all cooperating to "get to the truth of the matter." This time, a thorough job was going to be done, a high-level — and final — verdict was going to be passed on the murders of November 3.

The verdict on the government's role? A job well done! As a local editorial summed it up, "The grand jury clearly did conclude that no government official behaved criminally." No indictments were returned against any cop, agent or official; not Bernard Butkovich, the federal agent who joined the Nazis in the summer of 1979, helped engineer the formation of the United Racist Front between Klan factions and the Nazis, and participated in planning the massacre; not the FBI, who initiated an investigation of the Greensboro CWP the day the organization applied for the November 3 parade permit only to terminate their investigation on November 2; certainly not the officials of the Greensboro Police Department, who received regular reports from police agent Ed Dawson, gave him a copy of the anti-Klan parade route, and were conveniently out to lunch when the Klan murderers arrived at the anti-Klan rally.

While the grand jury gave the government and all its official agents a clean bill of health, they did have to find someone responsible for the murders that were televised worldwide. On April 21, indictments were returned against nine Klansmen and Nazis for various counts of conspiracy to violate the demonstrators' civil rights by intimidating and interfering with a lawful parade, causing bodily injury and death to participants in a lawful parade, and conspiring to obstruct, delay and prevent the apprehension and questioning of Klansmen by the FBI and other law enforcement agencies.

Of the nine Klansmen and Nazis who were indicted, seven have already faced state murder charges. Five were among the defendants found not guilty in 1980 and charges against the rest were dropped shortly after that trial, all of which should be helpful to their defense against the new federal charges. It remains to be seen whether any or all of these reactionaries will be vindicated as before, or whether they'll be sacrificed according to higher

interests.

The only "new" faces are Virgil Griffin, a leader of a North Carolina Klan faction, and Edward Dawson. Readers of the *RW* may recall that as early as the summer of 1980, Dawson had announced that not only had he set up the meeting site for the murderers and led the Klan caravan to the massacre site on November 3, but he had done it all with the full knowledge and assistance of the Greensboro Police Department. At that time, his revelations were widely used in court and in the media by the Klan defense attorneys to portray the Kluckers as naive rednecks out for a day of heckling commies, who expected a big force of cops between them and the demonstrators, and who, abandoned by the cops, faced an attack by stick-wielding demonstrators. They were forced to defend themselves with the automatic rifle, shotgun and pistols they happened to bring along for self-protection. Only recently, Dawson starred in an episode of "Frontline," a nationally syndicated Public Broadcasting System news program, where he again detailed how he kept Greensboro police informed of the Klan's planning, and reported the caravan's arms supply and route to his pig contact, Detective Cooper, just minutes before the massacre.

So is Dawson's indictment by the grand jury a well-deserved slap on the wrist, a concession to public outrage, or a small step toward justice, just "not enough," as some would like to claim? Not hardly. The indictment describes Dawson as "formerly a member of the United Klans of America and of the North Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" — not a word here of his membership on the roster of the Greensboro police and FBI informants. As for Dawson's invaluable service of providing the hooded murderers with the "secret" parade route, courtesy of Greensboro's finest, that is described in the indictment as being at the direction of Virgil Griffin, the implied "mastermind" of the massacre. In fact, Dawson and Griffin were the only ones indicted for conspiring to "obstruct, delay and prevent" the efforts of the FBI and others to arrest and interrogate the other Nazis and Klansmen after the massacre. Dawson had said the Kluckers' escape after the massacre was aided by an undercover agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (Butkovich), who had been working with the Nazis and Klan for months. Clearly the content of Dawson's indictment as one more "former" Klansman violating civil rights and in particular *obstructing* the FBI operations only serves to exonerate the Greensboro police, as well as the FBI, from the highest level yet and, they hope, put a final coat of shiny whitewash on those who really pulled the strings in setting up the events of November 3, 1979.

Accusers and Accusers

While the Klan/Nazis indicted are not expected to stand trial before October or November, in a very significant, if little publicized development, one witness who testified to the grand jury has *already*

been indicted, tried and convicted of perjury! The grand jury indicted one Henry C. Byrd, Sr. for four counts of perjury. Byrd had testified to the grand jury on April 19, 1983 that, shortly before November 3, 1979, he had been asked by Officer Bell of the Greensboro Police Dept. to shoot Nelson Johnson, a local leader of the CWP; that he had been approached by Detective Belvin of the Greensboro Police Dept. to infiltrate the CWP; that he had reported Bell's proposition to Belvin a few days after the massacre; and that he had been given a lie detector test concerning his allegations against Bell at that time.

Mr. Byrd seems to have had a long relationship with the GPD. He is currently facing multiple felony charges of auto insurance fraud, spanning from 1978 to 1982. Officer Bell was assigned to hit-and-run investigations in 1978, when Byrd's accidents began. Byrd claims he shared the money from his insurance claims with Bell, whose unlisted phone number he had been given. Officer Bell's financial records revealed several real estate purchases (one piece for \$45,000 without a mortgage) at the end of 1979 and early 1980. Byrd also testified to the grand jury that he had been involved in drug deals with Officer Bell and that he owed Bell several thousands of dollars for drugs he (Byrd) had "flushed down the toilet." Byrd claimed that some time in late October 1979, Bell had given him three addresses where Nelson Johnson might be found, a pistol and five bullets, and told Byrd his debt would be paid if he shot Johnson. Byrd never took up the offer.

But Byrd had other connections in the police department, too. He claims that earlier in October 1979, Detective Belvin had offered to pay him for every meeting of the CWP he attended, another offer which Byrd says he never followed up on. But Byrd was at the scene of the November 3 massacre and two days later he was interviewed by Belvin, and the next day by an FBI agent. Byrd claims he told both Belvin and the FBI agent about Bell's request that he shoot Nelson Johnson.

In January 1983, Byrd was indicted on North Carolina state insurance fraud charges. Around the same time, he seems to have renewed his allegations against Bell and Belvin. On March 9, he and his attorney were interviewed by Greensboro Police Internal Affairs, and in mid-March, Byrd sent a letter detailing the same charges to Nelson Johnson. Johnson took the letter to the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund, which has filed a civil lawsuit against the Greensboro Police Dept., the FBI and the U.S. Justice Dept. on behalf of victims of the November 3 shootings. A lawyer for the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund then took down Byrd's affidavit, presented it to the U.S. Attorney in charge of the grand jury investigation, and released it to the press.

The grand jury received Byrd's affidavit the morning of April 13. By that afternoon, FBI agent Brereton, serving as an "investigator" for the grand jury, testified that he had already talked to the Greensboro police named in it and Byrd was lying. On April 19, Byrd himself re-

peated his claims to the grand jury and on April 20 and 21, he was indicted for perjury.

Unlike the Klan and Nazi defendants, whose trial is still not even set, Byrd stood trial in the middle of June in Greensboro. The case against him consisted primarily of character assassination — "who could believe this habitual liar" — and the testimony of the cops he accused. Bell claimed he only met Byrd for the first time in May 1980 and that Byrd was lying to get revenge for the fact that Bell had initiated the investigation that led to Byrd's fraud charges, neglecting to mention that he himself had been investigated for complicity in Byrd's alleged insurance frauds. Belvin claimed he only approached Byrd for tips on criminal cases, not to infiltrate political groups, and that Byrd never told him about Bell's request that he shoot Nelson Johnson. Not that these "god-fearing, law-abiding peace officers," as they were repeatedly described by the U.S. Attorney, would have any reason to lie. They could only face accessory to murder before and after the fact and attempted murder charges if what Byrd said was true, not to mention the civil lawsuit against their police department.

Of course, it's hard to say why Byrd himself came forward with this story. Given his background, he could have easily been set up for any number of reasons. At the same time, it is obviously possible that all or much of what Byrd claims is true. But all this is really beside the point here. Absolutely no investigation into his charges was ever carried out, beyond "interviewing" the cops he accused, by either the Greensboro Police Internal Affairs or the FBI. What little was revealed in the trial concerning Bell's relationship to Byrd and his real estate acquisitions was uncovered by the defense attorneys for the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund. It took the jury all of two-and-a-half hours to choose between the cops' story and Byrd's. He was convicted on all four counts of perjury.

For legal cosmetic reasons, the government claimed that Byrd had come up with this story for personal opportunistic reasons — a ruse to hit back at the cops who he figured had double-crossed him. But whatever Byrd's motivation, the U.S. Attorney made clear that a lot more was at stake here than the particular fate of Henry C. Byrd, Sr. In the course of the trial, the defense had attacked the credibility of government witnesses as well as the thoroughness of its investigation. The U.S. Attorney's closing argument was a broadside against *anybody* who would attempt to open the can of government worms: "As this trial has progressed, it has not been clear if the accused is Henry Byrd or the Greensboro Police Department, the FBI and the U.S. Department of Justice. The accused has become the accuser." The obvious implication: any "accuser" whose accusation implicates those whose role the Justice Department is concealing will be dealt with one way or another.

"Some victory for the people" this federal investigation has turned out to be. □

Life After Pinochet

Continued from page 1

citing the certainty of slaughter by the regime's tanks and troops which had been brought up to ring the copper mines. Instead he called for a "national day of protest" by non-confrontational means such as banging pots and pans (the symbol of the 1973 anti-Allende demonstrations) and staying at home with the lights turned off. Nevertheless, in Santiago's southern working class suburbs there was all kinds of fighting, which went on for days until police surrounded the neighborhoods and arrested all males over 14 years old for "identity checks." Thousands were carted off to be held in the soccer stadiums in a deliberately ominous echo of the 1973 mass executions that took place there. Also jailed were groups of demonstrating seminarians and other students and 27 people arrested for a horn-honking protest in Santiago's well-to-do Barrio Alto, where such demonstrations had once spurred on Pinochet's coup preparations.

On May 21, as the *New York Times* was advising that "some people" thought that maybe Pinochet should allow municipal elections or perhaps appoint a Congress, the old junta head himself declared that nothing could force him to give an inch.

On June 14, the copper workers walked out. This time neither the government nor the union leadership even pretended that the political context would allow the use of cannons to run the mines. Seguel was arrested for declaring that the strike's goal was to force the regime to "bring back democracy" — a demand carefully worded to avoid calling for Pinochet's overthrow. Unlike others who've fallen into the hands of the junta, he was neither murdered nor tortured nor sent into internal exile in the desert or on an island, but instead allowed a lawyer and a constant stream of visitors, including reporters. Another strike was called to demand Seguel's freedom.

Pinochet tried to stave it off by announcing the end of book censorship, the end of secrecy surrounding government decisions, and most importantly the return of a selected number of exiles, including the head of the Christian Democratic Party and the widow of Socialist Party leader Orlando Letelier. Nevertheless, on June 23, over a million workers and small businessmen went out. In addition to Seguel's CTC, the other main organizations openly involved were the truck owner-operators' association led by Adolfo Quinteros, who, according to the Senate Church committee, was paid by the CIA to lead truckers' strikes against Allende, and the dock workers' union led by Eduardo Ríos, whose Democratic Workers Federation has been on the AFL-CIA payroll for 20 years. On the eve of this strike, Ríos met with the U.S. Ambassador. Pinochet had Quinteros arrested — and later released on \$10 bond.

Clearly the U.S.'s real dissatisfaction with Pinochet's threatened "resort to arms" stems not from any opposition to reactionary bloodshed but rather dismay at Pinochet's sudden impotence. Today he is "isolated" all right, isolated not only from the majority of the masses who've always been the object of Pinochet's pro-U.S. terror, but also from the social base that supported his regime.

Pinochet's claims that his opposition is "guided and directed by Russia, which does not accept what happened on September 11, 1973" are ludicrous, because the opposition leaders were until recently his followers, all men associated with Pinochet's coup and its aftermath. But they are not the ravings of a complete lunatic. They are Pinochet's way of reminding the U.S. that there are indeed "forces directed by Russia" at work — the pro-Soviet revisionist Chilean Communist Party — and that the U.S. has no easy alternative to him.

The U.S.'s involvement in the direction, planning and execution of nearly every detail of the September 11, 1973 coup that brought down the coalition Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende is one of the most well-documented of U.S. imperialism's crimes. The CP had preached that Allende's election represented the "peaceful road to socialism" for Chile,

but used that government as a stepping stone to link up in an "historic compromise" with the pro-U.S. Christian Democrats by hook or by crook, even to the sacrifice of the Allende government's reforms which they never considered essential anyway. Even machine gun and mortar fire and the murder of 30,000 Chileans that September have not put an end to the Chilean CP's efforts to corner the Christian Democrats into an alliance and bring about a government which, while not directly disputing U.S. hegemony in Latin America, could provide a big opening for the USSR and prepare for the day when who will get which imperialist "spheres of influence" is decisively settled. Today the Chilean CP is trying to use the same social base and political forces which were essential for Pinochet's rule as a battering ram to clear the way for their own maneuvers.

To prepare the 1973 coup, the U.S. government "turned off the faucet" (as Kissinger put it) on the Chilean economy, cutting off everything from international finance to spare parts and sending CIA agents to organize the internal sabotaging of the country's economy. In this way the U.S. was able to panic and politically mobilize sections of petty proprietors and small capitalists. (This was further exacerbated by wrong policies by the Allende government towards these forces whom a genuine national democratic revolution would have to at least partially neutralize or win over to some degree.) The truck owners' strikes which paralyzed the country, and the "marches of the empty pots" organized among the upper petty bourgeoisie of the Barrio Alto, made it politically possible for Pinochet's "resort to the force of arms" to play the decisive role. Even a certain section of the workers themselves, including a section of the copper workers under Christian Democratic leadership, were mobilized against Allende. After Pinochet's bloodbath, the international finance "faucet" was turned back on full blast. U.S. and other imperialist capital flowed into the country; this was the chief ingredient of the "economic miracle" wrought by Milton Friedman and his "Chicago Boys" who took credit for it.

Hell of a Miracle

The effect of this "miracle" was hell from the start for many. Despite the fact that nearly 10% of Chile's 10 million population was forced into exile, according to some estimates, unemployment remained high as capital poured into a few sectors of the economy to the detriment of others. Living standards fell terribly, which had more than a little to do with the restoration of profitability in some sectors of the economy. For instance, construction workers, who, as in the rest of Latin America, are usually unskilled laborers, found themselves forced to sleep in the building where they were working after bus fares were hiked as part of the "Chicago Boys" austerity measures. In the days following the coup, many small business owners who'd seen Pinochet as the only alternative to ruin went bankrupt anyway. Nevertheless, the boutiques selling imported goods in the Barrio Alto did unprecedented business. Aided by high copper prices, the regime was even able to deal out more than starvation wages to such politically important sectors as the copper workers.

But with the deepening of the imperialist economic crisis, Friedman's "miraculous monetarism" turned into its opposite. (Thus last year in Chile saw farmers demonstrating under the slogan "Neither Moscow, nor Chicago.") Chile found itself with both the world's highest per capita debt and its deepest economic disaster (the GNP dropped by 14% last year). One bankruptcy after another in the private and state sectors rocked the country like a series of bombs. Forces whose support played an important role in the regime's relative longevity began peeling off. The Christian Democrats, who'd played their part in preparing and consolidating the coup because that's what U.S. interests required, despite the fact that they had to take a back seat to the generals, have begun to climb up front. Even some of the junta's own have begun to shed their uniforms.

But the fact is that it is inconceivable

that these CIA-democratic trade union leaders and Christian Democrats who've been leading the movement could do so without the CP's support. That such types have been allowed to run unions and organizations that the CP dominated 10 years ago is not only a matter of short-term tactics for the CP, but also has to do with long-term strategy. Such pro-U.S. forces have their own social base for sure, but even among the copper workers, for instance, where the Christian Democrats have won a following, the CP has a following too, and probably a lot more. If the CP wanted to dispute these forces for the leadership of the movement, they could do so. Instead they've stayed deliberately in the background, and while undoubtedly building up their own forces with an eye to the future, they've clearly played an important role in confining the movement to the level of demands to replace Pinochet with a "democratic general" and to channel its activities into forms appropriate for that content.

Why else, you have to ask yourself, would the CPUSA's *Peoples World* praise people like Seguel instead of exposing them. Certainly the CPUSA knows both the facts and the pro-Soviet game plan. In their latest issue they quote Seguel as saying, "In 1973, I considered the coup d'état as a positive event. It never occurred to me that the military regime was the enemy of the workers!"

Although the revisionists have far more than one card up their sleeves, for now they are willing and eager for such types to lead the "courageous opposition" to Pinochet because it is exactly such suddenly ex-fascists and Christian Democratic elements who are most likely to be able to bring about a regime tolerated by the U.S., a regime which would have to allow the CP at least some space to maneuver in return for the CP's ability to hold back very significant sections of the masses.

In fact, pro-Soviet revisionism has been especially receptive to the idea of bringing in Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, a pro-U.S. Christian Democrat type who retired from the junta a few years ago when Pinochet's future began to look murky.

"As one of the organizers of the 1973 coup," Leigh declared recently, "I feel the obligation to tell the government that it is wrong and that there must be an opening up." But what exactly Pinochet's downfall would open up might be a can of worms for U.S. imperialism. Nowhere has the content of this been better described than by Erich Schnake Silva, a leader of Allende's Socialist Party. He recently wrote in an essay (which concluded appropriately with "Señor Pinochet, please leave") that the only viable alternative to the Pinochet government would be one run by some pro-U.S. type like Leigh, based on a coalition, a "democratic consensus," between the Christian Democrats, his own forces and the CP who, "apparently coming around after their sudden ultra-left deviations, are now for the line of the majority and a viable solution."

This "ultra-left" deviation Schnake refers to is the fact that the Chilean CP, despite its unflinching adherence to the "peaceful road to socialism" through which it led the masses to the U.S.

slaughterhouse in 1973 when that suited its interests, has also considered armed struggle, especially during the late 1970s when political conditions in Chile allowed the Christian Democrats to turn their backs on them. (A few years ago, Salvadoran CP chief Shafik Handal, in a criticism apparently accepted by their mutual Soviet sponsors since it was reprinted in the Soviet *World Marxist Review*, criticized the Chilean CP for confiding in the "peaceful road" to power instead of using its contacts among the generals to launch its own coup before Pinochet could.) But now conditions are ripe for a new "peaceful road" to revisionist ends. The revisionists apparently are willing to gamble, for now, that the U.S. will find that what Schnake says is true — that at the moment no "viable solution" to the U.S.'s problems can take place without them. So once again we hear the revisionists preaching "peaceful transition" — to bourgeois democracy. All this switching shows that they'll take their cake by any means necessary.

This combination of economic and political elements add up to the fact that the U.S. is facing a no-win situation. The more they try to preserve the regime, the more likely they make it that the CP's influence will be an important factor in the new government when Pinochet does go down. If they dump Pinochet, they are embarking on a road whose destination can't be foretold. That's why right now they are focusing on such half-measures and compromise solutions as "bringing in the number two general or someone like that" to "tell Pinochet that things simply can't go on," as the *Los Angeles Times* quoted an anonymous "former Pinochet supporter" (in the State Department, perhaps?) to suggest. Such measure may bring some temporary relief, but the economic and political forces shaping the world situation suggest that this "temporary" will be much shorter than the temporary solution Pinochet represented.

Many commentators have compared the situation in Chile and Poland. Both movements have heavy doses of a combination of trade unionism and Christian Democratic politics. But the most important similarity is that they both involve "historic compromise" maneuvering from opposite blocs, with such pro-U.S. forces as the Catholic Church working to make themselves necessary to the stability of the Soviet set-up in order to be in the best position to go for broke when world war permits it; while pro-Soviet forces are playing the same filthy game in Chile with a Catholic political party within the U.S.'s "sphere of influence."

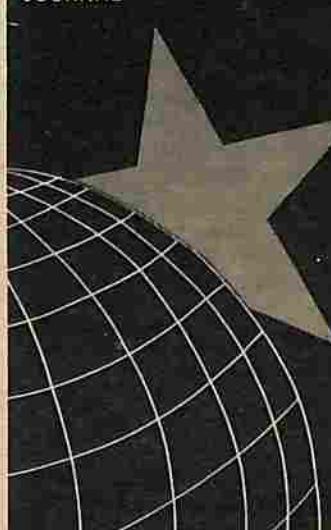
But the disintegrating social basis for the Chilean junta makes it likely that Pinochet will need his Swiss bank accounts long before his Polish *compañero generalissimo* with the dark glasses.

These elements make for an extremely unstable situation in a country that for almost a decade has been a symbol of imperialism's "stability" of the graveyard. The most definitive statement that can be made right now is that nothing has been decided and everything is up in the air and likely to remain that way at least for a while. These are certainly favorable circumstances for more revolutionary developments.

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have

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Transit Cops Run Amuck in New York

On Friday, June 24, New York City uniformed and plainclothes Transit Authority (TA) police numbering 600 let loose in 115 of Manhattan's subway stations. After a 10-hour "surprise sweep," 567 people were arrested, most for not paying the 75¢ subway fare. Grabbing people, particularly youth, for such things as turnstile jumping is not surprising—the TA police, on a yearly average, issue 710 such summonses a day; but during this 10-hour dragnet operation, suspected fare violators were handcuffed, marched under a line of police complete with attack dogs to waiting buses and shipped to a nearby police academy for processing. This latest sweep marked the third in Manhattan and the ninth in New York City's subway system since June of last year. The official reason given for these highly publicized surprise mass arrests has been the city's claim to be cracking down on "subway crime" (with the criminal danger to society turning out to be none other than expropriating a free train ride). The subway

sweeps are in reality a vicious attack on sections of the masses, with an emphasis on youth of the oppressed nationalities. When the first sweeps took place in Brooklyn last June, the *N.Y. Times* reported that the TA police were ordered to "make arrests for any and all offenses" even though they could legally be dealt with by issuing summonses." Of these 530 summonses that were handed out, 90% were for fare beating; the majority of the rest were for such "violent crimes" as smoking and playing radios.

The claim by the authorities to be cracking down on subway crime is also interesting in light of the hour elected for several of the sweeps. Prevailing common wisdom in the city holds that the worst time to ride the trains is very late at night. Yet a number of these sweeps were launched at 2 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The timing was not accidental; it coincided with school letting out and rush hour, getting underway. And the very public character of these "surprise sweeps," saturating the subway trains and stations

when they are most congested, is meant to have a broad and intimidating effect.

These sweeps also appear in part to be practice runs on conducting large scale roundups of explosive sectors of the population in preparation for hot times ahead. The TA police, a division of the New York Police Department who work the trains, is apparently being greased as a crackshot strike force in its own right. For instance, when the first sweep was underway in Brooklyn last summer, after 2 hours and 117 people seized, the TA police suddenly called off taking people into custody. They were not quite prepared or equipped to deal with the jam-up the arrests created. However, by August and three subway raids later the TA police were becoming more adept at conducting mass arrests. After subway sweeps in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx, 2,788 people had been arrested, over 1,000 in one raid alone. In November the TA cops debuted another innovation. The 350 people arrested in a Queens subway sweep were bused to Shea

Stadium, where an indoor batting cage was temporarily turned into a booking station. For this most recent police action in Manhattan, 167 TA police recruits were taken out of the classroom and into the subways for some on-the-job training in conducting dragnet operations.

The majority of those picked up in the sweeps are eventually released with a first-time misdemeanor summons; but not before an hour long processing procedure of running everyone's name through a computer check. The fare-beating rap can carry a maximum of a year in prison and a \$1000 fine. Repeat offenders are given a stiffer charge. Anyone found having an outstanding warrant is also promptly turned over for prosecution. Last summer, the *N.Y. Times* noted that as Mayor Koch on one occasion personally monitored one of the sweeps, "it was the 'brazenness' of these people that got him." And what is brazen today could well become downright out-of-hand tomorrow, conditions for which the authorities are clearly preparing. □

Some Facts and Trends

Continued from page 6

procurement by 10% over current levels within a year. The obvious effect of this will be to continue to pump capital into many Black businesses despite, on the other hand, Reagan's cutback on funding to the Small Business Administration.

"Private aid" from major imperialist corporations and foundations has also continued to prop up Black businesses, while being oriented increasingly towards the larger ones. An example is the Small Business Development Center (SBDC), which in Chicago grew into the Chicago Economic Development Corporation (CEDCO). This began as an anti-poverty program for Black businesses in 1964, funded through the U.S. Office of Equal Opportunity (OEO). In the late '60s, for various reasons, SBDC only continued to exist in about half a dozen cities, but in these cities new sponsors outside the "public sector" were found. According to the November 1982 *Black Enterprise*, Garland Guice, head of CEDCO, "first managed to secure sponsorship from the Rockefeller Foundation, then from several other corporations. While CEDCO now receives a major part of its funding from the Ford Foundation, its corporate list reads like a Who's Who of Chicago area corporations. It includes Continental Bank, McDonald's Corporation, Dart-Kraft, Sears Roebuck, United Airlines, Zenith Radio Corp., Abbott Laboratories, Esmark and Inland Steel.

"We lobbied banks, manufacturers, retailers, every company," says Guice, who adds that the cause was spurred by the 1968 riots. "They (the corporations) came to us after that, ready and willing to help."

Guice later secured organization funding from the city of Chicago, which continued to act as a conduit for SBA loans."

Not only did CEDCO's source of funding change but also its policy of allocating resources. Especially after 1976 there was a reorientation in loans, from helping Black businesses to start up, to propping up the largest, most stable Black businesses. The number of loans from CEDCO fell from 157 in 1976 to 95 in 1980, but during that time their average size grew from \$39,800 to \$94,500. Today their average loan is for over \$100,000.

Black Banks

While the late '60s and early '70s were heady years for Black-owned banks, the later '70s and early '80s are marked by a state of flux: assets growing from \$642 million to \$1,334 million from 1972 to 1981, but facing increased competition, consolidation, turnovers, and even bankruptcies. Before 1964 almost all Black banks were in the South. From 1964 to 1973 twenty-seven Black-controlled banks were established in the northern urban areas. This was aided by the Johnson and Nixon administrations, which opened up free federal administrative ser-

vices and technical assistance to Black banks, lowered federal regulations to allow less capital to open new Black banks, etc.

Since 1973 there has been a contradictory trend, resulting in instability and some growth side by side. While Black banks have been affected by the deepening crisis, they are based mainly on the growing section of Black business talked about above (1/3 of all Black business is financed by Black banks). On the one hand they are meeting increased competition and takeovers by big banks, on the other hand they continue to be aided and propped up by big banks. Between 1973 and 1982 thirteen out of the 37 Black banks collapsed; but also 22 new ones (out of a total of 46 nationwide) started up. (Again, this needs to be kept in perspective. Total assets of all the 46 Black banks in the country in 1981 stood at \$1.3 billion, a figure overshadowed by any one of a number of medium or large banks.)

The imperialists seem to be trying to encourage the growth of the largest Black banks—under their control and management. An example is Freedom National Bank in New York City, the largest Black bank in the country with 1980 assets of \$127 million (almost 10% of the total assets of all Black banks). In 1974, after almost going bankrupt, Chase Manhattan stepped in to provide vital management help in restructuring the bank. Also helpful was \$4 million invested in its stock by the Ford Foundation and others. Bank loan policy in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant was restructured with Chase's help. Smaller unstable businesses were dropped from the portfolio while larger, more stable Black businesses were propped up. The result was a stabilization and growth of the bank, with 21 consecutive quarters of growing assets and profit through the end of 1981. And now that the Reagan administration has loosened federal banking regulations, Freedom National will be able to branch out to other states. "Interstate banking means Freedom National can be in major black neighborhoods around the country. It means that we can acquire banks—black or white—in other cities," said Sharnia Buford, the bank's president.

Black Professionals and Better-Off Workers

"The Black middle class" is a broad, somewhat amorphous category roughly describing a strata of Black people whose family income is at least \$20,000 per year. This strata now represents about 30% of the total Black population, compared to 56% of the white population.

What has been happening to this fairly sizeable middle strata? For Black professionals and others with academic preparation, there has been a widening gap over the decade compared to unskilled and semi-skilled Black people—in other words, compared to the lower strata. This gap continues to grow despite some cutbacks in the number of Black college students, especially those in four-year schools. There has been increasing stratification in this area because employment continues to expand in the professional, managerial, technical and other white-collar occupations (where college-educated

ed Black people are found in larger percentages than ever before), while manufacturing jobs, especially those concentrated in inner-city areas, continue to decrease, resulting in higher and higher unemployment for the lower strata, as well as those previously in higher-paying, unionized jobs. And, of course, as is well known, there is a virtual absence of almost any kind of jobs for Black youth.

Nationwide the number of Black people, aged 18 to 24, in college nearly doubled from 10.3% in 1965 to 19.4% in 1981 (compared to 26% of whites in 1981). By 1980 eight percent of all Black people had college diplomas (compared to 18% of all whites). Where did these people go? *The State of Black America, 1982*, published by the Urban League, reports that: "Among professionals 57% of Black male college graduates in 1970 were employed by government compared to 27% of comparable white college graduates. 72% of Black women graduates and 56% of white women graduates were also employed by the government. A recently published study of Black employment trends estimated that 55% of the growth of non-agricultural employment for Black workers from 1960-1976 was in the public sector compared with 26% of that of whites, and that the rate of growth of Black employment in professional and managerial positions was concentrated in the public sector in social welfare work." In other words by 1970 the majority of Black college graduates were employed by the government, in large part in the social programs coming out of the 1960s. These are mainly lower-level professional jobs: technicians, counselors, teachers, health personnel, etc. This means that this large and politically significant group is the first to be hit by government cutbacks. On the other hand, this trend is also counterbalanced to some degree by growth of some of the nonpublic professional sectors of the economy.

Another significant concession off the 1960s was opening up higher-paying jobs in steel, auto, etc., to Black people. Also certain non-professional government jobs such as post office, school services and public transportation were opened (or further opened). This strata has been especially hard hit by the recession, layoffs hitting those with the least seniority. Although this is not across the board and there are certain life-rafts that go with these jobs such as higher unemployment benefits and SUB to cushion the effects of the crisis, many in this strata are rapidly having their living standards eroded and they are being forced into lower-paying jobs, losing their homes and other acquisitions.

Lower Strata

The deterioration of conditions faced by this section of Black people is pretty widely known. This is indicated, for example, in the growing income gap between whites and Blacks, which was 58% in 1980. Chicago illustrates this trend, but this can pretty much be generalized. In 1980 more than 34% of Black people in Chicago had incomes below the "poverty line" (a category defined by the federal government), compared to 19.9% in 1970. On the other hand only 5.7% of

whites were below the poverty line in 1979. From 1970-80 the number of "poor" in Chicago jumped from 483,000 to 601,000 while the overall city population dropped—58% of these were Black people. In 1970 there were no neighborhoods in the city with more than 50% below the poverty line; in 1980 there were five—all of them Black areas.

For lower-strata Black workers unemployment is massive. In 1981, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (the official figures underestimate the actual dimensions of this), unemployment among Chicago's Black men averaged 21.8%, compared to 9% for white men; 16.9% for Black women, compared to 6.6% for white women; and 54.7% for Black teenagers (16 to 19-year-olds), compared to 22.9% for white teenagers. According to the 1980 census, taken before the unemployment rate began another sharp rise, only 59% of Chicago's working-age Black men (16 to 65-year-olds) had jobs, compared to 84% for white men. One result of this has been the rapid growth of welfare: in 1970 one in every nine people in the city was on welfare, by 1981 it was one in every five.

Fairly typical of Chicago's lower-strata Black communities is Grand Boulevard. In 1979 the median income here was \$6,945, one-third of the city's median of \$18,776. Seventy-three percent of this area's families were headed by women. Ten percent of the housing units are vacant. More than 10% of the housing units contain no more than half a bath. At least 5% lack kitchen facilities and 21% have no telephone. Only 18.6% of the men in the area had full-time jobs for the full year of 1979, while more than half the population was on welfare in January 1981.

One major factor in the growing poverty and unemployment of this strata is the continuing decrease in unskilled jobs. From 1969 to 1976 Chicago had a 24% drop in the number of manufacturing jobs. The result has been tremendous competition for even the most menial sweatshop jobs, low-paying service jobs, or more likely unemployment, even while growth of professional and government jobs, and even manufacturing jobs in the suburbs, continues. Obviously this is intensifying a very explosive contradiction.

In sum, class polarization among Black people is continuing to grow and this is from both sides. On the one hand, the Black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, which had a phenomenal growth throughout the 1970s, continues to be propped up and built up, at least in its more upper strata, despite the crisis and government cutbacks. On the other hand, conditions for the lower strata continue to deteriorate at a faster rate than in society as a whole. There is also a significant "middle strata" of Black petty bourgeoisie and better-off workers who are being hit very hard: many government workers, unionized factory workers and very small Black businesses. But while the undermining of their material position is the overall trend as the crisis deepens, some props are still being maintained and there is even some growth of sections of the Black professionals. □

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an introduction

by lenny wolff

