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Chief Gates' Latest Anti-RCP Lies

L.A. Pig Tales

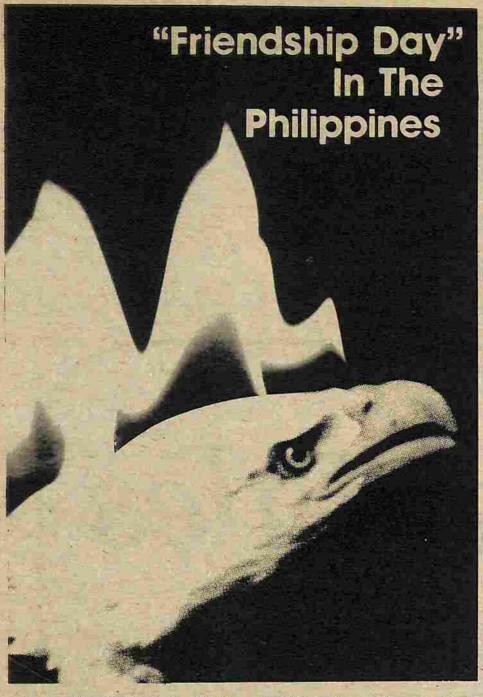
When Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates was called to answer questions about some of his undercover operatives recently, he seemed to have a great deal of difficulty remembering what most of them had done. The occasion was a deposition taken in a lawsuit filed by the ACLU on behalf of a wide range of social movement groups and individuals, and although the chief has previously testified that he personally authorizes and periodically reviews all undercover assignments, he managed to suffer serious lapses of memory when he was asked about one after another agent who has already been exposed for spying against the plaintiffs in the suit. "I just cannot keep all those names in my head,' he complained at one point in the deposi-

However, there was one name that the well-rehearsed chief had no trouble keeping in his head. When Gates was asked about one Donald Rochon, it was as if Pavlov had rung the right bell. According to the chief, Rochon's "target" was the Revolutionary Communist Party. Why? Once again, there was no hesitation: "Because they advocate the violent overthrow of the government and advocate violence against the police in particular. According to Officer Rochon, they actively planned to eliminate all police officials in the city. By 'eliminate' I mean they planned to kill all police officials in the city. Plus they openly advocate disorder, disruption." And with that, yet another sinister fabrication from the police "fact" factory appears on the public record.

The agent cited by Gates was originally slated by the LAPD to be the successor to one Fabian Lizarraga, a.k.a. "Ernie Sanchez" — the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) pig on the spot at the murder of RCP comrade Damián Garcia, Lizarraga's main "target" at the time, in an East L.A. housing project on April 22, 1980. As the RW noted when we wrote about Lizarraga's activities in RW No. 155, May 14, 1982, his scheduled replacement marched right next to him at May Day '80, but, having been an object of suspicion from the start, the new pig was

never able to worm his way in. Isolated from the work of the party early on, Rochon eventually quit the LAPD and joined the FBI. Lizarraga carried on his machinations against the party for over a year, and even his testimony directly contradicts Gates' outlandish creations. While he had clearly been instructed to declare the RCP a "violence prone organization," Lizarraga was unable to point to any specific instances upon which he based his conclusions (except, of course, May Day - and here he was reduced to throwing around his impressions of people's "attitude" and "tone" in lieu of anything specific to report). The LA Times summed it up like this: "During his 17 months under cover he never heard anyone in the party talk about committing any crimes and never saw any weapons." As far as we know, Rochon has never publicly stated anything even remotely approaching Gates's story, although it would certainly not be





On the 4th of July at the Manila residence of U.S. ambassador Michael Armacost, U.S. and Filipino diplomats clinked their champagne glasses and exchanged toasts. Meanwhile, on TV, the government-controlled station broadcast a taped message from U.S. President Reagan saying the two countries will face challenges together "whether...in economic cooperation or in meeting with external threat in Asia and the Pacific." The occasion was the "Philippine-American Friendship Day," com-memorating the 1946 granting of "independence" by the U.S. to its former colony. In 1899, U.S. imperialist troops muscled into the Philippines to "liberate" the strategic islands from Spain and claim them as a U.S. colony, in the process murdering more than a quarter of a million Filipinos. After having temporarily lost the Philippines to Japan during World War 2, the U.S. imperialist "liberators" stormed back into the Philippines in the latter stages of the war to reclaim "their" colony. With the Japanese forces already considerably weakened by heavy losses in the Pacific war and fierce local guerrilla resistance,

the U.S. concentrated its air bombardment and artillery fire on the Filipinos and, with the dutiful cooperation of the local reactionaries, unleashed a campaign of white terror in order to pave the way for the return of U.S. rule. In a show of chauvinism and arrogance, the U.S. allowed the puppet regime it had set up to proclaim "independence" on July 4th. This is the "independence" that was being celebrated at the home of the U.S. ambassador.

But there was quite a different scene at the U.S. embassy. 800 to 1,000 demonstrators, mostly youth, marched to the embassy to denounce the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and the recently renewed U.S.-Philippines military bases agreement. The agreement gives the Marcos regime \$900 million in "rental" for five years for the use of the very important naval, air and communication bases. Squads of riot police in a fire truck protected the embassy. The demonstrators staged their own fitting celebration of the "Philippine-American Friendship Day": they burned in effigy the American eagle and a cardboard U.S. flag.

Police Practice Livermore

Tuesday, June 30, after eleven days in jail, 800 anti-nuke demonstrators (out of over 1,000 arrested for blockading Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory) were finally released by Alameda County authorities. In a heavy-handed move, the courts had demanded two years probation and a \$500 fine for all those arrested. But as the demonstrators continued to protest these sentences amidst growing concern that the publicity generated by this mass arrest was turning into its opposite, the probation was dropped and the fine reduced to \$240. Hundreds left jail Thursday night and Friday, and the last 200 demonstrators worked off their fine by staying in jail until July 4th, when the last group was released with time served, no fine. Out of the group of over 1,000, about 600 pleaded "not guilty," and now face trial.

The protestors incarcerated at the jail had fought hard, especially against the two years probation, because of the affect it could have on the future of the movement in terms of greatly raising the stakes of their own participation, and because they wanted to beat back the broader impact of heavy penalties for anti-nuke civil disobedience - penalties clearly designed to intimidate others. And authorities had been forced to back down to a significant degree from their earliest demands; but even so, the protests had been met with a harder edge of dictatorship than ever before for antinuke civil disobedience in the Bay Area. After the final deal was negotiated and the protesters appeared for arraignment, prosecutor Joseph Hurley crowed to the press: "The judicial system has won, hands down. More than one thousand of them came in seeking to frustrate the judicial process by refusing to be arraigned and trying to dictate terms to us in the court on conditions of sentencing. Well, they all were arraigned, they all had to go through the judicial process whether they liked it or not."

Hurley's hard line summation was mixed in the press with attempts to trivialize the protest, call it a circus, etc. Both aspects of media treatment of the demonstrators continued from before the demonstration until the end, and were clearly planned well in advance. The authorities had, long before the action, rented circus tents to hold the demonstrators on the jail grounds - and the tents were set up to intensify the discomfort to anyone staying in them. One man who stayed in for eleven days told the RW "The tent itself wasn't designed to have skirts (side panels - RW) on it...since the winds out there are 40 miles per hour all day long, for the eleven days I was out there, it just kept blowing through all day long, and it kept a cloud of dust in the air the entire time I was there, while you were sleeping, while you were breathing, and while you were eating. We had to eat outside, on the ground, you had to resign yourself to eating shit

Along with the harsh physical conditions, the jail authorities used the pressure of guards, imported from San Francisco Bay Area cities, to pressure the protesters to accept the harsh terms for release. Mass meetings between incarcerated demonstrators and their lawyers to discuss these matters were observed by guards - in several instances early on, where the demonstrators protested loudly, the Alameda County Tac Squad was brought in, billyclubs drawn. At later meetings, when police or unidentified men wearing suits would walk in to listen, protesters just stopped talking, and stared at the intruders until they went

Medical treatment was virtually nonexistent, or was used as a means to force people to identify themselves or leave the jail. One man who had a serious medical problem told jail authorities he had to go to the hospital. They agreed to take him, then put him into a holding cell until he agreed to sign a paper correctly identifying himself and giving his address and birthdate. After he signed the paper, they just cited him out of jail, and released him outside the jail, forcing him to find his own way to the hospital in the middle of the night.

All of this sharpened up some of the questions that have been boiling in sections of the anti-nuke movement for some time. There were a number of different kinds of meetings and discussions inside the jail during the time people were locked up; while in the main they stayed

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Women Encamp At Seneca

It's a scene from one of those meticulously drawn children's books extolling rural life: rolling green hills, shady clumps of trees, ponds, cows, cornfields, and hand-lettered "Strawberries For Sale" signs. Except for one thing - the high, chainlink fence topped with barbed wire sealing off the grass and trees on one side of the road for several miles along Rte. 96. This is the 11,000-acre Seneca Army Depot (SEAD) near the town of Romulus in Upstate New York, the storage facility for some of the most destructive and lethal weapons ever produced and a major shipment point for nuclear munitions. From Rte. 96 you can see a few of the man-made hills inside the fence - some of the 60-70 earth-covered bunkers on the site. Eleven of the bunkers used in 1944 to store uranium for the government-sponsored Manhattan Project (which developed the first atomic bomb) were found to be radioactive in 1980 and were sealed off. Deep in the site is a 28,000-square foot earth-covered, temperature controlled building, essential for storage of plutonium. The Department of Defense neither confirms nor denies that nuclear weapons are at the site - in line with its standard policy on responding to questions about any particular location of nuclear weapons but the above facts and other evidence, including a 1975 technical manual which included SEAD in a list of "military first destinations" for receiving nuclear weapons and "limited life components" (referring to tritium, an element used to trigger nuclear warheads) points to the good earth around Romulus as containing a lot more than fertile soil for strawberries.

And about a mile from the Seneca Army Depot on the most chauvinist, flagwaving, my-country-right-or-wrong holiday of all, July 4, hundreds of women converged for the opening of the twomonth long Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice to "challenge the nuclear threat at its doorstep," in the words of the camp's "Vision Statement." "The Seneca Army Depot," the statement continues, "a Native American Homeland once nurtured and protected by the Iroquois, is now the storage site for the neutron bomb and most likely the Pershing II missile and is the departure point for weapons to be deployed in Europe. Women from New York State, from the United States and Canada, from Europe, and, indeed, from all over the world, are committed to nonviolent action to stop the deployment of these weapons."

The women, approximately 500 or more, came from about 20 states, some from as far as California, with several others walking from North Carolina, several walking from Boston, and one bicycling all the way from Wisconsin. Three women came from England specifically to participate in the Encampment; one came from Germany, one from Italy and one from Scandinavia. Each new arrival brought cheers and a round of singing from the women already assembled. While many came just for the day's activities, most planned to return again and again throughout the summer and bring still more.

Confronted with the prospects of hundreds, possibly thousands of women camping near the depot, in solidarity with women's peace camps in Greenham Common, England, and Comiso, Italy (which, like Greenham, is scheduled to receive cruise missiles this year), attracting worldwide attention and thus further exposing its war moves, the bourgeoisie prepared to deal with the women in various ways.

A new 4.7 mile long fence was installed around the depot's airfield; funds (\$668,000) for this had been requested of Congress since 1977 but were suddenly approved just this last spring. Forty-five additional civilian guards were hired for a year at the base, joining the permanently stationed 200-250 military police who are authorized to use deadly force to prevent

unauthorized persons from reaching the bunkers. Patrols around the depot's fences have been stepped up. And an Encampment staff member said a person who works on the base told them that 250 extra MPs had been brought in and were being specially trained by watching films of demonstrations and civil disobedience actions at military bases all over the world, learning how other bases have dealt with the protests — for instance, how to pick up women by their ears and lips.

These measures indeed show that the state is deadly serious about dealing with any interference to its war preparations, as recent mass arrests and increasingly stiff sentences for even non-violent civil disobedience actions across the country show. In addition, the bourgeoisie hopes publicity around these measures — making sure the women hear about them — will intimidate the protesters. To this end there has also been considerable comment from various officials widely reported in the local press and elsewhere that "We don't know what will happen." Some of these have been scarcely veiled

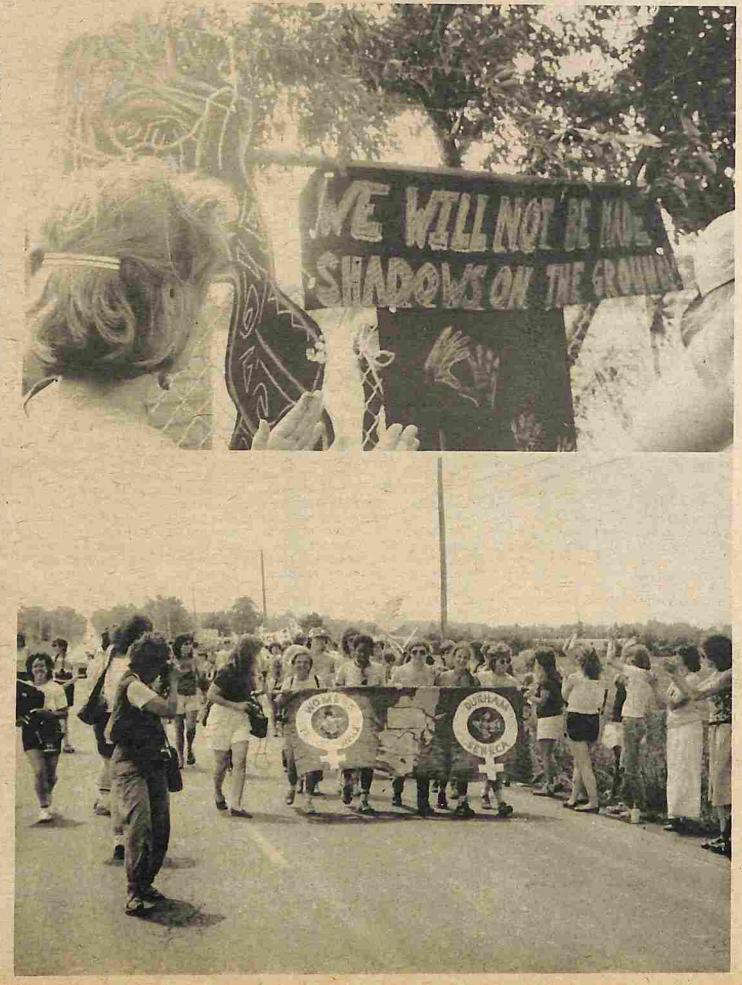
threats such as the comment in a story in the June 27th New York Times which quoted the Romulus town supervisor as saying, "'We aren't so much worried about them, although I want to tell you that the prospect of breaking up 300 mothers is awesome — but what about the others who will be attracted to this sort of thing, Maybe motorcycle gangs — who knows?' "In other words, we are prepared to use force — and invite others to do likewise.

There has been concerted effort by some of the local press and others to unleash area reactionaries against the camp. A story in the Tri-Village Pennysaver, June 1st, in response to the press conference the Encampment held May 23, reported that the women "denied any plan to take off their clothes or to provoke violence," and concluded with an editorial comment: "Where do their directives come from? They stress that none at the press conference were leaders. Who provides the organizational guidelines and the funding? Why the secrecy?" An earlier article in this paper had alluded to "possible terrorist activi-

ty." As the pacifist orientation of the camp and non-violent nature of the planned protests has been highly publicized from the beginning, these rumors of terrorism (including one that 15 heavily armed people from Germany were on their way to the U.S. to use the Peace Encampment as a front) are clearly designed to whip up backward sentiments against the camp, as well as put the women on the defensive.

The American Flag Incident

The biggest political challenge to the camp so far has been the issue of the American flag. Some days before the camp opened, a local resident offered a large American flag to the Encampment to fly on July 4th, commenting that if they flew it people would know where they stood, and if not, he would make sure people found out. This man had previously brought flyers about area churches to the camp; whatever his motivation the gauntlet was down — on this red, white, and blue holiday are you or are you not "American"?



One week before the 4th of July, the Washington Post heralded in the holiday by setting the tone for exactly what kind of activity would be acceptable and what would be unacceptable on such an important day in the nation's capital. In an editorial entitled "Smoke-Out" they hailed the preempting of the Yippies' (Youth International Party) annual July 4th marijuana smoke-in by a "National Family Day," which this year had instead been granted the permit for Lafayette Park across from the White House. "Shed no tears, please," they bloated, "but a Fourth of July tradition in Lafayette Park has been snuffed out - at least officially - by the powers-that-be." Then after taking special note of the burning of blank Selective Service registration cards last year at the smoke-in, they issued their message loud and clear: "presumably, however, authorities will see to it that Family Day is not disrupted by mindless lawbreakers. If anything like that is tried, their message to Yippies should be short and forceful: butt out."

What the authorities were so concerned about preventing was the marring of their big day by the sight of unruly, disrespectful youth who refused to fall in line behind the general flag waving and rallying of respectable America which is so important for them in times like these.

But about 1,000 youth turned out anyway. Under a heavy reign of police harassment, the smoke-in and two days of punk and rock concerts put on by the Rock Against Reagan National Tour were held by the Lincoln Memorial instead. Groups like the Dead Kennedys, MDC (Millions of Dead Cops), a local all-women's rock band and a local reggae band, along with many others, played to a wide variety of people ranging from long-haired Yippies, to suburban youth from the surrounding area, to punks in mohawks and combat boots. A number of youth openly flaunted their disrespect, wearing homemade T-shirts like "The Undesirable Elements" and "I Hate White Amerikkka Slaves."

Back in April, Interior Secretary James Watt had fired the opening shot in the controversy over this year's July 4th celebration when he stirred up a big flap about rock music attracting "undesirable elements," targeting the Beach Boys who

Family Day and the "Undesirables"

every year give patriotic concerts on the Mall which draw hundreds of thousands who celebrate the Fourth. This year, Watt booked instead Wayne Newton, that Las Vegas entertainer (less formally known as that Mafia eunuch) who came to D.C. with his ten Black Belt bodyguards, to provide an appropriate all-American family-style celebration. Nancy and Ronnie then came out and said Watt had goofed and hailed the Beach Boys as good clean-cut American fun. Everyone had a good laugh, including the Beach Boys who had Watt to thank for the added boost they received this year. They put on their usual orgy of patriotism in Atlantic City instead. The whole affair served as a great opportunity to rally the most reactionary around cleaning up the American image and for everybody to reaffirm their patriotism.

Following hot on the heels of this little slap, Watt made his announcement that this year the permits for Lafayette Park would go to the National Family Day Celebration instead of the Yippies smoke-in. Officials claimed that this group had gotten their permit application in one day earlier than the Yippies, who had applied a year ago on July 8, 1982. The Family Day group, a coalition of anti-drug groups headed up by Black D.C. Congressman Walter Fauntroy (who built his reputation on being a former SCLC member), used the issue of drugs leading the nation's youth astray to put forth their reactionary message: "Strong Families Make a Strong America," i.e., preparing the proper atmosphere for the raising of the nation's cannonfodder. This was best captured in the resolution sponsored by Fauntroy in Congress calling for the Family Day Celebration which included such phrases as: "... The family is the source of our strength, our dignity, the transmittal of all the values we hold dear . . . The family is the primary agent for the nurturing of our children, who are the future of our Nation. "The celebration itself proved to be a real non-event, as a pitiful 150 people, mostly families of the speakers and performers, huddled behind phalanxes of club-wielding cops defending the park, and sang songs about "freedom."

In response to all these reactionary rantings, the Yippies' event was marked by quite a bit of reformism. The focus of their march past Lafayette Park was the demand for the legalization of mari-juana, and they called out from their soundtruck, "This is an exercise in freedom, liberty and the First Amendment." Carrying signs which read, "Kids in jail = broken families" and "People opposed to hard drugs," they had fallen into promoting the acceptable terms of marijuana vs. hard drugs and what's best for the family - neither of which is really even progressive. Eyen the change this year in D.C. from Rock Against Racism to Rock Against Reagan represented a significant backing-off of targeting the

system and left the door open for some Yippies to call for people to register to vote, to do "whatever is necessary" to get Reagan out of the White House.

But even given some of the reformist character of the Yippies' event, the authorities were determined that nothing would mar their patriotic celebration and that none of these "undesirable elements" would be allowed to set foot in the park and disrupt the Family Day celebration. The police made a massive show of force by the White House, blocking off the park entirely. As soon as the march neared the park they grabbed the sound system and several people with it. When the Yippies sat down in the street in protest, the police moved in with paddywagons, threatening to sweep the area. A deal was finally made, the police withdrew, and the march moved on past the park; the authorities were none too anxious to have to provide a full-scale demonstration on Independence Day in front of Family Day and the White House of the true glory of bourgeois democracy at its finest. But throughout the entire weekend, they kept up constant harassment of the events, making over thirty arrests. They went particularly after the punks, arresting one woman on weapons charges for wearing a studded belt, and ripping off studded bracelets and other items worn by many of the punks.

While there were some significant contradictions in the stand taken by the Yippies and RAR organizers, the weekend's activities did have some of the elements of the disrespect and hatred for America and imperialism that the authorities were so anxious to silence. Throughout the entire march, one youth walked in front and waved in the faces of the pigs an American flag wrapped like a chain around his hand in which he held torn Selective Service cards. During the concert that evening, an American flag was burned among the crowd, and there was much agitation against the U.S.'s presence in Central America. During the militaristic display of July 4th fireworks, the police forced a silencing of the music, and the lead singer for MDC who was interrupted from playing shouted, "Here we see the glory of America - dropping bombs on people all over the world.'

Women Encamp At Seneca

Continued from page 3

The small number of women then at the camp met for 3 hours and then sent this man a letter explaining that because some of the women objected to the flag being flown they could not reach consensus on the issue and therefore could not accept the flag. Some women had objected because they felt it was a symbol of militarism and oppression, others because nuclear arms is an international issue and therefore no one national flag should be flown.

True to his threat, the flag-man then excerpted the letter and sent it to local newspapers and got what the bourgeoisie wanted - outcries and actions from enraged local citizenry. One letter in the Finger Lakes Times stated, "Since our uninvited guests across the lake seem to have an aversion to our American flag and what it stands for I suggest that we all put up our flags every day this summer. These people then will be confronted all the time they are here with the red, white, and blue of the flag they spurned. Thus we can show them in a quiet way that we in the Finger Lakes love our country and respect its flag." Others called for not-soquiet measures, such as protest marches around the Encampment. And the incidents of good-ol'-boys driving past the Encampment and shouting obscenities and things such as "Commies (or 'pinkos,' or 'broads') go home" increas-

An all-camp meeting was called to discuss the flag issue again, and when no agreement could be reached a group of 15 - 5 who wanted to fly the flag, 5 opposed and 5 to mediate - was set up, and after a 6 hour meeting July 3rd announced that they could not reach consensus to fly the U.S. flag but that any woman who wanted to could put whatever message she wanted on an individual "flag" (a piece of cloth), and that if anyone wanted to include a U.S. flag with her message she could draw one. Of some 30 individually-made "flags" that went up the next day, only two had representa-tions of the U.S. flag. One of the strongest pro-flag flyers inscribed beneath her hand-painted stars and stripes: "America - Freedom to be me/to love/to paint/to vote/to write/to sing/to travel/to live in peace with all and all the good things." This view was not shared by many, but a number of others who said they were not "flagwavers" and some who even agreed that the stars and stripes symbolized imperialist oppression and plunder to millions around the world questioned whether tactically they should have flown the flag so as not to inflame local patriotic sentiments. Indeed, by July 3rd U.S. flags thoughtfully provided by the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) lined the stretch of road between the depot and the women's camp.

Not "Offend the Community"?

The effect of all this has been to strengthen the view that the camp should do everything it can "not to offend the community" - which would be very hard to do as the community in the Encampment's own handbook is characterized as mostly "conservative Republicans." While this has been a strong tendency within the camp core, the great majority of women who converged at the Encampment for July 4th were decidedly of the opinion that they had come to make a strong statement about nuclear weapons and no threat of violence or possible community disapproval was going to deter them. There had been intense discussion the night before and that morning about whether or not to have a civil disobedience action at the depot on July 4th. (The camp organizers have called for a major action on August 1, and consciously did not put

out a big call for July 4th based on wanting to establish good relations with the community before launching any major action.) It was decided that a few women would plant a rose bush outside the gate on depot land, but when time came for the women to go, nearly the entire camp marched to the depot.

The depot commander had clearly gotten orders not to have a confrontation that day. There were only 2 guards at the gate, one a woman, who watched the women plant the rose bush and made no moves when several tied themselves to the gates and began keening (a sound of mourning). The women read a statement and presented it to the guards, then formed circles and chanted and sang

Local residents lined the route, most sitting in their yards with the red, white, and blue prominently displayed, and while most we talked to said nuclear weapons were "necessary to defend us against the Russians" most also said they wished something could be done about getting rid of nuclear weapons but that "you can't fight city hall." One Vietnam vet who had come with three other vets to put American flags around the rose bush the women planted said that they'd "defended the flag" in Vietnam and that the women should fly it "if they're American women." At the same time, he said that he didn't see any hope for the future, that he didn't like to think about what was ahead, and that "whoever starts over afterwards, I hope they do better." Another local man, a 40-year-old mechanic, said his brother had spent six years in Vietnam and called it a war where "the Army marched us in to take a country over." He thought the women's action was a very good thing. "The people in power aren't concerned with life,' said, "just how their names will go down

While most were defenders of the red,

white and blue, the area residents we talked to supported to women's "right to express their views" and were not the per-sonification of "outraged Americans" conjured up in the press. What is going on here becomes clearer in light of the fact the local sheriff's department provided "escorts" in front of and in the rear of the march, ostensibly to protect it. In this scene, the local cops are presenting themselves as neutral protectors of the camp against a potentially violent citizenry.

The bourgeoisie is quite deliberately here attempting to exaggerate on two fronts the local reaction: one - exaggerating its reactionary aspects as a physical threat to beat down opposition; and two, exaggerating the importance of this reaction in an effort to strengthen a particular political point of view that holds up "the community" as the ultimate arbiter of what should be done.

In opposition to this, most of the women wanted to make a strong statement to the country and the whole world, and were driven to do this by world events, specifically imperialist war

moves.

The bourgeoisie is certainly putting some effort into defusing and blunting the sharp edge of political opposition expressed by many of the women who came to the Encampment on July 4th. But the struggle and wrangling over major questions which has characterized the camp so far - questions crystalized by the debate over the flag and what actions if any to take at the base - can only deepen during the course of the summer, and shoots of a very different kind from those acceptable to the bourgeoisie are sure to spring up.

Bobby Knight, consummate Ugly American and head coach of the U.S. 1984 Olympic basketball team. A recent L.A. Times feature glorifying him said, "In many ways he's the perfect choice, a political-minded patriot who can coach." And the qualifications do come in that order. The Times quotes a friend of Knight's, Robert Byrnes, a professor at Indiana University where Knight is the regular basketball coach: "I'm sure Bob sees it as a chance to match our system against theirs. He takes this very seriously. Of course, what doesn't he take seriously?" And friends, professor Byrnes should know about such matters; not only is he a "Soviet expert" as the Times tells us, but his listing in the '82-'83 Who's Who In America also credits him with the following: "Civilian service M.I. A.U.S., 1944-45" (Military Intelligence, Army of the United States), "staff Office Nat. Estimates, CIA, 1951-54," and he's been on the Board of Directors of Radio Free Europe since 1975 - all among many other accomplishments. Bobby Knight has the right kind of friends, temperament, and politics to do a bangup job for U.S. imperialism in 1984. Take it from those who know.

The Times article says as much about the whole point of the Olympics as it does about Knight — and with about as much subtlely as an MX missile with a Moscow target. "Knight stops short of calling the Olympics an East-West confrontation," the Times says, "but as a student of politics he knows well the political and propaganda value of the games. And he's not above spreading a little propaganda for the good old U.S. of A." Is this the same newspaper that has, at times, editorialized for a return to the "true ideals" of the "Olympic movement" all that "brotherhood" crap? But then Bobby Knight is the "perfect choice" to represent what the imperialists mean by "brotherhood." The Times adds that Knight sees the Olympics as "a chance to show what Americans are made of, the right stuff. If nothing else, he's a patriot. He loves his country, is willing to fight for

The Knight In America's Court

his country, and is proud to represent his country." Perhaps in '84 Knight will pace the sidelines of the basketball court carrying an M-16 instead of a clipboard.

Knight, often referred to as the General Patton of college basketball, is certainly viewing the "games" in the proper pre-World War 3 context. He says — about the "games" — "I think the team, because of what it represents, throws out a challenge. You know, here we are, you want a shot at us, and then the team has the opportunity to say something. The team has the opportunity to say we took your challenge, we beat you. We took your challenge, not just yours, but yours and yours and yours, and we knew that all of you were coming at us. I think that's when the team has the opportunity to make a declaration, and hopefully we'll be able to do that.'

Bobby Knight has a career's worth of preparation for this olympic task. A substitute on an NCAA championship team in 1960, he became an assistant basketball coach at a high school when he graduated. One year later, he was named assistant coach at West Point, and two years later, at 24, he was the head coach (contrary to the Knight myth, it wasn't strictly his "determination," etc., that got him the West Point job — it was arranged by his old Ohio State basketball coach — although it must be said he fit right in at the military academy).

Knight's teams won a lot of games at West Point, and a few years later he moved on to Indiana, inheriting one of the most successful basketball powerhouses and winning a lot more games. More than just winning games, he turned the Indiana team from a fast-break, run-andgun, exciting offensive team into a slowdown, defense-oriented team, correctly described in a 60 Minutes profile as "more suited to a battleground than a playground. He permits little individual freedom, few flashy moves, no one-onone play" In a right-on-time philosophy for U.S. imperialism, Knight believes its "the team" and not "the individual" that counts.

Knight is famous for his ranting and raving on the sidelines, berating his players (even yanking one off the court by his jersey), getting into fights with fans, etc. On the 60 Minutes show he compared coaching his players with working with his hunting dogs — they have innate physical ability, he says, but they need to be trained. In the three years after his team won the NCAA title in 1976, ten players quit his team in disgust (two were thrown off for getting caught smoking pot). But all the media continued to insist "Knight is not a racist."

Still, Knight has been able to recruit top players and continue to win. As another coach says of him, there's a constituency in America for Bobby Knight and his 'discipline... crew haircuts, bow ties, the '40s and '50s, General Patton, charge into the machine-gun nest, that type of thing....' In a scene where

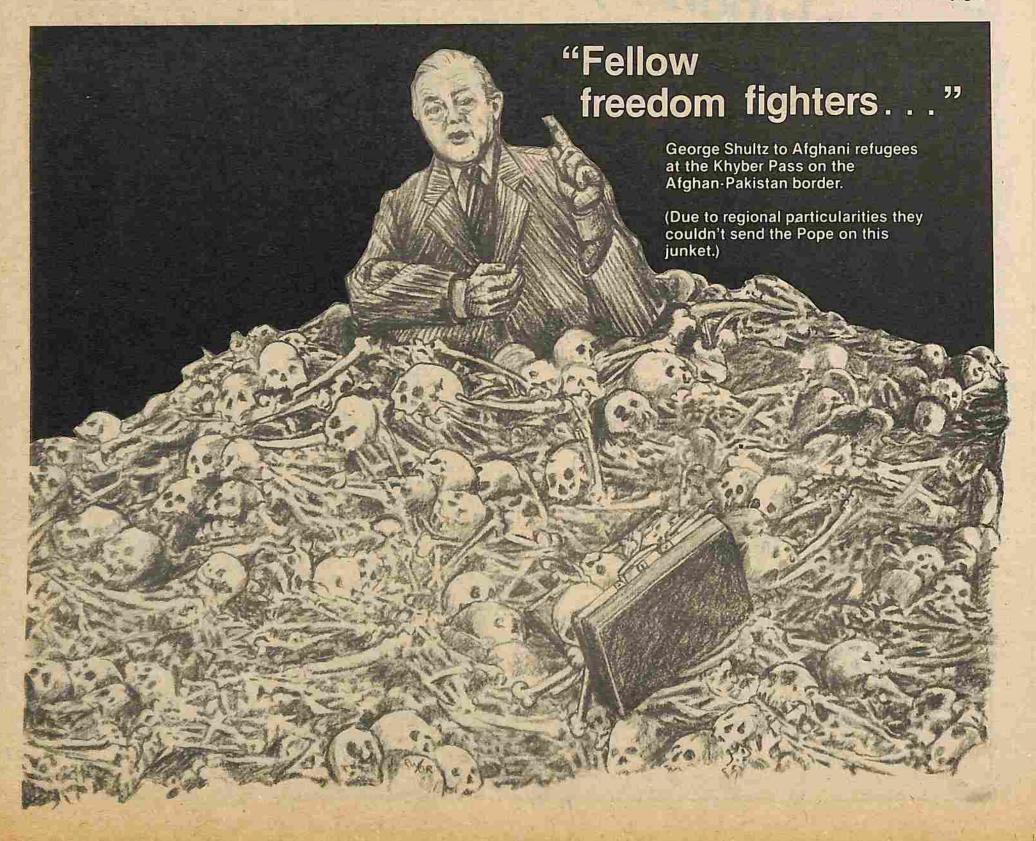
recruitment of players is based largely on under-the-table money, Knight is said to be unwilling to participate, he's no cheater, he follows the rules. (In a shocking turnabout, CBS News reported in March 1982 that Knight was being investigated for recruiting violations. But CBS News was the only one to report it and there hasn't been a word of it since).

Puerto Rico Incident

But the incident for which he is most noted, and which most clearly demonstrates his true-blue Americanism, occurred during the Pan-Am Games in 1979 in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The L.A. Times feature refers to the incident, saying Knight "argued with a police officer, and got convicted of aggravated assault." The fact that Knight socked a Puerto Rican cop isn't even the main thing in this incident. Knight openly admits, brags really, that he "hates women." When the U.S. team arrived in a gym to practice, there were some women from the Brazilian women's basketball team in the gym. Knight ordered them out, calling them "a bunch of dirty whores." When the cop got involved, Knight, the cop says, called him a "dirty nigger" and punched him.

At a press conference in Puerto Rico at

At a press conference in Puerto Rico at the time of the incident, when a woman UPI reporter with a suntan raised her hand to ask a question, Knight launched into a diatribe against Puerto Rico.



Motions Appeal Denied In Darnell Summers Case

June 29th, in the State of Michigan vs. Darnell Summers, the Michigan State Court of Appeals issued a decision refusing the defense application to appeal the denial of 7 defense motions before trial. However, the good judges apparently felt that upholding the trial court's overtly political decision that Darnell should not be provided with transcripts at state expense because of the existence of the defense committee (the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers), even though Judge Sullivan has ruled that Darnell is "without funds," was going too far in even this raggedy railroad. So they affirmed Darnell's right to the transcripts "unless the Court finds that the transcripts requested are not needed for an effective defense or that the defendant is not indigent,"

As those familiar with this blatantly political "criminal" prosecution will recall, the trial court has denied all of the pre-trial motions argued by Darnell's defense attorneys. These motions dissect the state's "criminal case" from every angle, exposing the absolute lack of evidence behind the charge of first degree murder this revolutionary internationalist is facing, making a firm legal argument for why the charge should never have been brought to court, and

demanding that it be thrown out now.

The legal basis on which the Appeals Court is supposed to decide whether or not to hear an appeal before trial rests on whether or not the issues involve "controlling questions of law as to which there are substantial grounds for differences of opinion and that an immediate appeal may materially advance the ultimate termination of the litigation." In Darnell's case, one of the motions would throw the charge out of court, since the prosecution has not even made the pretense of presenting any new evidence for bringing the charge back after a 14-year delay only the same testimony of a witness (Milford Scott) whose previous admission (in 1969) that his testimony was nothing but police-inspired lies led to the dropping of the charge at that time. Another motion challenges the refusal of the state to turn over to the defense illegal surveillance of Darnell's political activity collected over the past two decades material essential to substantiate the defense position that the only motivation for bringing the charge in 1969 and again today is political, and material to which the defense has a clear legal right. Could there be any legitimate doubt about whether an immediate appeal of these issues could "materially advance the ultimate termination of the litigation"?

Contrary to the stated opinion of the Appeals Court that the application to appeal the decisions before trial failed to "persuade the Court of the need for immediate appellate review," this decision reveals the continued determination of

the authorities to stop the very dangerous unraveling of their "criminal case" against Darnell and get on with the business of railroading a revolutionary with as little political exposure of their system as possible in the process.

This outrageous attack has already led significant sections of the proletariat and its allies to step out and wage the battle to get this charge thrown out once and for all! This latest move by the state is not about to put an end to the exposure of this railroad. The defense is appealing the motions to the Michigan Supreme Court - an appeal that will be accompanied by supporting briefs already being prepared by major progressive legal organizations. Articles exposing this case as a blatant attack on a revolutionary are beginning to appear in diverse publications nationwide, and with the trial scheduled for November 1st, the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers is preparing a Statement of Opposition endorsed by a wide variety of individuals and organizations from across the country for publication in a Detroit daily in the fall.

Funds are urgently needed. To join the battle, contact:

Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., No. 324 Detroit, Michigan, 48211 (313) 871-4616

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The Knight In America's Court

Continued from page 5

Later, according to that reporter, "When Knight found out I wasn't Puerto Rican, he came over and apologized, but I still feel terrible about the incident."

After Knight was convicted, in absentia, a month later, the governor of Indiana immediately announced he would not allow him to be extradited to Puerto Rico. William Simon, head of the United States Olympic Committee, said Knight was "railroaded" and named him Olympic head coach; truly an imperialist chorus of "innocent-as-charged" went up. The New York Times, the L.A. Times, Time magazine and others all say he did wrong, but it was "understandable."

And understandable it was to the im-(night was quoted in the Saturday Evening Post and New York Times in his own defense, saying, "Did you know that five American flags were burned during opening ceremonies? See, nobody here knows that. Now to me, if I'm an American reporter, that's going to upset me unbelievably to see that happen. And I'm going to really raise hell about that. The number of times the national anthem was booed" (Others claim there was only one flag burned, and it is not known if there were five or if it just seemed that way to Knight.) A New York Times writer has written of his concern that with the Olympics in L.A., with so many people from Latin America and the Caribbean ("Hispanics," as they like to say), U.S. teams may face the same or worse than in 1979, and what will Bobby do then? He could spoil everything, the writer fears.

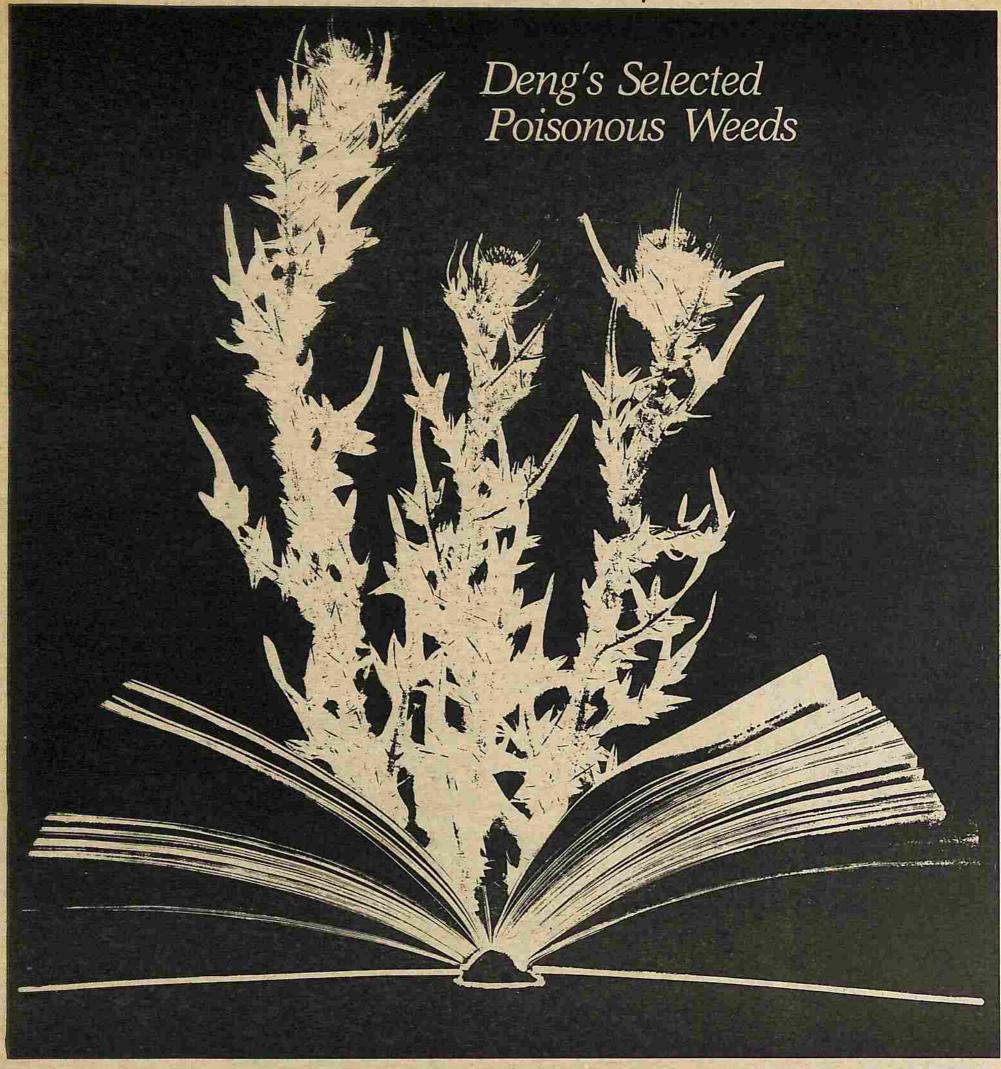
Knight was once again in the middle of controversy this year for making a joke on the dinner circuit about the whole incident. He said the last thing he did on the plane leaving Puerto Rico was "moon" the island through the window. When this "joke" got publicized, there were again demands in some quarters for his removal as coach. But that's in the past

now. As the L.A. Times put it, "Now the jokes have ended. The Olympics are too important."

Some have fretted about Knight coaching the U.S. team in Los Angeles — a city with a huge Spanish speaking immigrant population. They worry that such a blatant chauvinist pig might be too obvious a contradiction there. But obviously a decision has been made that Knight is just what is needed to make a point to the world — and stick it to these immigrants, too — that the real America is rough and ready for action.

The L.A. Times highlights a quote from a Knight assistant, "Bob Knight is all about apple pie, the red, white, and blue, and the American way." What could be more fitting than his American chauvinism? Or his American classic statement about women, "There's only two things you people are good for: having kids and frying bacon." His wife of 17 years says, "I believe a woman should try and stay in the home. I've never been anything but very happy and satisfied to spend my life raising a family"! What a perfect representative for U.S. imperialism at the '84 Games.

Of course, it isn't to say the U.S. will have no use for other representatives more up-to-date-sounding and democratic, perhaps - but the Bobby Knight model is very important to them now as a spearhead for gung-ho reaction. As the Times says, "He's looking for a place in history." Knight told Sports Illustrated, "If the Guy says tomorrow, hey, this country is in trouble and it needs you in this position or that one, then I'd give up coaching tomorrow and go." But Knight is in a very important position now, and it's similar to a point he made on 60 Minutes that he's not as concerned about "the will to win" as he is "the will to prepare to win." Preparation has everything to do with the '84 pre-war Olympics and Bobby Knight's role in it, preparation for the all-out "East-West confrontation" ahead.



"Black cat, white cat. . . it doesn't matter so long as it catches mice."

Deng Xiaoping (quoted during the Cultural Revolution)

From a man with thoughts like this, one would hardly expect much in the way of theoretical work. But, lo and behold, Deng, that Chinese revisionist champion of pragmatism has produced a book (and a thick one at that), proving, if nothing else, that windy nonsense will fill pages as full as anything else.

On July 1st, the selected poisonous weeds of Deng — or, as the Chinese revisionists officially call it, Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982) — went on sale in bookstores in China. Over 12 million copies of the book have already been printed. Gathered in this collection are 47 out of more than 400 speeches and talks Deng reportedly made in this period, many of them previously unpublished.

It wasn't so long ago that the revisionists were making a big fuss about opposing "worship of individuals," as part of an overall attack against Mao Tsetung's revolutionary legacy. A Central Committee directive in late 1980 complained that "There have been too many portraits, quotations and poems of Chairman Mao in public places, which

showed a lack of political dignity." It also warned that "The publication of biographies or collections of writings of individuals should be handled care." What this meant, of course, was the suppression of writings by Mao and other revolutionary leaders and the promotion of writings by revisionist heavies. The Red Book of quotations by Mao has been effectively banned and Volume 5 of Mao's Selected Works (published after Mao's death and already edited by the revisionists) recalled for further tampering. Meanwhile the writings of Liu Shaogi and Zhou Enlai, two major revisionist figures, have been published amid much fanfare. Now big headlines splash across the front pages of the revisionist papers glorifying Deng's selected weeds as "the guide to China's path forward.'

The publication of Deng's book has indeed been "handled with care," right down to the conscious choice of the date of the public unveiling. July 1st being the 62nd anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, this is a slick attempt to lend some historical weight to Deng's image and his line.

According to the revisionist English language newspaper China Daily, Deng's book "will also prove edifying to all Chinese Communist Party members during the forthcoming 'rectification cam-

paign' to further purify and strengthen the party." The key leaders of the Cultural Revolution - most notably Chiang Ching and Chan Chun-chiao who remain firm in upholding Mao's line have already been arrested or killed by the revisionists. The planned big-scale purge is directed in particular at those members recruited into the party during the Cultural Revolution, who still comprise about half of the total party membership. Deng & Co. need to further root out any remaining influence of Mao and the Cultural Revolution and more thoroughly transform the character of the party, especially by bringing in intellectuals with "knowledge and expertise" on how to mimic and tail Western authorities and with commitment to capitalist "modernization."

Deng's book also deals with the question of Hua Guofeng (remember him?). When the revisionists first came to power, they needed someone like Hua—a revisionist in his own right but not a prime target during the Cultural Revolution like Deng, and therefore less exposed—to act as their front man. They created the myth that Hua was Mao's "chosen successor" and that their coup was a continuation of the Cultural Revolution. But as the revisionists began to solidify their power and open up more brazen attacks

on Mao, Hua became extraneous and an obstacle and was unceremoniously dumped. However, there still remain within the party, even in the upper ranks. forces like Hua who had taken advantage of the fall of those like Deng and rose up to responsible positions during the Cultural Revolution. These forces see Deng and the drive to "reform" the party as a threat to their entrenched position. The selected weeds hit at these forces by presenting Deng as having had the "correct line" all along. Why, even before he was officially rehabilitated in mid-1977, Deng was already giving talks that widened the scope of attacks on Mao and implicitly attacked Hua! What the revisionists cover up is that Deng himself certainly went along with the overall revisionist strategy to push forward Hua in that period. You will not see in Deng's book his letters to the Central Committee dated October 1976 and April 1977 in which he expresses firm support for the election of Hua as chairman, describes him as ideologically and politically suitable to the post and also of an age which ensures many years of relative

Another aspect of "handling with care" is the fact that the selection contains no works dealing with foreign Continued on page 12

Special to the RW - This article is the second in a series. The first article, "Miami: Unexpected Crack in a City of the Future," appeared in RW No. 205.

"I am reaching into my pocket to get my wallet ... I am taking my driver's license out of my wallet " Richard Pryor's biting description of the "police/ community relations" that are typical in the ghetto was being repeated everywhere. In fact, in March of 1983 you could say it had become the theme routine of Liberty City and Overtown in Miami. Wherever we went we were treated to renditions of it by everyone from little kids to old men and women.

What prompted this wave of proletarian humor was not only the murders of six Black people by Miami cops in the past five months, or even the fact that in every case the victims had been accused of making a "sudden move" while the cops had cocked guns trained on their heads (the most recent had been shot at point-blank range while sitting in the passenger seat of a car). No, what people were slashing with humor and heaping disdain upon was not just the swaggering pigs, but a campaign being run at the time by a group of rather prominent "community leaders" - a campaign that has to rank among the all-time greatest hits of sycophancy.

Les Brown is widely promoted as the "voice of Miami's Black community." Among other things, he has a daily show of commentary on WEDR, the most popular station among Black people in Miami. Around the time of the 5th police murder, he began devoting his time to informing the Black people of Miami just how to act when stopped by the cops in order to keep from becoming their next victim. When stopped by the police, Brother Les intoned, "Be polite. Don't make sudden moves. Don't try to hide your stash. Don't go for your wallet until the officer knows that's what you're doing." Brown coined the term "sudden moves syndrome," and declared in all seriousness that this was a psychological problem Black people had which is why they were getting gunned down so often. He even brought Miami's highest Black official, City Manager Howard Gary, on to explain how he had dealt with the cops that had stopped him during the Overtown rebellion: Gary politely explained to the officer how he was indeed the city manager on city business; and lo and behold, he didn't get his brains blown out.

A lot of people we talked with on the street were in a mild state of shock. How could these people have the gall to run such shit? Whose side are they on, any-

A quite revealing 100-page document prepared by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in the summer of 1980 - with the flames of the Liberty City rebellion still smoldering - appropriately entitled "Prevention and Control of Urban Disorders: Issues for the 1980s" sheds some light on this question. What Les Brown, Howard Gary and a host of others have been aggressively putting into practice these past few years bears a striking resemblance to an innovative and quite significant strategy formulated by the LEAA called "creative conflict intervention."

But before going into this intriguing new strategy for the '80s, we should give some background to this LEAA report. The Miami rebellions — and in fact the general state of defiance and rebelliousness among a significant section of the Black masses there - have not been typical activity in even the most oppressed of Black communities in this country today. Quite the contrary, The events in Miami have stood out starkly against the gray sky of "legitimate protest," "working within the system," "don't offend the majority," and any number of other tomes of "reason" that have so thickly polluted the air. Yet it is exactly in its uniqueness that Miami has taken on such significance - exactly because it represents not an isolated incident or a throwback to the past, tumultuous days gone by of the '60s, but because it is a genuine seed of the future.

Nowhere is this more forcefully argued than in the LEAA report, a farsighted document that is pointedly telling the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie in the cities that it's time to put the cards on the table and deal in the reality of the days to come. Miami may not characterize what is happening across the country, but unquestionably, argues the LEAA, it represents some "advanced experience." Quoting a 1976 study by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, they point out:

'We cannot afford to ignore the underlying causes of civil disorders during this period of relative calm. The urban crisis is far from being resolved: in many ways, the state of the great cities is

facts may well have contributed to the present quiescence. But this is a false calm, and we must see in the current social situation an accumulation of trouble for the future."

With that future in mind, they sharply dissect the experience of the police role in the Miami rebellion and the general state of "disorder control planning" nationally. Out of their frank analysis of a number of critical problems evidenced in Miami, they present a plan for all-around police preparation for the '80s - a decade in which "policing in this country will be characterized by efforts to accomplish and maintain civil order and consensus.'

The LEAA document presented here is a military plan, aimed at preparing police, the government and military to both better predict and more effectively put down rebellions, and the problems they are addressing are contradictions they see standing in the way of being able to do just that. The key link they argue for is forging together the numerous forces that will have to act in unison in times of crisis. "It has now become commonplace to state that the police can no longer act alone in preventing disorder. The prevention and control of disorder must become a collaborative effort between government, citizens, and the police.... Assessing the potential for disorder is not a one-time activity; it requires the establishment of new police functions which will involve police personnel at all levels of the organization, officers with special competencies and relationships, as well as neighborhood-based organizations.'

Represented in this report are the views and programs of the enlightened enforcers, the likes of Lee P. Brown, the Black former Public Safety Commissioner from Atlanta (of Black youth murders fame) and current police chief in Houston, who assisted in its writing. These are the forces that argue that while a massive show of police firepower is often the only answer to a "breakdown in order," there are other more subtle, more intricate and in some ways more effective means to "prevent and control disorders." While the report deals with a number of contradictions, the key link in their program is their argument, made from a number of different angles, that significant sections of the middle forces among Black people, those who "have a major stake in the orderly development of the neighborhoods," can and must be drawn into and be made part of this military strategy for the cities themselves. In fact, they go so far as to emphatically state that short of making real advances in accomplishing this, there is no way that police departments will be able to deal with the intense pressures and tests they are bound to be put through in this decade. While this is by no means the only question addressed, it is quite central to the authors' overall program. It is also very revealing to see an essentially military document discuss deployment of chemical gas in one paragraph and "Black community leaders" in the next.

This strategy, the authors point out, is crucial to dealing with the new and quite complex contradictions that are emerging today, contradictions far more intense and ominous than those of the '60s. Putting it bluntly, they state that "disorder plans of the 1960s" just will no longer cut it. The difference between the times they point out on two fronts. Most importantly, they argue, is that what mainly characterizes the mood in the ghettos today is despair at things ever getting better a mood rooted, they admit, in reality. The LEAA is quite candid in admitting in this report that some kind of "turnaround" in conditions is not in the cards this time, and any strategy for the police based on that would be deadly. Their task today is not to pretend to "solve" the conditions faced by the masses (even if that's what they're telling people they're doing), but to find the most creative and effective ways to suppress, contain and sidetrack them as those conditions and their causes inevitably become increasingly sharp and explosive.

Further on they emphasize: "Many of these changes are in the form of critical fiscal problems that have called into question the ability of government agencies to maintain or expand services and thereby sustain the consensus that government works to the advantage of all in an equitable, stable and efficient manner. Other social problems have been identified that have not received the attention they warrant, given the fact that these problems carry with them the potential for becoming major social crises. Each of these problems creates a context for the 1980s that is significantly different from that of the 1960s or early 1970s - a context which requires a different treatment of the prevention and control of disorders than had been prescribed by earlier disorder studies.'

ference they see in the 1980s is the existence of significant class forces among Black people who have a particularly crucial role to play in "creative conflict intervention": "Creative intervention into community conflict differs greatly from the police/community relations programs of the 1960s. Creative intervention seeks to affect deteriorating social relationships within a neighborhood and between the neighborhood and police.



we noted some of the possible uses of disorder reports, particularly in educating others about disorder trends. These 'others' are often part of a large network of talent found in community-based agencies or organizations - each of which has a major stake in the orderly development of the neighborhoods they serve. Many such agencies are known to the police....It is this network that should be convened by the police executive, commanders and line officers to obtain some insight and consensus on practical strategies to lessen the possibility of further tension or disorder. Members of this network may be highly skilled professionals, such as psychiatrists and psychologists serving in community mental health centers; others may be youth counselors and outreach workers who are part of a wider network of community action agencies that sponsor a host of small neighborhood-based centers; some may be small, relatively obscure self-help organizations serving only a few streets in heavily populated areas. Through some form of communications, these organizations are in touch with one another; collectively, as a network, they form an incredibly active resource. For too long, this resource has remained aloof from the police and vice versa. Rather than waiting for these individuals and agencies to act after a disorder, it seems more useful to engage them in community problemsolving and conflict intervention before a disorder."

A number of these organizations, agencies and individuals are already tied into the government in many cities in various ways. But what the LEAA is calling for here is even more than that, taking the step of drawing these forces into their military apparatus itself as it becomes the case that their "normal" work may be overshadowed and dominated by rebellions such as what broke out in Miami. In that light, Miami provides invaluable experience to learn from.

Advance Preparation

Right from the jump, the report is highly critical of the Miami and Dade County police departments for what they see as appalling and unnecessary lack of preparation for, or even knowledge of, the likelihood of rebellion in the wake of the McDuffie verdict. In a backhanded

swipe, they point out that on May 6 (the rebellion broke out on May 17, the same day of the McDuffie verdict) the Dade County community relations board released a report that clearly stated the city was about to blow, yet "after the McDuffie verdict was announced, there was a widespread belief among police officers that the potential for violence was fairly low. The community was perceived as being basically nonviolent."

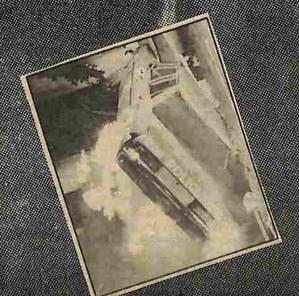
On the day of the McDuffie verdict no special plans had been made, and only a few extra forces were assigned or alerted. Even for several hours after the verdict, when they were getting numerous reports of cops being attacked by crowds of Black youth and cops were being literally driven out of large sections of Liberty City, they still didn't act on what they call a "worse case" scenario — which meant losing precious time as the initiative was quickly seized by the masses. The LEAA's contention is that those first hours are a crucial period, during which

decisive police action can determine whether or not things will get completely out of hand, "The initial police response to a major or escalating disorder is the most important action police agencies take. Critical issues include dealing with organizational inertia, availability of personnel, mobilization, deployment, tac-tics, the provision of strong command presence throughout wide-based field activities, and prior understanding and agreements about what actions are to be taken in order to limit or control the spread of a disorder." Yet by 9:30 p.m. (the verdict had come in at 3:00), "mobs of various ages and sexes, ranging from small groups of a dozen to several hundred, had taken control of the streets to the extent that the effective police action was judged to be relatively impossible by many officials." Largely resulting from this, they sum up that the rebellion was never actually put down, but spontaneously ran its course.

Not a pretty picture for a ruling class facing the future potential for much more widespread and serious upheaval than that experienced in Miami - and one that calls for some hard re-evaluation. A big part of the problem the LEAA authors point to has been the effect of a relatively long lull period through the '70s, a period that's had its share of "disturbances" - none of which, however, spread into the kind of widespread and escalating outbreaks that marked the revolutionary upsurges of the '60s'. It's even understandable in that light that things that in retrospect were clear indications of increasing tensions would be seen as isolated, containable incidents. "In Continued on page 10







Miami:

Continued from page 9

Miami and Dade County," they point out, "rock throwing at police response units is, in some areas, so common that it is often considered a routine occurrence." Not so in the future, they emphatically state: "Disorder plans... must address the daily incidents, which, normally non-explosive, may have the potential for rapid escalation." This basic lesson that was learned well in the '60s has, they argue, been virtually forgotten. Much of what was learned in the '60s, they point out, has been "collecting dust" while a lot of the people who played key roles in both directly suppressing the masses and formulating strategies are no longer on the scene. Just as one example, "many current governors have no experience in responding to a request for assistance in dealing with a major disorder." And they complain that even such standard bearers in the bourgeoisie's arsenal of "riot control" as SWAT teams have gotten rusty or even been disbanded in some cities.

But much more crucial than dusting off some presidential commission reports from the 1960s is the drawing in and wielding of those new forces in the communities. How else can the cops keep their thumb on the pulse of the masses, they ask. After all, the authors reason, they knew what was coming in 1980. They are the ones the people trust, who know what's going on day to day, who are "part" of the communities where the police are hated. Let's face it, the authors lay out, the police don't always act right. (They even go so far as to admit that "in some instances rising community tension may be the direct result of inappropriate police policies or procedures. Police administrators who consider their policies or procedures as inviolate will run the substantial risk of alienating large seg-ments of the community.") And the "perception" among the oppressed is that they just don't stand for justice and fair play — a perception that, in the view of the LEAA authors, cannot be just swept aside as irrelevant.

Their program is straightforward. They quote from a report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism: "Civil authorities must seek actively to harness the community in the fight against disorder, terrorism, and political violence.... To this end, publicly funded joint community/government action groups should be established in advance of unrest, and these should work energetically to discover any serious problems inherent in the community and to take all practical steps towards their relation?"

This sort of strategic thinking required by the times is admittedly problematic and the authors state that: "Creative strategy development is difficult for many police administrators to understand since unconventional approaches are used... the administrator needs to ask the question: what strategy will accomplish the police objective, be acceptable to the majority of residents in the neighborhood and eliminate the possibility that those engaged in disruptive behavior can use police actions as a basis for

Problems in Practice

building anti-police support."

Since the 1980 rebellion, there has been a lot of activity in Miami on the order called for by the LEAA, including Brother Les Brown's contributions. We were there in a particularly intense period only a couple of months after the Overtown rebellion and the pigs were still gunning people down with impunity. Only two weeks before we arrived there had been yet another "minor disturbance," meaning police had cordoned off the 20-block area in Liberty City and fought youth for two days after closing down a street jam. (The jams, street dances held weekly by the youth themselves, had been the focus of sharp struggle since the 1980 rebellion. The authorities had been trying to find ways to either shut them down or bring them under control for the last three years.) It was standard operating procedure for two or three police cars to arrive on the scene of any call, four cops to a car, with shotguns ready, and it was even announced officially that several

cops were riding on patrol with cocked handguns sitting on their laps. It was virtually a combat zone.

And right in the midst of it all scurried the community relations types, organized into what they called the "crisis response team" — holding meetings, talking about how an "understanding has to be reached between the police and the community," explaining that of course the police have to be more "rational" but it's just as important to rope in these kids who would just as soon throw a rock at a cop as look at him. It's not hard to figure out what the real underlying problems these people are trying to "solve" is.

Actually, we were able to speak at length with a woman in Liberty City, who herself had been an active part of these efforts, including the "blue ribbon panel" that had been appointed by Howard Gary to "invesigate" the murder of Nevell Johnson by cop Louis Alvarez. Through her work with these forces she had developed quite an insightful view of what was going on. She had initially been part of the crisis response force that hit the streets at the start of the Overtown Rebellion but quickly left because the youth "started throwing rocks at me." Now, she pointed out, "they've been mostly dealing with this new thing they have, the 'stress syndrome' (the official word from the police department was that their pigs were killing so many Black people because they were under a lot of "stress" -RW). What they are trying to do now is develop a direct relationship between the community and the police officers when the people have lost respect for the police officers altogether. And they're trying to build them back up, so they figure if they appoint someone that we know we can call on from our community that is supposed to represent us we would be quiet

which is not the truth."

The emphasis on community-level people and organizations in the LEAA report, while having general implications, has run into particular difficulties in Miami. In this city where the international imperatives of U.S. imperialism have designated Miami as a crucial base area for reactionary pro-U.S. forces from Cuba, Nicaragua and elsewhere in Latin America, and home of unreserved patriotism in the Cuban exile community, it has been quite impossible to inject a large number of Black faces into the highest levels of city government with authority over the masses, a key element of the bourgeoisie's strategy in many cities throughout the '70s. There are some, like Howard Gary, who have risen to positions of authority - but they are rare and known for it. Over the past years powerful forces have launched well-publicized attacks on others who have made it into similar positions. Johnny Jones, the first school superintendent in Miami, was run out of office for misuse of funds, shortly before the 1980 rebellion and recent attempts to use bogus charges to kick Alice Hastings, a Black U.S. District Judge who made a ruling favoring release of the Haitian refugees in Krome, were given much national attention.

Along with that, the class polarization among Black people that this LEAA strategy is based on is in fact far from favorable for the bourgeoisie, even around this particular approach. For one thing, in Miami, among the middle forces there is a contradictory mood and many of them aren't so anxious to play the role of lackey and peacekeeper. After all, Arthur McDuffie, beaten to death by the police, could well have been described as one of those people who, because of his class position (he was an insurance salesman), certainly had a "stake in the orderly development of the neighborhood" — a contradiction not so easily forgotten. Furthermore, as we pointed out in RW No. 205, the mildly social-democratic reform politics that have generally emerged from that stratum in this period have been firmly overpowered in Miami by the politics of imperialist domination and war (particularly in Latin America), which has had the effect of somewhat jarring the masses of Black people loose from the heavy hand of "reform within the system" so prominent nowadays.

And while that class polarization (the side of it, that is, that produced people who "made it") may have had the effect through the '70s of lulling many Black masses to sleep with the illusory vision that "Black people can make it in this country," it has mainly laid the basis for quite the opposite effect, further em-

phasizing the situation actually faced by millions of Black people in this country who are part of the proletariat. Marvin Dunn is a Black psychologist who has coauthored a book on the 1980 rebellion that will be published this summer. He views the class polarization among Black people in Miami as one of the central factors leading to the rebellion and described what he meant by that to the RW: "You have to make a distinction between those Black people, and there are a significant number of them even here in Miami, who profited directly from the civil rights struggle of the 1960s, who became joiners into the mainstream, and who are doing very well. For those people, compared to the 1960s, they're doing much better. The number of Blacks entering college today compared to 1960 has quadrupled. A lot of Blacks are moving into the appropriate pathways to become part of middle-class America. But for the vast majority of Black people, I think the 1980s reveal that they are even more locked into their poverty and ghettos than they were in the 1960s because the hopeful goals presented to people by the 1960s, the war on poverty, the government's commitment to end poverty in our time and all that people see that that hasn't been done, it hasn't happened. And now we are two decades later, and the same problems persist - perhaps even more serious than they were in the 1960s - and I think there's even less hope in ever escaping these conditions. So you've got two groups of Black people. On the one hand, some seem to be doing very well - but for the much larger group of them - the so-called Black underclass - they are sinking deeper and deeper into the morass that keeps them struggling." Clearly, the road ahead for the LEAA's 'creative conflict intervention' strategy is a rocky one indeed.

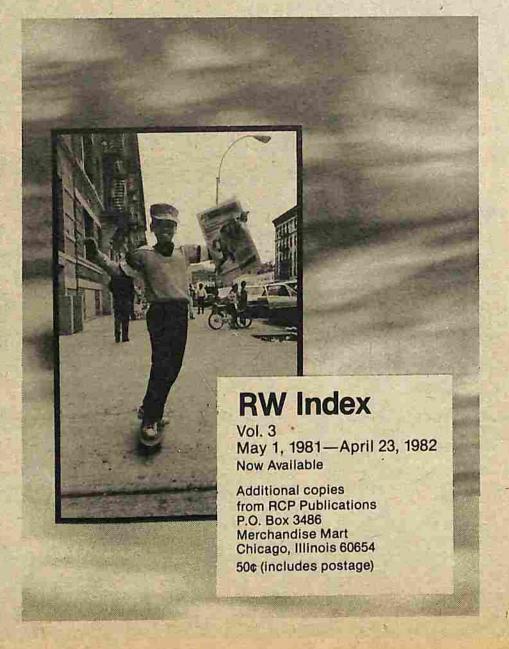
But it should be emphasized once again that the point of this program is not to attempt to prevent outbreaks, but part of a military plan to draw the middle forces into the overall work of preparing to quickly, decisively, and forcefully put down rebellions — rebellions the authors repeatedly argue which will be a feature of the '80s despite their best prevention efforts.

In this context a key thrust of the entire report is that rebellions are not merely violent acts that cause extensive damage and disrupt the "orderly" workings of the particular city they occur in — far more is involved, and far more is at stake. Especially in the context of the 1980s, rebellions become a major political event with far-reaching ramifications — and Miami is certainly an illustration of that.

"When a disorder occurs," the report states, "there is often national media attention on the community, its government, and its police agency. Special interest groups, public and private, local and national, will focus their attention and advice on the manner in which the police organization and the government handle the disorder. Debates about the causes of the disorder, the adequacy or appropriateness of the police response and the search for solutions to intractable social problems will converge. A police administrator must be prepared to deal with these new, and often competing pressures. A significant amount of organizational stress often results from the period of extended disorder control activity. Departmental disciplinary systems become taxed, morale is affected, and a period of organizational and individual self-criticism often

Thus, problems and contradictions which may seem minor under normal conditions become quite intense and dangerous during outbreaks and everything is under the intense spotlight of national and international public opinion. In this light, even logistical questions can take on far-reaching political ramifications - if the authorities are not able to quickly and smoothly mobilize, coordinate and lead sizeable contingents of police, national guard, army, and other crucial forces, not only chaos but quite dangerous ruptures can occur. The LEAA report is quite critical of what they consider to be top-heavy and complacent bureaucracies that have emerged in this period of relative calm and are often filled with petty factionalism and competition, a situation they see as increasingly intolerable: "Attempts to create interagency agreements and collaborative solutions have been frustrated, and the resulting conflict between agencies calls into question the entire institutional fabric of a society. Such questioning may generate demands for violent actions aimed at the destruction of such institutions." It seems the LEAA has more than just rebellion in mind when they speak of the 1980s.

These problems exist, they emphasize, on all levels of the government and police apparatus, not just the top. Much attention is paid to the problems of the "line officers," the average pigs who in the past few years have become quite used to running amuck in small groups, out of sight and with a good deal of impunity. They aren't prepared for the kind of combat conditions in which they are under the



L.A. Pig Tales

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unusual for the agent to have some sudden "recollections" — or, more accurately, revelations. Nevertheless, it is rather fantastic for Chief Gates to attribute the so-called "plans" to the report of an agent who wasn't even able to get close enough to party members to overhear anyone's plans for dinner.

Although Gates's killing tale has yet to appear in the "free press," it bears all the stench of a prepared press release to be fed to the media and regurgitated in the guise of "objective reporting." Actually, the question of who is feeding whom here is a moot point, since the relationship has long been quite symbiotic. For example, RW readers will recall the infamous Los Angeles Times "quote" of 1979, where the newspaper printed an entirely fabricated statement containing alleged "threats" against the police and thenpresident Jimmy Carter and falsely attributed them to RCP Chairman Bob Avakian. While it is unclear just which agency created this "quote," its publication in the Times was subsequently used by the Secret Service to conduct an "investigation" (that is, an attack) on Chairman Avakian - despite the fact that the Times itself had already been forced to print a retraction.

Then, this same retracted "quote" reappeared in December of 1982 in a meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission. In the wake of a highly charged L.A. Times exposure, fueled by L.A.'s burgeoning political police controversy, that revealed some of agent Lizarraga's admitted dealings, Chief Gates answered the widespread outrage by repeating the "quote" — an act which managed to get referred to both in the Times and on the local ABC TV station as if it were a real statement from the RCP chairman.

This wasn't the end of LAPD fact fabrication, however. The following month, the spy story grew hotter as over 100 cartons of secret PDID files were suddenly discovered at two addresses rented by a loyal and dedicated PDID sergeant, Jay Paul. Some of the material had been previously ordered destroyed and, according to knowledgeable testimony, had instead been offered to military intelligence. The LAPD moved quickly into court to stop any public mention of the two locations where the files were discovered. The reason: Sergeant Paul and his wife had supposedly received a "bomb threat" from someone who "claimed to be a member of the RCP," according to the LAPD. One newspaper almost printed this obviously stupid fabrication at the time, backing off only after it became clear (apparently on the basis of some phone calls to non-police sources) that it would only cast further suspicion back on the police and raise more questions about why they were so concerned to keep the addresses a secret. But some time later, a reference to this phony "threat" did get plopped down in the middle of a story in the Daily News, a local newspaper that tends to serve as the chief's mouthpiece. At this point, one can only wonder where and when any or all of these pig tales will publicly appear - and in what exact ways they will be used to justify to "the public" and/or the courts various police action against the RCP.

There is nothing original in any of this. The political police/press factory has been producing such "facts" to serve reactionary ends for many years. Among the literally countless examples, a few stand out. In 1972, an agent-informant for LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) began surreptitiously revealing to certain social movement activists some of the murders, assaults and frameups (especially of Black Panther Party members) that his co-workers and superiors were involved in. When his directors discovered what he was up to. they called a press conference and, according to the operative, ordered him to say: "(The activists are) buying information so they can kill police. They are part of a conspiracy to do this around the country." A few years before this, such "news" stories had been splashed all over the country's newspapers, with the target being the Black Panther Party. They were mandated by directors from FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. And they just happened to coincide with a tidal wave of armed assaults on BPP head-

quarters and members by a combination of federal and local police agents across the country. In Chicago, Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered in their beds by the political police; several of these "Panther conspiracy" fabrications appeared in the Chicago press immediately before the murders and, in the wake of the widespread, mass outrage that followed, many more lies were quickly produced and published. More recently, remember the tales of the Libyan "hit squads" bearing down on U.S. officials that dominated the front pages for weeks, replete with "pictures" of the suspects (whose features were so distinct that they bore a striking resemblance to potatoes)? The subsequent admission by FBI director William Webster, who said, "There was never a shred of evidence" that the hit squads existed, was buried in the back pages, if it was reported at all. Chief Gates's latest verbal assault on the RCP carries on a glorious American tradition.

Gates Strikes Back

While Chief Gates' memory has certainly been tempered by the tactics of defending himself and the LAPD in the ACLU lawsuit, he cannot fall back entirely on the official amnesia that might ordinarily characterize such a deposition. These are not ordinary times, and Gates has concerns that go far beyond legal tactics. The 1984 Olympics are rapidly approaching, and the all-out jingoist prewar mobilization plan needs a beefed-up and well-oiled political police apparatus to safeguard the political purity of the big games - not to mention to carry out the preparatory exercises for the even bigger games up ahead. This need has become complicated by widespread and farranging exposure of political police activity in L.A., combined with bitter acrimonious debate within the ruling class over how to carry out this repressive leap and who will be in control. So, the chief had to carefully craft his responses to deal with the pressing necessities. In the face of the LAPD's well-deserved and widespread reputation for political thugism, justifications and facilitations for more of the same must be presented. In the face of the inter-bourgeois brouhaha, the vanguard credentials of the LAPD (and those in very high places who are currently stumping for its pre-eminence in the Olympic pig-pen) must be further promoted. A specific charge-attack on the RCP is

one key aspect of all this. For a variety of reasons - including the vast exposure of L.A. political police attacks on the RCP, especially the murder of Comrade Damián García - the party has been thrust into the middle of the debate and turmoil over the scheduled clampdown. Outrage over the police crimes has been widespread among significant sections of the people, and this has contributed to a tendency for both sides in the interbourgeois debate - while united on the necessity for going after the RCP - to attempt to throw the party at each other in order to back up their particular plan and generalship. Gates's lie is the latest such salvo. It "justifies" past assaults and helps facilitate new ones. At the same time, lest any of the grunts on the force may have become demoralized through all the adverse publicity they have received, it is a pep talk egging them on to further brutality. And it is another reminder by Gates to his ruling-class opponents that they should not let their differences overshadow their common interest in attacking revolutionaries and the vanguard party of the proletariat.

But, of course, the rampaging of the political police apparatus extends far beyond the relatively small number of conscious revolutionaries — and the exposure of the breadth of this activity has further complicated matters for the bourgeoisie overall, and the police in particular, as the Olympics approach. A wider path must be carved out and strewn with other disgusting new "facts" from the factory. For example, the matter of undercover pigs having sex with un-

the factory. For example, the matter of undercover pigs having sex with unsuspecting humans (generally women) under false pretenses of love has righteously become a major issue in L.A. This perversity — which might appropriately be called duplicitous rape — was committed against a woman party

supporter as part of agent Lizarraga's efforts to get closer to his "target," Damián García, and has been and continues to be perfectly acceptable to the LAPD. When Chief Gates was challenged on why he refuses to prohibit such practices, he claimed that undercover pigs would then be faced with a choice of having sex or losing their lives - and his lawyer piped up with a comment that this had already supposedly happened. Of course, the specific example was not identified, and it would seem that the "targets" of the undercover pigs are the ones who are losing their lives around the LAPD. But all the boys in the secret police are undoubtedly feeling a lot more secure with Chief Gates's reassurances that their standards of morality will not have to be adjusted in any way, and that their future rapes will all come under the heading of "self-defense."

Another important aspect of the chief's bid for undercover justifications came in the form of a 13-page list that was added to the deposition as an appendix. The list is supposed to be an enumeration of just some of the valuable work that PDID has performed over a 13-year period. Included are: scheduled "bombings and ambushes" that never materialized - due to quick work by PDID, of course; scheduled "prison escapes" that never took place - due to proper notification by PDID, of course; scheduled "rumors" that proved to be unfounded — due to PDID discovering that they weren't true; and so forth. The list certainly raises some questions mainly, who is it that did all that schedul-

ing?

The list is far too extensive to permit full treatment here, but a few examples are worth taking note of. In several places, a group called the "Chicano Liberation Front" is mentioned, with PDID given credit for preventing an alleged bombing, potential attacks on policemen, and so forth. However, the list fails to specifically credit the activities of one Eustacio "Frank" Martinez, an agent who worked simultaneously for the Federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Agency and the LAPD. It seems that the LAPD wanted to pin the bombing for which the "Chicano Liberation Front" was being publicly credited on some Chicano activists from a group called La Casa del Carnalismo. Martinez has publicly admitted that he was ordered to try to involve these political activists in some bombings and was told by his superiors that the explosives would be supplied. When he discovered that his "targets" were not into carrying out such activities, he presented this information to his superiors. He stated that he was told that this "was a bunch of bullshit" and that "we are going to close that organization down by any means necessary."

Given the intense infighting within the ruling class over the political police issue, it is not surprising that many of the cited cases on the list involve PDID "protection" of political figures; for some reason, those who are generally considered to be more liberal - even perhaps, the chief's opponents - are the ones mentioned in this protection racket. For example, a Superior Court judge who made a desegregation ruling was saved by PDID from a grisly attack by the notorious Minutemen; one could only wonder if other PDID assignments prevented the group from having a quorum that day. Less speculative is a socalled assassination attempt against former Democratic senator John Tunney, a Kennedy type. Since this is listed as occurring in 1973, it most definitely cannot be confused with an incident that occurred three years earlier, when the above-mentioned agent Martinez disrupted a Tunney speech by attempting to knock in the top of a car driven by one of Tunney's aides, beating Tunney's assistant, and kicking the senator himself. This 1973 attempt must have been totally different.

Perhaps the most interesting, and currently relevant, item listed is the 1969 "contract" on the life of then-city councilman (current mayor) Tom Bradley. According to the PDID list, some "black militants" supposedly went to a location to carry out the scheme but were deterred by "heavy security, based on intelligence reports...." Could these "black militants" have been the same ones that former FBI informant Othello has said were supplied with arms by the LAPD?

Othello was referring to the United Slaves (US) cultural nationalist organization. He testified that they were used by the combined forces of the FBI and LAPD to get the Panthers, including murdering Bunchy Carter and John Huggins, two L.A. Panther leaders, at a UCLA meeting. Othello stated that he was at that meeting and saw the assassins, members of US, get in a car driven away by his own FBI contact agent. But Othello never said anything about Bradley, so PDID's listing might have been some other "black militants."

The conspicuous mentioning of these various political figures in the PDID accomplishments list is very much a doubleedged sword. Given the sophisticated understanding within ruling circles of how their disputes may ultimately come to be settled, it was not necessary to be any more explicit. (In this, it was a little less forceful than Gates's previous warning to the city attorney to "be wary that he doesn't make me an enemy.") And given the LAPD's current situation, critics of the department were dealt with rather directly. Namely, the chief admitted that virtually everyone who registers a "complaint" - through the newspapers, television, letters, "flyers and other publicly disseminated material" - is a subject of discussion at his regular intelligence briefing meetings. The chief specifically mentioned seeing a document on the medical condition of one woman who works for the ACLU, and discussing another group that was protesting the police murder of Ron Burkholder, a man who is known to have been gunned down in cold blood for the simple fact that he was naked at the time. Such threats were very much in line with the chief's overall concerns in this deposition: more L.A. political police power, or else.

Guidelines Contributions

In addition to his justifications - and his warnings - Chief Gates has also taken this opportunity to offer a genuine contribution to the current national effort to revise federal guidelines for domestic spying. A key aspect of that effort is the attempt to loosen up some official restrictions on "advocacy" as legitimate grounds for undertaking a domestic undercover operation. In the face of the widespread exposures of the FBI's COINTELPRO and other political police crimes, there has supposedly been a requirement since 1976 that an imminent threat of illegal violent acts, as opposed to mere advocacy (as in "advocating the violent overthrow of the government") be required in order to send the secret police into action against an individual or group. There are already laws on the books, such as the Smith Act, passed in the McCarthy era, which outlaws such "advocacy," but the rulers prefer not to officially resort to those at this time. The question of "advocacy" as a legitimate (as opposed to a more covert) reason for conducting frame-ups, murders and so forth against political groups is a very controversial one within bourgeois ranks, and those who worry over the maintenance of the "freedom" facade - as in, all the better to mobilize you to fight for it - have registered some strenuous objections.

Enter Chief Gates and his elaborate "RCP plot" - a truly vanguard effort to bridge the gap between "advocacy" and "threat." Note once again the carefully worded answer: "because they advocate the violent overthrow of the government and advocate violence against the police in particular. According to Officer Rochon, they actively planned to eliminate all police officials in the city. Plus they openly advocate disorder, disruption." Here the meat of the matter - the fabricated "plan," - is sandwiched by the phrases "advocate violent over-throw..." and "advocate disorder, disruption." And the question does not stop there. Chief Gates uses this beginning salvo to launch a further discussion of the general relationship between "advocacy" and "threat" - with the RCP thrust, once again, at the center of the question. After dickering for a while over whether or not the RCP would be a "legitimate target" if it "merely advocated the violent overthrow of the government," Gates finally says: "I think the problem is the words 'advocate' versus 'threaten,' and I think we have to examine that.

"Certainly if we had a threat with the Continued on page 12

Weeds

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policy. Now this is a curious omission, considering that Deng worked so hard to lead China into capitulation to the U.S. bloc and pushed the "advanced" capitalist countries of the West as a model for development. The revisionists could, if they wanted, have included, for example, the speeches Deng made during his 1979 tour of the U.S. On that occasion he denounced the Soviet Union's "zealous pushing of global strategy for world domination," called for a "united front between the U.S. bloc and China," and generally played the willing pawn to the U.S.'s flaunting of the significant strengthening of its war bloc in the face of the Soviets. But while China remains tied to the U.S. bloc, it is currently engaged in "normalization" talks with the Soviet Union in an attempt to ease the tremendous military pressure exerted by the Soviets on its borders as well as to increase its bargaining position with the U.S. The stridently anti-Soviet and fawningly pro-U.S. speeches he made on that trip would hardly serve well in China's efforts to play the field today. Thus the decision to shelve some of these treasures from Deng's past.

Finally, another interesting point to note about Deng's book. One would think that by normal practice a "Selected Works" would start from a person's earliest works and then proceed chronologically. Yet, Deng starts out with the 1975-82 period. What gives? For one thing, the revisionists have very concrete aims in mind in publishing Deng's book, as can be seen by the connections made to the upcoming purge. It's not that Deng was not churning out revisionist weeds in the earlier periods. However, while the revolutionaries had the upper hand in China, Deng often had to be careful about what he said. With the intensification of the battle between the revolutionary and the revisionist headquarters in 1975 and even more so with the coup of October 1976, Deng was able to more openly strut his stuff. His works from this period are therefore more directly useful to the revisionists now as a "guide to China's path forward" on the capitalist road.

Moreover, digging up Deng's works from the earlier period would be opening up a can of worms for the revisionists who want to paint a picture of Deng as a tough customer, firm in his (revisionist) principles. Consider, for instance, the self-criticism Deng made to a work meeting of the Central Committee in October 1966 when he was under fierce attack from the revolutionaries. Deng's cynical and sniveling plea for mercy is in stark contrast to the inspiring examples set by Chiang Ching and Chang Chunchiao in defying all attempts by the revisionists to break their revolutionary stand while on trial in 1980. Since this particular work by Deng will undoubtedly never be seen in any of his selected works edited by the revisionists, we present a few excerpts below:

"The big character poster that Chairup at the Eleventh Plenum bombarded the headquarters of Comrade [Liu] Shaoqi and myself. In his poster, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out the nature of our mistakes. He declared, 'By adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, carrying out a bourgeois dictatorship, they [meaning Liu and Deng] have repressed the surging tide of the Cultural Revolution. They have manipulated the facts, belied right and wrong, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own by imposing a white terror, and generally reveling in their power, what they have done is to increase the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflate the morale of the proletariat. Is this not indeed foul!' This criticism of the Chairman's is absolutely correct and has struck on the very heart of the matter." . . .

'My real mistake is that I have not stood on the side of the masses and have opposed the mass movement. In terms of class struggle, I have not, during the Cultural Revolution, stood on the side of the revolutionary proletariat, and have pursued a line which is in absolute opposition to the policies of Comrade Mao Tsetung."

"As for people like me in key leadership positions, it is obvious that we have fallen behind in our study of Chairman Mao's strategic thinking and his use of the mass line. In our work we have not been aware of the importance of this movement nor have we made any attempt to rely on the masses, and have even attempted to repress the masses and contain the Cultural Revolution. Not only have we not raised the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, we have purposely opposed both Chairman Mao's teachings and Mao Tsetung Thought.

"My recent errors are by no means accidental or disconnected; they have their origins in a certain way of thinking and a certain style of work which has developed over a considerable period of time. Ideologically, I must confess not only have I not raised high the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, but that I have not even lifted this banner up."

"Recent events have revealed me as an unreformed petty-bourgeois intellectual who has failed to pass the tests posed by socialism. Seeing myself thus reflected in my actions, I am overwhelmed. I feel it would be damaging to the party and the people for a person with my ideological level and political understanding to continue in my present position. What I need to do is reflect on my past actions. I need to earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, reform myself and correct my mistakes. By so doing, I hope to be of some use to the party and the people in the latter years of my life and make up, in some way, for my past misdeeds. I firmly believe that with the help of my comrades and with my own determination, I will be able to correct my mistakes. Though 1 have gone astray on the road of politics, with the radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought lighting my forward path, I should have the fortitude to pick myself up and go on."

CORRECTION

In the article "Pope to Walesa: 'Go Fishing' " (RW No. 212) the second sentence in the second paragraph should have read:

And the spectacle of the authorities (who only days before had issued stern protests that the West was "playing politics" with John Paul's visit)....

Livermore

Continued from page 2

politically within the bounds of the nonviolent anti-nuke movement pressuring the governments, including several sessions led by Daniel Ellsberg, some activists told of wide-ranging informal discussion of the question of the need for revolutionary changes, "violent or nonviolent," and of the nature and extremely violent history of the U.S. government in particular. The actions of the German youth against George Bush were quite warmly received by many in the jail.

In addition to numerous lessons in "freedom and democracy" with regard to protesting imperialist war preparations, the government took the opportunity for another kind of instruction as well. Police departments from around the San Francisco Bay Area and up and down California sent officers to the jail to learn some lessons about mass jailing of demonstrators. The San Francisco Chronicle mentioned that L.A., Santa Clara County and Contra Costa County (at least) sent police officials. Santa Clara County is the home of the Silicon Valley, where protests are planned this summer against defense contractors. Contra Costa County is the site of the Concord Naval Weapons Station, currently shipping arms to El Salvador, and targeted for a blockade at the end of July. And the LAPD thought they could learn a few things in preparation for mass internments during the 1984 Olympics.

Obviously, some intense and wideranging preparation indeed went on at Livermore.

L.A. Pig Tales

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means of carrying out that threat, there is no question that they could be included in. . . (the) guidelines." The chief is then further asked how he distinguishes between "advocate" and "threaten."

"Well, I think if one is simply going around without any organization, without anything behind him, without anything, simply making statements about advocating various things, then I don't consider that a threat.

"If there is an organized, wellplanned, well-thought-out effort that has the potential for carrying out the threats, and the threats are made as threats, then I think that is a little different.'

Finally! After all this garbage the chief finally gets to his true concerns. First, a

striking new definition of "legitimate targets" - that is, any organization, any kind of political group (as opposed to some lone wolf apparently) that advocates revolution is prime material for undercover thuggery. And why is that? Because this advocacy might ultimately have something to do with success! Why, thank you, Chief Gates for clearing all this up. After all, it is not "plots," "threats," or any number of so-called criminal "facts" manufactured in your factory that worry you, and cause those who employ you to worry. Rather, it is politics, and in particular the possibility of success by revolutionary politics, that cause you to worry - and are inspiring you to even greater depths of official

Miami

Continued from page 10

gun, pushed out of the communities they normally prey on, and in the constant spotlight. Laced with liberal concern, the authors note "Not all officers will be comfortable with the constant threat in a riot of being seriously injured or seriously injuring others; fear, anxiety, anger, resentment and other legitimate emotions will surface and limit the effectiveness of their training." These problems can

become quite explosive.

Take, for example, the Miami cops (as the LEAA does). In the first night of the 1980 rebellion one gang of "line officers" went on a rampage in a shopping center parking lot, smashing up cars and spraypainting "looter" on them. An unfortunate indiscretion, the report duly comments (no doubt resulting from one of those "legitimate" emotions), and one of those times when it was certainly necessary for the cops to be publicly disciplined. But rallying to their fellow pigs' defense, the entire Miami Police Department threatened to walk out on May 22, right in the midst of the height of the rebellion. Interestingly, rather than outright blast the cops for this potentially devastating act of independence, the authors point out that it is the responsibility of the higher-ups that these type problems were not thoroughly thought out and prepared for before the fact and their street cops were not trained in the intricacies of warfare in the cities. "It is clear that police officers need training in the use of various tactics to assist them in controlling major disorders. The origins of many of these tactics can be found in military doctrine and practice. They include formations and movements which demonstrate a visible, disciplined show of force; specific squad formations directed at dispersing groups; crowd control techniques; tactics associated with mass arrests; securing of various types of buildings; perimeter patrol placements; and the use of non-lethal force, such as chemical agents...such training is not presently part of the normal routine formation and development of police officers."

This is something being given quite a lot of attention in Miami these days. While with one hand Howard Gary is directing the "community relations" efforts, with the other he is preparing the troops. In the midst of last spring's intensity he announced the acquisition of a "stress simulator. ... (which is) tailored to police situations in which a choice has to be made about using a service weapon.' Bragging about this new weapon, Gary went on: "The simulator creates a trueto-life incident that an officer on patrol within the community might encounter, such as being involved in a mob scene. It conditions police officers to use proper judgement in the use of deadly force before shooting to kill. The simulator is so sophisticated it can be programmed to put police in a local environment, for example, it could include actual landmarks in Liberty City." No sir. The Miami police are not going to get caught with their pants down again!

The LEAA authors further emphasize that rebellions are indeed extremely complex affairs. "Violence is not static but

dynamic and may come in waves." And this is most importantly the case in the years ahead. The authors argue that "disorder plans" born of the 70s that are based on containing relatively isolated incidents have to be completely revamped to deal with the fact that the 80s will be much more marked with widespread, chaotic and mainly unpredictable outbreaks. Plans that don't "anticipate rapidly changing conditions and confused decisions" are as much as useless.

And it is also in this light that still other forces in society are looked at, especially the press. It doesn't help, they bluntly state, for the press to either blab about various police indiscretions (such as the murder of Arthur McDuffie) or go reporting rebellions that occur, helping make them national and international events. (It is interesting to note here that in the last two years, this has become a major topic of debate in the U.S. press, with bourgeois mouthpieces like ABC's Ted Koppel playing a vanguard role in assessing the duties of the press.) This is obviously a sticky question, but these LEAA liberals present a rather straightforward argument: "Some public officials and most of the police believe that the extensive reporting and editorializing about these events by the media - particularly the print media - also contributed to the increase of tension in Dade County prior to the outbreak of disorder. One high-level police official noted in an assessment of the disorder, '...a review of the role of the media, especially the print media, clearly demonstrates their contribution to the breakdown of order in the community.'

The overall point, in this and other examples, is that the times ahead demand a firm coming together and spirit of cooperation among all those officials, agencies, etc., who will be playing increasingly key roles in suppressing the masses - and this requires looking at and resolving some rather hard issues. "The lessons learned from Dade County have been acquired at great cost and they will, no doubt, have to be learned again and again. In applying these lessons, police departments will need to assume a different type of leadership in the 1980s."

One critical element that the LEAA has left completely out of its report: The coming period will not be one of simply internal turmoil growing out of the intensifying economic crisis, but more importantly one of world war and revolution on a world scale. This is crucial in looking once again at Miami, where it was exactly the rapidly developing situation in Latin America and the particular role that city has played as a base area for paramilitary operations in that region that has served to greatly intensify other contradictions, particularly the national question as it has taken shape in that city, and created a quite unexpected crack in what today is still a generally relatively calm surface in this country. It is in that sense that Miami does indeed represent the future.

As the contradictions in the world continue to intensify and plunge toward world war as well as revolution, just how far and in what precise way things in this country will develop cannot be exactly predicted. But the LEAA, in their efforts to "learn" from Miami, have provided valuable insight into the plans the bourgeoisie is forging and the contradictions they face and definitely will be wracked with in a qualitatively higher way in the not-so-distant future.

The Criminal Minds Behind the Detroit Youth Curfew

In the weeks since a youth curfew was first announced in Detroit there has been a rapid succession of newspaper articles, editorials, speeches, and conferences discussing the curfew, "youthful lawlessness," crime and the steps necessary to deal with this scourge. From behind this flurry are emerging the elements of an overall strategic orientation for the city of Detroit, The curfew along with a few other measures already implemented — and others still being debated — represent a move to strengthen their state apparatus to meet the demands that will be placed on it in the '80s.

The authorities in Detroit are clearly not banking on their ability to maintain the kind of relative calm that has prevailed in the city for the last 10 years. Conditions are changing, giving rise to an uneven and contradictory breakdown in the city's social fabric. It is well known that Detroit is a city with staggering unemployment and deepening impoverishment. The jobless figures in the city remain at 65% for Black youth under 21 and 25% for Black people overall. According to official figures, nearly onethird of the city's residents are dependent on one form or another of public assistance. In December a medical study revealed that infant mortality rates among Black people in certain inner-city areas is as high as it is in the country of

In the midst of this some of the threads that have helped tie together the social peace are loosening. One reflection of this is the sharp increase in the number of shootings by police in the last six months — way up over the last several years.

A recent analysis of the 1980 census data by the Merrill Palmer Research Institute that is associated with Wayne State University bared some trends affecting youth that underline some of the motivations of the ruling class behind the curfew today and even more so as a measure for the future. In the last decade the racial and class nature of the city's youth has changed significantly. According to the census figures in 1970 the ratio of Black to white youth in the city stood at 54% Black to 46% white. Due to massive out migration of whites since 1970 that ratio shifted to 74% Black/27% white. In 1970 approximately 15% of the city's youth were growing up in conditions of poverty. By 1980 (this was before the recent economic crisis made itself felt!) 31% of all youth in the city were living in conditions below the federally designated poverty level. This growing impoverishment was linked to another factor that has to do with the reins over the so-called 'uncontrollable youth' breakdown of what is considered a stable family environment. In 1970, 69% of all youth in the city lived in families with two parents. By 1980 this percentage was down to 46 percent. And it was especially sharp among Black youth - only 38% of Black youth were living in families with both parents at home. That is 62% of all Black families lived in households headed by females. This assumes real importance given the weight the bourgeoisie has attached to utilizing the family as a means of exercising social control and discipline over the youth. This role of the family as an instrument of control has been borne out by the emphasis the mayor and police chief have placed on the parents responsiblity in enforcing the Detroit curfew and the parents' liability to prosecution if their children are repeated violators. This city - like many others - poses real problems for the imperialists from a strategic and far-reaching point of view. In a word, it is not friendly turf. They recognize this as a potential storm center and not a social base that will readily fall in line behind this empire as it prepares for a global showdown. Recently a New York Times writer, bemoaning the state of things, said of Detroit, "One of its most serious problems is that it is populated almost exclusively by low income people." But while it is hostile turf

for the bourgeoisie, it is not turf that they are about to concede. The reactionary youth curfew and other measures being taken are steps to strengthen their position. They are seeking to be in a stronger position to neutralize and win that turf when it all goes up for grabs. But in order to do so they have work to do.

Some of the reality of this is highlighted in a recent major article in the Detroit Free Press (the liberal paper). This spread delves into the numerical strength - or lack of it - and inefficient deployment characteristic of the Detroit police department in the context of a steadily rising crime rate. While the purpose of this article, written with the eager assistance of the Detroit police which provided "inside information," was to rally public opinion for strengthening the department, it nonetheless bared some of their problems - problems that are especially serious in the context of the turbulent times to come. Apparently the current strength of Detroit's finest is down to 4,046. This compares to a police ward numbering 5,700 in 1977. Given the current freeze on hiring, attrition, due to retirement and other causes, will reduce the force down to a level of 3,900 by next year. This will be the smallest number of uniformed police on the payroll anytime since the end of World War 2! According to one city councilman the number of police on the streets patrolling at any one time is no more than 200 (5% of the force). This estimate was based on staffing allocations in the department's budget. And in the city's largest precinct - reported to be as large as the whole of the city of Cleveland — there are only 7 cars on patrol at any given time. All this was contrasted to a dizzying list of increases in the percentage and numbers of crime and an accompanying decrease in police response. According to the Free Press the hours police spend on patrol was down 46% since 1978.

Another thrust of the article was targetting the "fat and frills" in the department's allocation of forces. Singled out for special mention was the Public Information Unit which acts as a go-between with the media. Its complement of police officers are not available for "routine" street work. Quoting an unknown cop assigned to desk duty at headquarters, "There's a place for these units when you can afford it but when you're down to bare bones, they're a luxury." The top-heavy supervisor to officer ratio was cited as another example of inefficiency. Also mentioned was a donothing unit of 50 officers attached to the city's different "mini-stations" to teach crime prevention techniques. The understaffing and paunchy utilization of the troops has had the real effect of reducing visible police presence on the street. It has also undercut their ability to deal with more than "one emergency situation" at a time (should such a thing arise!). Police chief Hart has argued, very halfheartedly, that the reduction in manpower has made the force more "effective" and compelled the department to use more "modern ways of deployment." The fact that they have had to adopt a system of "directed patrolling" - where officers are only assigned to areas whose crime patterns have been higher, leaving other areas virtually unpatrolled, is a more telling indication of the effect of the department's streamlining.

In the meantime since the curfew was announced, Detroit's AFL-CIO chieftains got a chance to huddle and pronounce their blessing on the curfew. They called for their membership to participate in the mayor's neighborhood watch program. One UAW vice-president, who happens to be Black, waxed eloquent on television for several minutes expounding on the need for more discipline among the city's youth. And the police department — in the midst of contract negotiations with the city — while upholding the curfew, sniped at it as a cosmetic response to the problems of police understaffing.

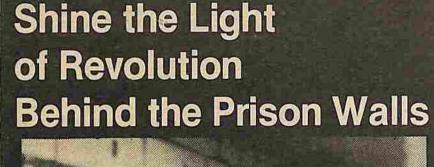
Joining in the action, the City Council took up discussion of a resolution to ban video arcades from the city. A particular focus of this ban has been Greektown, a block-long stretch of Greek restaurants, taverns and bakeries. It is one of the very few real attractions downtown Detroit has to offer to tourists and suburbanites. Since the opening of three video arcades there not long ago, large numbers of Black youth have been attracted to the area. About a week before the curfew went into effect a seventeen year old Black youth was cited for curfew violations in one of the arcades in Greektown. A plainclothes cop approached him and without identifying himself as a cop, demanded to see some I.D. Involved in the game, the youth paid him no mind. The next thing he knew, the cop was charging him with violation of the curfew ordinance. This outrageous arrest clearly had absolutely nothing to do with eliminating "crime." Rather it was aimed at eliminating Black youth from a section of the city which is very important in terms of what little tinsel attraction Detroit can muster up for "respectable" and monied clientele.

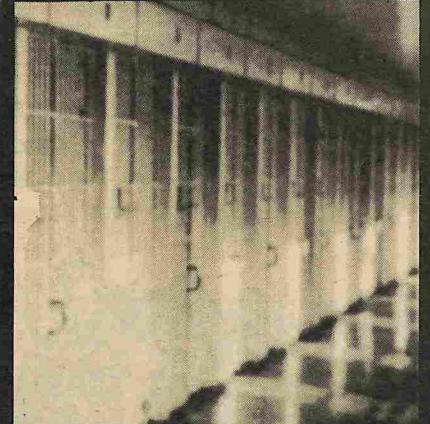
Quickly on the heels of all this activity the editors of the Free Press crystallized the stakes and issues involved at this juncture. In an editorial in their July 6th edition, the editors spelled it out. "The mayor needs to devise a long term strategy for assuring adequate police protection...in the '70s we did devise a strategy that worked; crime did come down. But with the sustained recession of the '80s the problem has gotten away

from us again." Citing the constraint on police hiring posed by a \$40 million budget deficit, as well as the decline in federal aid to the city, the editors ended with the point that, "Even in an era of scarce resources the city has to do more." In other words, there is the recognition that the strategies and policies designed for the '70s - affirmative action programs, the establishment of police ministations, the creation of a police review commission etc., will not be adequate to deal with the contradictions posed by the '80s. And while there are some differences of opinion between the mayor, the police union and the media over particular details (accompanied by certain infighting and jabbing) what is being hashed out is a method of operation for the next period ahead. And while the latest joke making the rounds of police headquarters is that the curfew should be dubbed STRESS II (Shop the Renaissance Center, Enjoy Safe Streets) the strategy being called for is something a lot more comprehensive than simply a return to the use of STRESS (Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets)

RW readers will recall that STRESS was an infamous police decoy unit employed in the late '60s and early '70s. It was a tool of enforcing a reign of terror on the city's Black youth. Unleashed in the downtown areas, STRESS units murdered 17 Black people in the period of a little more than a year's operation. The curfew is not STRESS II. It is one part of an overall strategy which is in the process of being hashed out. And the par-

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Detroit

Continued from page 13

ticular benefits of the curfew are threefold: (1) by targetting youths under 18, it serves to inflame backward public opinion about youth; (2) it assists the "hard pressed" and understaffed Detroit police department by clearing a large section of youth off the street — allowing them to concentrate their energies on the "uncontrollables"; and (3) it provides the police with a ready-made tool to harass any youth, however old they are, as they see fit. Not a bad bargain in an "era of scarce resources."

Anti crime-a-rama

The outlines of this overall strategy that is being developed is two-pronged. On the one hand the mobilization and greater support from the masses - including sections of Black workers - for police activities and on the other hand the expansion and more rational use of the uniformed forces themselves. The mobilization and active participation of the masses in police programs was highlighted at a recently held one-day conference. Termed "The Mayor's Anti Crime-a-rama," this event which drew about 1,000 people featured displays on security locks and lighting, block parent programs and arson prevention. There were a number of workshops dealing with personal safety, business and neighborhood watch as well as "youth involvement."

The mayor took the opportunity to issue a call for an additional 1,000 volunteers for the civilian police reserves. There are currently 3,000 such volunteers enrolled in the program. He said the expansion of the civilian reserves, who are trained in crowd control, was necessary to help reduce crime. He also called for the stepped-up formation of neighborhood watch patrols equipped with citizen band radios. In an effort to unleash greater participation in this, the mayor declared, "A whole lot of you watch what's going on any damn how, so I give you a chance to do it officially. I'll appoint you the official neighborhood snoop if you'll join the neighborhood watch on your block." He went on to emphasize the theme of the day - "The only way we can handle it (crime) is if we all work together . . . the police alone cannot handle crime. But you, working with the police, can.'

The call for the additional thousand reserves and their greater use has become the Tocus of an intensifying back-and-forth between the mayor and his long time critics in the Detroit Police Officer's Association. While upholding the curfew a number of unnamed porkers have been

saying that the curfew by itself is a hype. Currently Six DPO members are on layoff. DPO aid president Watroba complained that the expanded use of the police reserves represents "a replacement of officers from regular jobs." Deputy Chief Thomas Moss put his finger right on the real value of the reserves when he responded by saying, "The volunteers allowed community people to get involved in police activities in the community." And city officials went on to indicate exactly how fine a distinction they see between the role of the uniformed regulars and the reserves. In the words of commander William Dwyer, "Reservists have absolutely no power for law enforcement unless they are working with a sworn officer." And besides, he added, "Unlike regular officers they must acquire a concealed gun permit to carry a gun." That's the difference.

There has been an intensified effort to expand the neighborhood watch programs touted by the mayor at his Anti Crime-a-rama. These were first introduced seven years ago. In fact, one of the main objectives of the Anti Crime-arama was to expand on the 4,000 blocks already organized into this network. There was a strong appeal made urging individuals and groups to take the block watch program back to their neighborhood and implement it. In particular, there was a focus to enlist "leadership types" in the effort. In the words of a conference organizer, "each community needs a strong leader who won't get discouraged by the apathy, who won't get discouraged by the small turnout at first." And while information is tightly guarded, recently the RW received reports of one such effort to establish a neighborhood watch program. The police combed through a rundown, all Black neighborhood on the city's east side in an effort to round up residents to launch a neighborhood watch. The prevailing sentiment at the meeting that did take place was: "This is bullshit that they care about watching our neighborhoods; they only come through here twice a week and that's when they're in hot pursuit of somebody else." On the other hand there was sentiment from a smaller number that ran a little differently. "Neighborhood watch," remarked a youth whose mother had been accidentally killed by the police in a high-speed chase, "We'll watch their ass right out of the neighborhood."

Such organized networks of civilians roving through the city's neighborhoods who are linked with the police command structure could play an important role in strengthening their ability to deal with any number of possibilities. Strategically located they would be a ready-made network of snitches (the mayor's snoops) for the police. They could finger more

rebellious elements in the area and their "watch" would be an important complement to police intelligence operations. Beyond that they would function as a bedrock for backward public opinion at a time when debate raged and broader numbers were jolted into political life around profound social questions. And lastly, organized into the department's divison of labor they would be a significant addition to the actual armed might of the state when that was decisive.

The second prong of this overall strategic orientation is aimed at strengthening the ranks of the uniformed forces. Right now due to budget problems no police officers are scheduled to be recalled till next spring when the force will number 3900. A big thrust of the overall anti-crime hubbub is to whip up demand for the recall of the laid off police — "whatever the financial cost." Whipped up alarm over crime has had a miracle effect on reducing the unemployment rate among laid-off police.

In 1976, 450 laid off cops were immediately recalled after a rampage through the downtown area by several hundred Black youth gang members. Indeed, the way the current phenomenon of youth crime is being played up today closely parallels the way it was utilized by the news media and city fathers back in the summer of 1976. Throughout the spring and summer months of that year, the newspapers were filled with reports of rowdyism, vandalism, and murders by gangs with names like the Black Killers, the Errol Flynns, and the Moneymakers. The issue was being whipped up with the publication of daily horror stories. It was fast becoming a hot political issue, used to chisel away at Coleman Young's political base. This was taking place in the context of sharp antagonism between the mayor and elements of the Detroit police department - over layoffs, affirmative action programs, and certain controversial command appointments. The pressure was mounting on Mayor Young to do something. Early that summer he established a special gang squad unit. In mid-August, members of the gang squad let the word out on the streets that neither they nor the tactical services section of the police would be on duty one night when three major events - including a large rock concert - were taking place downtown. What other messages transpired in back alleys in not known, but on that night all three gangs (who had mainly been reported in the press as fighting each other) came out together and invaded the concert. The rampage spilled out into downtown Detroit. There were muggings, several rapes, and so on. In its initial stages, the police on hand simply sat back and let the whole thing unfold - claiming they were under-staffed. The incident marked a qualitative leap in the volume of cries for law and order, and Coleman Young, aware of the direction in which things were moving, rushed to the forefront of the "anti-crime" movement. The next day, he announced the implementation of a curfew for youth under 18. Four hundred and fifty police who had not been scheduled for recall for several months were then immediately rehired and assigned special operations units in the downtown district.

Since May of this year several steps have been taken to trim the fat in the department and make it a leaner, tougher machine. The key thing here is to increase the presence of the police on the street and their ability to concentrate the necessary forces to deal with a number of emergencies. A whole unit of 50 cops assigned to teach crime prevention techniques has been reshuffled to street duty. They will be dispatched to whatever precinct is most backlogged with calls for police. A recently promoted group of 60 sergeants will be assigned as investigators throughout the city's 12 precincts where caseloads for investigations number as high as 1600 per detective. These moves for a trimmer department focus around their ability to field more cops, concentrate them in the areas of the greatest potential unrest, and deploy them with efficiency.

Obviously there is a link between mobilizing "civilian support" and strengthening the uniformed contingent. The more the former the better the latter can perform; the thicker the "thin blue line" can be where it counts — out in the streets

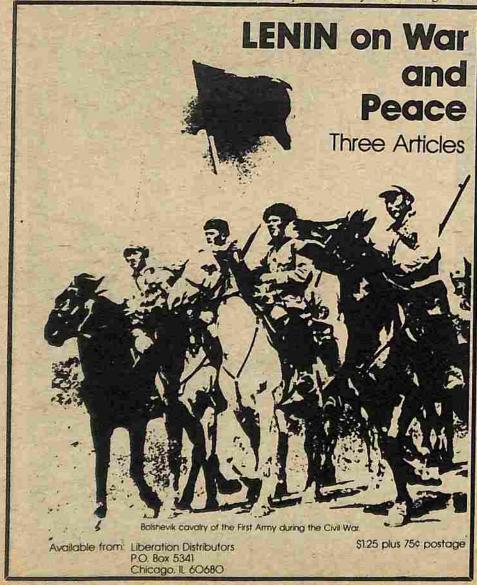
The bourgeoisie, the city authorities

and their corps of media motormouths has done considerable preparatory work that greased the skids for these moves. And in doing so they had a lot of spontaneity going for them. Over the past year they've been able to play off the deteriorating living conditions for broad numbers of proletarians in this city conditions that are linked with the increase in dog-eat-dog hustle that is a real thing in inner-city neighborhoods. With this as a foundation they launched a media barrage against youth last fall. Seizing on the operation of a notorious drug ring - known as Young Boys Incorporated (YBI) - which used teenagers to transport and deliver dope, they fanned an image of city youth on the rampage.

The coverage of YBI activities in the press played them up to be larger than life. Very quickly all sorts of crime became associated with the work of YBI. The press played up the phenomenon of the "Max Julian jacket" - the fur-lined airman jacket that was reported to be standard gear among YBI operatives. Sales of these jackets skyrocketed from the publicity, cleaning out several local suppliers. This kind of attention as well as their exhorbitant price led to three highly publicized shootings over the jackets. In turn they were barred from two of the city's senior high schools - only conferring them with more desirable status among some youth. A series of highly played-up drug raids to "smash YBI" added more fuel to the fire. The notoriety intensified a righteous hatred among people for the increase in heroin use among youth that this mob specialized in. Together with the lack of a means of going up against the déalers, the publicity served to condition attitudes among numbers of even politically thoughtful proletarians.

The ability of the authorities to do this has been enhanced by the demagogic efforts of Mayor Coleman Young whose political framework enables him to welcome Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop to the city one day and institute the curfew for youth the next. The efficacy of his "down" style of speaking and appearance of "not gonna take any shit off of anyone" style in neutralizing certain contradictions is his trump card. It is this that prompted General Motors director Leon Sullivan (author of the Sullivan Principles for South Africa) to remind the Detroit Economic Club, "If Coleman Young sneezes, throw a blanket over him and pray he doesn't catch a cold." Over the last 10 years the mayor has developed a certain expertise in this important sphere of "crime control." Supported by an accompanying cast that includes a Black police chief and a force that is now 35% Black they have been able to obscure for some, who do in fact hate this system, what the real thrust of the curfew and these other measures are all about. And it was exactly this kind of conditioning that motivated the publicity lavished on YBI last fall - that is, to train people to see crime as the number one problem and a problem that is linked with youth. In a city such as Detroit with unemployment so high and other contradictions sharpening up, that is no small accomplishment. With an outlook that clings to the "respectable" and more than a few illusions about keeping their kids "out of harm's way" in the imperialist jungle, parents who are not big law-and-order fans have said that they are relieved that their kids will be off the streets by 10 o'clock. Among a smaller section of more advanced, there is a real wrestling going on to come to terms with what is really behind the curfew. And there is a lot of questioning of why this was implemented as quickly and suddenly as it

Among the city's youth - the effect of the curfew has been mixed. Many have for the first week at least abided by the curfew and certain areas have been empty of younger youth. Among the more rebellious there is a definite spontaneous sense of "Fuck it. Nobody is gonna tell me when I have to go in. If they try to move us off this corner it's gonna be war." The curfew may very well result in some kind of blow up - a skirmish or otherwise over this summer - but the fact is that the deployment of the forces of authority behind the curfew and these other measures is aimed at strengthening the state's position for a war when more than a street corner is hanging in the balance.



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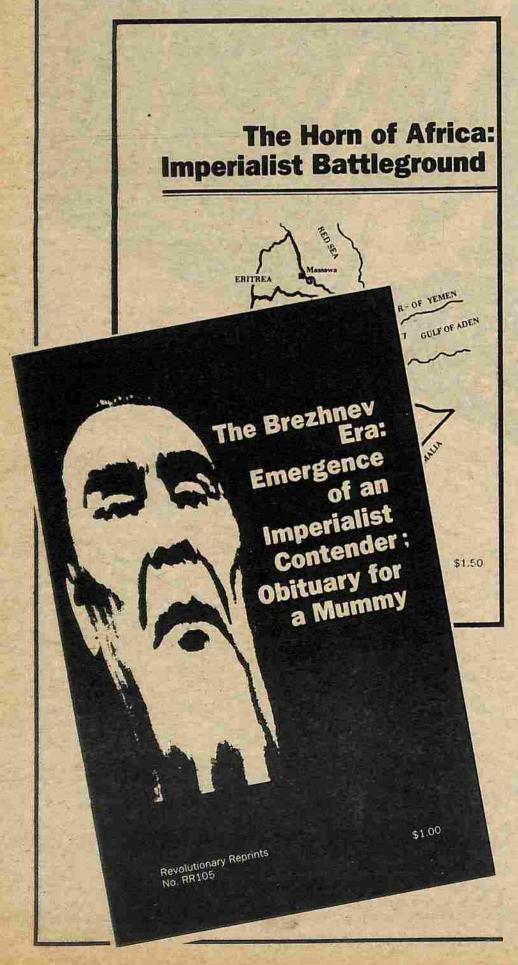
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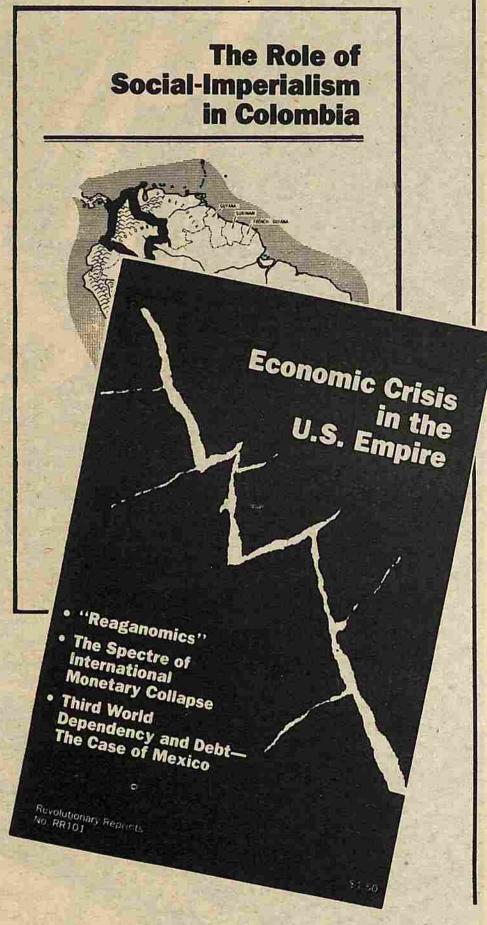
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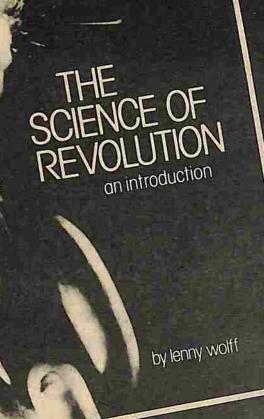
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Marx's monumental exposure of the NOW AVAILABLE! Special offer on cloth edition street on cloth edition and street on cloth edition and special offer on cl ground seized for the cause of emancipation; whether people will fight blind or with head up and eyes fixed on the furthest horizon, prepared to win." mansprings or capitalist society aking framper and the role of developed by Lenin's groundbreaking further extended analysis of imperialism further extended ana mainsprings of capitalist society, analysis of imperalism and the role of analysis OY Wao's commountons on the revolution necessity to continue the revolution by Mao's contributions on the under the dictatorship of the